Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038
James Farmer-National Director

AN ACTOR'S PACT

In an effort to end the practice of racial discrimination and segregation in motion picture exhibition throughout the world, I agree that I will not enter into any motion picture employment agreement unless it contains the following provisions:

"Notwithstanding any other provisions of this agreement, Producer recognizes that artist's reputation may be severely damaged by the exhibition or other use of his acts, poses, plays or appearances in media or locations practicing racial or religious discrimination or segregation. Producer further recognizes that the damages which artist may incur as the result of such exhibitions would be substantial and irreparable and not readily compensable by the award of money damages in their action at law. The parties further agree that the artist's damages from any such exhibition cannot be readily estimated at the present time. The parties therefore agree as follows:

A. No right is granted to Producer by this agreement to utilize the product of artist's services at any time in any part of the world in any theatre, medium or location if persons of any race, creed or color are excluded, separated, segregated or discriminated against in such theatre, medium or location by reason of their race, creed or color. This restriction of Producer's rights shall not be affected by any local or national law regulation or ordinance requiring separation, segregation, exclusion or discrimination. This restriction of Producer's rights shall not be affected by the character of the location as non-profit or profit making, private or public. The exhibition or distribution of the photoplay contrary to the provision of this sub-paragraph "A" shall automatically terminate any license under the copyright of the photoplay which may have been granted with respect to the exhibition or distribution of the photoplay.

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A. No right is granted to Producer by this agreement to utilize the product of artist's services at any time in any part of the world in any theatre, medium or location if persons of any race, creed or color are excluded, separated, segregated or discriminated against in such theatre, medium or location by reason of their race, creed or color. This restriction of Producer's rights shall not be affected by any local or national law regulation or ordinance requiring separation, segregation, exclusion or discrimination. This restriction of Producer's rights shall not be affected by the character of the location as non-profit or profit making, private or public. The exhibition or distribution of the photoplay contrary to the provision of this sub-paragraph "A" shall automatically terminate any license under the copyright of the photoplay which may have been granted with respect to the exhibition or distribution of the photoplay.

B. The provisions of sub-paragraph "A" shall be incorporated in any agreement entered into by Producer which transfers in any manner any right, title or license in the product of artist's services or the photoplay. Any such agreement shall further require the transferee to incorporate the provisions of sub-paragraph "A" in any agreement by which such transferee transfers any right, title, interest or license in the product of artist's services and the photoplay.

Without limiting the foregoing, the provisions of sub-paragraph "A" shall be part of each and every license to distribute or exhibit the photoplay.

C. In the event of a breach of this paragraph by Producer, or in the event of a breach of the provisions of sub-paragraph "A" by any transferee of any right, title, interest or license in the product of artist's services or the photoplay, Producer shall within two (2) days after the artist's written notice cause the breach to be terminated or shall cause to be instituted an action for injunction against the further use of the photoplay contrary to the terms hereof. In the event Producer fails timely to take such action, artist shall have the right, in his own name or Producer's name, to institute appropriate proceedings. The parties specifically agree that artist shall in such event be entitled to equitable remedies in addition to his remedies at law. Artist shall be entitled to recover from Producer all costs and expenses which artist may incur in any such action, including legal fees. Any action for the recovery of any such sums may be maintained in the Supreme Court of New York County, pursuant to the Simplified Procedure for the Determination of Dispute Act.

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UNITED STATES AIR FORCE

AIR FORCE SYSTEMS COMMAND

MAJOR PRIME & SUBCONTRACTORS

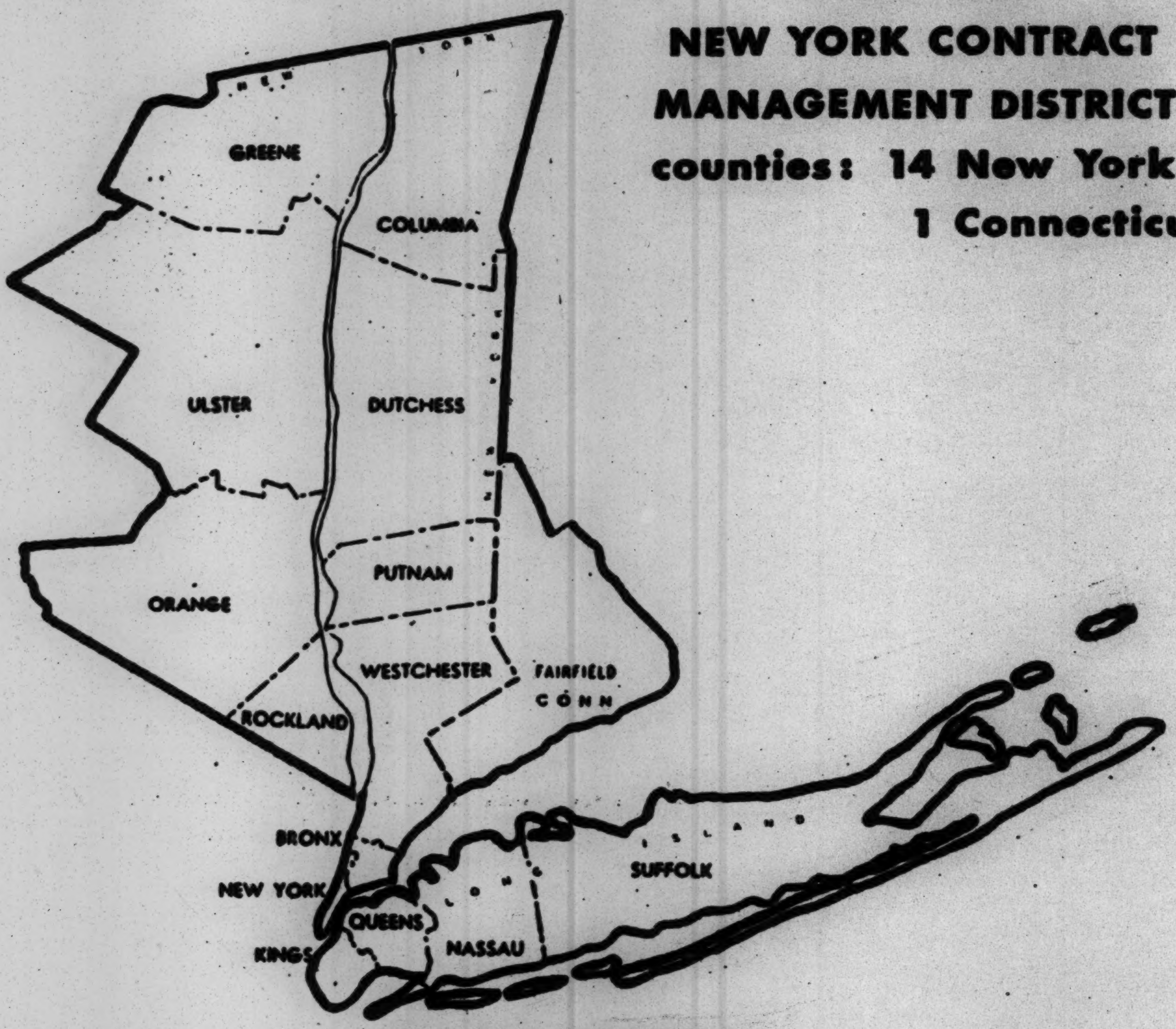
within the

NEW YORK CONTRACT

MANAGEMENT DISTRICT

counties: 14 New York

1 Connecticut


GREENE
COLUMBIA
ULSTER
DUTCHESS
PUTNAM
ORANGE
WESTCHESTER
FAIRFIELD CONN
ROCKLAND
BRONX
NEW YORK
QUEENS
KINGS
NASSAU
SUFFOLK
LONG ISLAND
NEW YORK

NEW YORK

Air Force Contract Management District

EASTERN CONTRACT MANAGEMENT REGION

111 East 16th Street New York 3, New York

SMALL BUSINESS OFFICE

SPRING 7-4200 EXT 690 AND 691

SEPTEMBER 1962

FOREWORD

Policy of the United States Air Force in meeting its material requirements encourages the maximum participation of resourceful and capable small business concerns, both as prime contractors and subcontractors.

This listing of principal Air Force prime contractors and major subcontractors has been prepared by the Small Business Office of this District to provide information on subcontracting opportunities within the New York Contract Management District area. All of the larger contractors shown have instituted the Defense Subcontracting Small Business and Labor Surplus Area Programs. These Programs, which are administered by the District, assure the maximum utilization of small business and labor surplus area concerns as subcontractors.

Your nearest Contract Management District Small Business Office can give you maximum assistance in getting your company listed as a potential supplier to the various Air Force procurement activities, as well as providing additional information on Research and Development, and assistance with regard to subcontracting opportunities.

Robert A. Green
ROBERT A. GREEN
Colonel, USAF
Chief

AIR FORCE CONTRACT MANAGEMENT DISTRICTS (AFCMD)

1. Atlanta AFCMD
Eastern Contract Management Region
41 Exchange Place S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

2. Boston AFCMD
Eastern Contract Management Region
Boston Army Base
Boston 10, Massachusetts

3. Chicago AFCMD
Central Contract Management Region
O'Hare International Airport
P. O. Box 8758
Chicago 66, Illinois

4. Cleveland AFCMD
Central Contract Management Region
113 St. Clair Ave. N.E.
Cleveland 14, Ohio

5. Dallas AFCMD
Central Contract Management Region
500 South Ervay Street
Dallas 1, Texas

6. Dayton AFCMD
Central Contract Management Region
Building 70, Area "C"
Wright-Patterson AF Base, Ohio

7. Detroit AFCMD
Central Contract Management Region
6233 Concord Avenue
Detroit 11, Michigan

8. Indianapolis AFCMD
Central Contract Management Region
2355 South Tibbs Avenue
Indianapolis 41, Indiana

9. Los Angeles AFCMD
Western Contract Management Region
1206 South Maple Avenue
Los Angeles 15, California

10. Milwaukee AFCMD
Central Contract Management Region
770 North Plankinton Avenue
Milwaukee 3, Wisconsin

11. New York AFCMD
Eastern Contract Management Region
111 East 16th Street
New York 3, New York

12. Newark AFCMD
Eastern Contract Management Region
218 Market Street
Newark, New Jersey

13. Ogden AFCMD
Western Contract Management Region
Hill Air Force Base, Utah

14. Orlando AFCMD
Eastern Contract Management Region
Orlando Air Force Base, Florida

15. Philadelphia AFCMD
Eastern Contract Management Region
1411 Walnut Street
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

16. Phoenix AFCMD
Western Contract Management Region
2875 Sky Harbor Boulevard
Phoenix 34, Arizona

17. Rochester AFCMD
Eastern Contract Management Region
317 Child Street
Rochester 11, New York

18. St. Louis AFCMD
Central Contract Management Region
1114 Market Street
St. Louis 1, Missouri

19. San Diego AFCMD
Western Contract Management Region
3054 Rosecrans Place
San Diego 10, California

20. San Francisco AFCMD
Western Contract Management Region
1069 East Meadow Circle
Palo Alto, California

NOTE: These District Offices
Do No Purchasing

PRIME PROCUREMENT ACTIVITIES
(Exclusive of Base Procurement)

AERONAUTICAL SYSTEMS DIVISION (AFSC)
Wright-Patterson Air Force Base
Dayton, Ohio (ASD)

MIDDLETOWN Air Materiel Area (AFLC)
Olmsted Air Force Base
Middletown, Pa. (MAAMA)

MOBILE Air Materiel Area (AFLC)
Brookley Air Force Base
Mobile, Ala. (MOAMA)

OGDEN Air Materiel Area (AFLC)
Hill Air Force Base
Ogden, Utah (OOAMA)

OKLAHOMA CITY Air Materiel Area (AFLC)
Tinker Air Force Base
Oklahoma City, Okla. (OCAMA)

ROME Air Materiel Area (AFLC)
Griffiss Air Force Base
Rome, New York (ROAMA)

SACRAMENTO Air Materiel Area (AFLC)
McClellan Air Force Base
Sacramento, Calif. (SMAMA)

SAN ANTONIO Air Materiel Area (AFLC)
Kelly Air Force Base
San Antonio, Texas (SAAMA)

SAN BERNARDINO Air Materiel Area (AFLC)
Norton Air Force Base
San Bernardino, Calif. (SBAMA)

WARNER ROBINS Air Materiel Area (AFLC)
Robins Air Force Base
Warner Robins, Georgia (WRAMA)

2709th AF VEHICLE CONTROL GROUP (AFLC)
Memphis, Tennessee

Overhaul and repair of aircraft and aircraft engines is performed at the Air Materiel Areas shown below. For further information concerning this type of work, communication should be addressed to the Director of Procurement at each activity or to the Small Business Office at your nearest Air Force Contract Management District.

Middletown Air Materiel Area

Mobile Air Materiel Area

Ogden Air Materiel Area

Oklahoma City Air Materiel Area

Sacramento Air Materiel Area

San Antonio Air Materiel Area

San Bernardino Air Materiel Area

Warner Robins Air Materiel Area

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

(Air Force Systems Command - AFSC)

New York Air Force Contract Management District	Harold F. Stegeland Small Business Specialist(R&D)

The Air Force Systems Command has responsibility for the military space development mission in addition to the complete acquisition programs for all Air Force systems from development, test and production, through installation and check-out. Procurement of aero space technological development and complex weapons systems from the very beginning of development until they are field tested and ready for operational use, is obtained through five (5) major divisions and seven (7) development and test Centers.

Each of the Divisions and Centers listed below has its own particular mission interest in applied research or systems development and each has a procurement office that maintains a specialized source file which lists industrial and scientific organizations qualified to participate in the projects assigned to that particular Division or Center.

Scientific and industrial organizations interested in participating in these programs should obtain source forms (Form 220), together with instructions for completing and filing, at their nearest Air Force Contract Management District Small Business Office.

Headquarters Air Force Systems Command
Andrews Air Force Base, Washington, D.C.

Electronic Systems Division
L.G. Hanscom Field, Mass.

Aeronautical Systems Division
Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio

Ballistic Systems Division
Los Angeles, California

Space Systems Division
Los Angeles, California

Aerospace Medicine Division
Brooks Air Force Base, Texas

Arnold Engineering Development Center
Arnold Air Force Station, Tennessee

Air Force Special Weapons Center
Kirtland Air Force Base, New Mexico

Air Force Flight Test Center
Edwards Air Force Base, California

Air Force Missile Test Center
Patrick Air Force Base, Florida

Air Force Missile Development Center
Holloman Air Force Base, New Mexico

Air Proving Ground Center
Eglin Air Force Base, Forida

Rome Air Development Center
Griffiss Air Force Base, N. Y.

NEW YORK AIR FORCE CONTRACT MANAGEMENT DISTRICT
EASTERN CONTRACT MANAGEMENT REGION
UNITED STATES AIR FORCE
111 East 16th Street
New York 3, New York
SPring 7-4200

Col Robert A. Green Chief, NYAFCMD	Wilbur V. Gould Jr. Chief, Small Business Office	Lt Col Joseph N. Raymond Deputy Chief, NYAFCMD

AIR FORCE CONTRACTORS

COMPANY		PRODUCT OR SERVICE
Adler Electronics, Inc. 1 LeFevre Lane New Rochelle, N. Y.	Tel: New Rochelle 6-1620	Communications Systems, Microwave, Ground Support Systems
Aerial Machine & Tool Corp 38-27 30th Street Long Island City 1, N. Y.	Tel: Ravenswood 9-2425	Parachute Hardware Accessories, Safety Belts, Tie Downs
Aeroflex Laboratory, Inc. 48-25 36th Street Long Island City 1, N. Y.	Tel: Stillwell 4-7000	Camera Mounts, Platforms, Gyros, Computers, Shock and Vibrator Isolators
Aerotec Industries, Inc. Comly Ave. & Pemberwick Rd. Greenwich, Conn.	Tel: Jefferson 1-8400	Aircraft Assemblies, Switches, Disconnects, Selectors, Oxygen Systems
Airborne Instruments Laboratory Division of Cutler-Hammer, Inc. Comac Road Deer Park, N. Y.	Tel: Myrtle 2-6100	Electronics, R&D, Technical Services, Space Technology, Data Systems
Aircraft Controls Div. of Gorn Electric Company, Inc. 845 Main Street Stamford, Conn.	Tel: Fireside 8-7591	Aircraft Pressure Switches and Miniature Electronic Connectors
Aircraft Porous Media, Inc. 30 Sea Cliff Avenue Glen Cove, N. Y.	Tel: Oriole 1-4000	Filters, Pressure and Differential Indicators and Switches
Air-Marine Motors, Inc. East Bethpage Road Plainview, N. Y.	Tel: Chapel 9-4500	Sub-fractional HP Motors, Fans and Blowers
Airponents, Inc. 25 Buena Vista Avenue Lawrence, N. Y.	Tel: Cedarhurst 9-6550	R&O Aircraft Components and Engines

Air Reduction Co., Inc. 150 East 42nd Street New York 17, N. Y.	Tel: Murray Hill 2-6700	Gases or Liquid Gases, Oxygen Acet. Equipment & Welding Supplies
Allied Chemical Corp. 40 Rector Street New York 6, N. Y.	Tel: Hanover 2-7300	Chemicals, Propellants
Allied Control Co., Inc. 2 East End Avenue New York 21, N. Y.	Tel: Butterfield 8-7403	Relays, Switches, Solenoid Valves
American Airlines, Inc. 633 Third Avenue New York 17, N. Y.	Tel: TN 7-1234	Fleet Parts, Aircraft, Servicing
American Bolt & Screw Mfg. Corp. 3350 Lawson Blvd. Oceanside, N. Y.	Tel: Oriole 8-5200	Aircraft Hardware
American Laundry Machine Industries 40 East 34th Street New York 1, N. Y.	Tel: Lehigh 2-5930	Washing Machines
American Machine & Foundry Co. Atlas Division 58 Commerce Road Stamford, Conn.	Tel: 327-2000	Launch Systems, Operating Bases, Aero Space Systems, Radar
American Machine & Foundry Co. Brooklyn Division 5502 Second Avenue Brooklyn 20, N. Y.	Tel: Hyacinth 2-3500	(See above)
American Machine & Foundry Co. Greenwich Engineering Division 11 Bruce Place Greenwich, Conn.	Tel: Normandy 1-7400	(See above)
American Machine & Foundry Co. Titan Production Division 151 South Street Stamford, Conn.	Tel: 327-2000	(See above)
American Time Products Div. of Bulova Watch Co. 61-20 Woodside Avenue Woodside 77, N. Y.	Tel: Newton 9-5700	Test Sets, Timing Instruments, Frequency Standards, Inverters
Amperex Electronic Corp. 230 Duffy Avenue Hicksville, N. Y.	Tel: Wells 1-6200	Electron Tubes, Semiconductors
Amperite Co., Inc. 561 Broadway New York 12, N. Y.	Tel: Canal 6-1446	Resistors, Relays

Anaconda Wire & Cable Co. 25 Broadway New York 4, N. Y.	Tel: Hanover 2-6300	Wire and Cable
Andrea Radio Corp. 27-01 Bridge Plaza North Long Island City 1, N. Y.	Tel: Stillwell 4-5411	Communications Equipment
Applied Research Inc. 76 S. Bayles Avenue Port Washington, N. Y.	Tel: Port Washington 7-8707	Amplifiers, Filters
Arco Electronics, Inc. Community Drive Great Neck, N. Y.	Tel: Hunter 7-0500	Electronic components, Condensers
Arkwin Industries, Inc. 648 Main Street Westbury, N. Y.	Tel: Edgewood 3-2640	Hydraulic and Pneumatic Valves and Equipment
Arma Division American Bosch Arma Corp. Roosevelt Field Garden City, N. Y.	Tel: Pioneer 2-2000	Guidance Systems
Autometric Corp. 1501 Broadway New York 36, N. Y.	Tel: Oxford 5-8600	R&D Photogrammetry, Geodesy, Recon Data Processing & Equipment
Aviators Equipment Corp. 143 Main Street Beacon, N. Y.	Tel: 831-1570	Anti-Exposure Coveralls, Helmets, Inflatable Life Rafts
Avien, Inc. 58-15 Northern Blvd. Woodside 77, N. Y.	Tel: Yellowstone 2-4600	Instrumentation & Controls Fuel Flow, Accoustics, Propulsion Systems
Avon Electrical Supplies, Inc. 145-14 Jamaica Avenue Jamaica 35, N. Y.	Tel: Axtel 7-4040	Wire, Cable and Misc. Electrical
BMC Industries, Inc. 1101 Utica Avenue Brooklyn 3, N. Y.	Tel: Navarre 9-1330	Signal Generators, Thermocouples, Harness Assemblies, Test Sets
The Babcock & Wilcox Co. 161 East 42nd Street New York 17, N. Y.	Tel: Murray Hill 7-6700	Valves
The Barden Corp. 200 Park Avenue Danbury, Conn.	Tel: Pioneer 3-9201	Bearings

Barnes Engineering Co. 30 Commerce Road Stamford, Conn.	Tel: Fireside 8-5381	UltraViolet, Infra-Red & Electro-optic Instruments, Components and Systems
Bassick Company 3045 Fairfield Avenue Bridgeport 5, Conn.	Tel: Forest 6-3671	Wheels, Casters, Fittings, Powdered Metal Parts, Clamps, Fasteners
Belock Instrument Corp. 112-03 14th Avenue College Point 56, N. Y.	Tel: Hickory 5-4200	Simulators, Instruments, Gyros, Stable Platforms, Navigational Computers
Bogart Manufacturing Corp. 315 Siegel Street Brooklyn 6, N. Y.	Tel: Hyacinth 7-4972	Waveguide, Dummy Loads, Switches, Micro Components, Monitors
Boice Gages, Inc. Boice Road Hyde Park, N. Y.	Tel: Capital 9-2171	Gages, Mechanical Missile & Acft Assemblies
Boots Aircraft Nut Corp. Division of Townsend Co. Newtown Turnpike Norwalk, Conn.	Tel: Victor 7-2446	Aircraft Locknuts
Boston Pneumatic, Inc. 365 Arlington Avenue Brooklyn 8, N. Y.	Tel: Midway 7-3838	Pneumatic Tools, Hydraulic Pumps and Motors
Bridgeport Brass Co. Division of Nat'l Distillers & Chemical Corp. 30 Grand Street Bridgeport 2, Conn.	Tel: Edison 4-1182	Tubing, Rod, Bar, Sheet Metal
Bristol Dynamics, Inc. 150 Hinsdale Street Brooklyn 7, N. Y.	Tel: Dickens 6-5300	Aircraft Fittings and Assemblies
Broadway Maintenance Corp. 22-09 Bridge Plaza North Long Island City 1, N. Y.	Tel: Stillwell 6-3700	Installation and Service (Communication Systems)
Dayton T. Brown, Inc. 1305 Strong Road Copiague, N. Y.	Tel: Turner 4-2700	Testing, Sheet Metal Assemblies
Stewart R. Browne Mfg. Co., Inc. 258 Broadway New York 7, N. Y.	Tel: Barclay 7-0610	Flashlights, Portable Explosion - Proof Lights
Bruno-New York Industries Corp. 460 West 34th Street New York 1, N. Y.	Tel: Longacre 4-5930	Communication, Navigation & Test Equipment & Components

Budd Electronics Div. of The Budd Co., Inc. 43-22 Queens Street Long Island City 1, N. Y.	Tel: Exeter 2-5050	Electronics and Environmental Control
Bulova Research & Development Labs 62-10 Woodside Avenue Woodside 77, N. Y.	Tel: Newton 9-5700	R&D and Testing of Ordnance Items and Systems
Bulova Watch Co., Inc. 7520 Astoria Blvd. Jackson Heights, N. Y.	Tel: Defender 5-6000	Watches, Cameras, R&D
CBS Laboratory 227 High Ridge Road Stamford, Conn.	Tel: Davis 5-4321	Electronic Displays, Image Transmission Sys., Acoustics & Magnetics, Tubes, Photosensitive Devices
Capehart Corporation 87-46 123rd Street Richmond Hill 18, N. Y.	Tel: Hickory 1-4400	Audio Amplifiers, Radio Receivers
Cawley Aircraft Supply Co., Inc. 151-04 12th Avenue Whitestone 57, N. Y.	Tel: Hickory 5-2000	Hardware, Fittings, Fasteners, Connectors
Celanese Chemical Company Div. of Celanese Corp. of America 522 Fifth Avenue New York 36, N. Y.	Tel: TN 7-2000	Chemically-Coated Cloth, Alcohol, Chemicals
Central Aviation & Marine Corp. 2125 Smithtown Avenue MacArthur Airport Ronkonkoma, N. Y.	Tel: Juniper 8-7800	Overhaul, Repair, Test and Modification of Aircraft Instruments
Chicago Pneumatic Tool Co. 6 East 44th Street New York 17, N. Y.	Tel: Murray Hill 7-1700	Compressors, Pneumatic & Rock Drill Tools, Equipment, Diesel Engines
Coaxial Components Corp. Subsidiary of Gorn Electric Co. 391 Ludlow Street Stamford, Conn.	Tel: Davis 4-7538	Connectors and Adapters, Cable Assemblies
Computer Instrument Corp. 92 Madison Avenue Hempstead, N. Y.	Tel: Ivanhoe 3-8200	Servometer Products, Potentiometers, Commutators, Telemetering Devices, Pressure Transducers

Consolidated Airborne Systems, Inc. 900 Third Avenue New Hyde Park, N. Y.	Tel: Hunter 8-1606	Aircraft Hardware, Instruments, Test Equipment, Resistors
Consolidated Avionics Corp. 800 Shames Drive Westbury, N. Y.	Tel: Edgewood 4-8400	Repair Kits, Engineering Parts, Transistorized Power Supplies, Automatic Test Equipment
Consolidated Controls Corp. Durant Avenue Bethel, Conn.	Tel: Pioneer 3-6721	Valve Assemblies and Switches, Hydraulic & Pneumatic Components
Consolidated Diesel Electric Corp. 880 Canal Street Stamford, Conn.	Tel: Davis 5-2261	Generator Sets, Runway Sweepers, Tractors and Ground Servicing Equip.
Continental Electronics Corp. 302 Oakland Street Brooklyn 22, N. Y.	Tel: Evergreen 3-3331	Electronic Components, Relays, Switches, Power Supplies, Telephone Equip.
Control Electronics Co. Subsidiary of Paradynamics, Inc. 10 Stepar Place Huntington Station, N. Y.	Tel: Hamilton 7-7961	Delay Lines, Filters, Generators, Trainers, Microwave Power Meters
Control Instrument Division of Burroughs Control Corp. 67 35th Street Brooklyn 32, N. Y.	Tel: Sterling 8-0658	Computers, Simulators, Spares
Cornish Wire Company Div. of General Cable Corp. 50 Church Street New York 7, N. Y.	Tel: Barclay 7-5140	Cord and Cable
Cosmos Industries, Inc. 31-28 Queens Blvd. Long Island City 1, N. Y.	Tel: Exeter 2-3456	Airborne Navagational Equipment, Inertial Guidance Systems
Data & Controls Division Lear Siegler, Inc. 34-01 38th Avenue Long Island City 1, N. Y.	Tel: Exeter 2-5200	Electronics
Davis Aircraft Products, Inc. Scudder & Woodbine Avenues Northport, N. Y.	Tel: Andrews 1-1000	Aeronautical Equipment
Daystrom, Inc. Electric Division 229 Manchester Road Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	Tel: Globe 2-4000	Electrical Electronics, Recording & Controlling Instrumentation

Defense Products Div. General Instruments Corp. 174 Andrews Road Hicksville, N. Y.	Tel: Overbrook 1-4300	Height Set and Recorder, Decoder, Electronics
DeJur-Amsco Corp. 45-01 Northern Blvd. Long Island City 1, N. Y.	Tel: Ravenswood 1-8000	Electronic Components, Photographic
Dero Research & Development Corp. Broadway & Park Avenues Huntington, N. Y.	Tel: Hamilton 3-5757	R&D, Electronics
Dialight Corporation 60 Stewart Avenue Brooklyn 37, N. Y.	Tel: Hyacinth 7-7600	Electrical supplies
Dynamic Electronics Div. Capehart Corporation 87-46 123rd Street Richmond Hill 18, N. Y.	Tel: Hickory 1-4400	Electronics
Dzus Fastener Co., Inc. 125 Union Street West Islip, N. Y.	Tel: Mohawk 9-0494	Self-Locking Aircraft Fasteners
Eastern Air Lines, Inc. 10 Rockefeller Plaza New York 20, N. Y.	Tel: Yukon 6-4500	Airfleet programs
Ecco Electronic Components Corp. 30 Marbledale Road Tuckahoe, N. Y.	Tel: Spencer 9-3300	Connectors, Adapters
Edwards Engineering Co. 21 Yennicock Avenue Port Washington, N. Y.	Tel: Port Washington 7-6700	Tape Recorders
Electric Regulator Corp. Pearl Street Norwalk, Conn.	Tel: Victor 7-2401	Electric Regulators
Electric Specialty Co. Div. of The Electronic Specialty Company 211 South Street Stamford, Conn.	Tel: Fireside 8-6203	Motors, Generators & Motor-Generator Sets
Electric Storage Battery Co. 25 West 43rd Street New York 36, N. Y.	Tel: Bryant 9-8100	Batteries

Electrol, Inc. Subsidiary of Avien, Inc. 85 Grand Street Kingston, N. Y.	Tel: Federal 1-1980	Aircraft Hydraulic Land Struts
Electrospace Corp. 12 Morris Avenue Glen Cove, N. Y.	Tel: Oriole 1-6100	Hermetic Sealing, Electrical & Electronics
Electronic Systems Division Fairchild Stratos Corp. Wyandanch, N. Y.	Tel: Midland 3-7171	Guided Missiles, R&D Special Weapons Components
Enjay Chemical Company 60 West 49th Street New York 19, N. Y.	Tel: Plaza 7-4404	Chemicals
FMC Corporation 633 Third Avenue New York 17, N. Y.	Tel: Murray Hill 7-7400	Chemicals, Propellants
FXR, Inc. 25-26 50th Street Woodside 77, N. Y.	Tel: Ravenswood 1-9000	Radar Components, Microwave & Test Equipment, Modulators, Hi-Voltage
Fairchild Camera & Instrument Corp. 300 Robbins Lane Syosset, N. Y.	Tel: Wells 1-4500	Systems, X-Ray, Gun and Aerial Cameras, Electronic Test Equipment
Fairchild Controls Corp. 225 Park Avenue Hicksville, N. Y.	Tel: Wells 8-5600	Potentiometers, Transducers Accelerometers, Gyros
Farrand Optical Co., Inc. 4401 Bronx Blvd. New York 70, N. Y.	Tel: Fairbanks 4-2200	R&D, Electro-Optical, Tooling, Systems and Instruments
Federal Mfg. & Eng. Corp. 1055 Stewart Avenue Garden City, N. Y.	Tel: CH 8-7400	Electronics, Projectors
Federal Television Corp. 19-10 23rd Terrace Long Island City 5, N. Y.	Tel: Ravenswood 1-3300	Communications Equipment, Electronics
Filtors, Inc. 30 Sagamore Hill Drive Port Washington, N. Y.	Tel: Port Washington 7-8220	Relays
Filtron Company, Inc. 131-15 Fowler Avenue Flushing 55, N. Y.	Tel: Hickory 5-7000	Special Capacitors, Filters, Pulse Components, Delay Lines

Oscar Fisher Co., Inc. South Plank Rd. & 5th Ave. P. O. Box 426 Newburgh, N. Y.	Tel: John 2-3900	Film Processing Equipment
Foil Division Revere Copper & Brass, Inc. 196 Diamond Street Brooklyn 22, N. Y.	Tel: Evergreen 9-5180	Metals and Foils
Ford Instrument Co. Div. of Sperry Rand Corp. 31-10 Thomson Avenue Long Island City 1, N. Y.	Tel: Stillwell 4-9000	Computers, Recon., Guidance & Armament Devices
Frank and Warren, Inc. 57 Front Street Brooklyn 1, N. Y.	Tel: Ulster 8-1950	Aircraft Hardware, Parts Kits
Freed Transformer Co., Inc. 1718 Weirfield Street Brooklyn 27, N. Y.	Tel: Evergreen 6-1300	Transformers, Capacitors, Amplifiers, Convertors, Test Equipment
GPL Div. of General Precision, Inc. 63 Bedford Road Pleasantville, N. Y.	Tel: Rogers 9-5000	Electronics R&D, Doppler Radar Sets, Closed Circuit TV
General Applied Science Laboratories, Inc. Merrick & Stewart Avenues Westbury, N. Y.	Tel: Edgewood 3-6960	R&D in Aerodynamics and Propulsions, Electronics, Aero-Space Technology
General Bronze Corp. 711 Stewart Avenue Garden City, N. Y.	Tel: Pioneer 1-4400	Metal Products, R&D
General Chemical Division Allied Chemical Corp. 40 Rector Street New York 6, N. Y.	Tel: Hanover 2-7300	Chemicals and Propellants
General Electric Co. 1285 Boston Avenue Bridgeport 2, Conn.	Tel: Edison 4-1012	Cable
General Microwave Corp. 155 Marine Street Farmingdale, N. Y.	Tel: Myrtle 4-3600	Electronics
General Telephone & Electronics Laboratories, Inc. 208-20 Willets Point Blvd. Bayside 60, N. Y.	Tel: Bayside 5-5000	R&D, Services
Goerz, C.P., American Optical Co. 461 Doughty Blvd. Inwood 96, N. Y.	Tel: Cedarhurst 9-8700	Photo Lenses and Lens Assembly

Grumman Aircraft Engineering Corp. Bethpage, N. Y.	Tel: LR 5-0574	Truck Bodies, Trailers, Extrusions
Habirshaw Wire & Cable Division Phelps Dodge Copper Products 300 Park Avenue New York 22, N. Y.	Tel: Plaza 1-3200	Reels, Wire, Cable, Fittings
Halsey X-Ray Products, Inc. 1425 37th Street Brooklyn 18, N. Y.	Tel: Gedney 6-1700	Film Processing and X-Ray Equipment
Hammarlund Mfg. Co., Inc. 53 West 23rd Street New York 10, N. Y.	Tel: Yukon 9-2200	Precision Electronic Equip., Communication Receivers, Variable Capacitors
John Hassall, Inc. Cantiague Road P. O. Box 366 Westbury, N. Y.	Tel: Edgewood 4-6200	Pins, Rivets, Nails, Threaded & Cold-Headed Products
Hazeltine Electronics Division Hazeltine Corporation 59-25 Little Neck Parkway Little Neck 62, N. Y.	Tel: Faculty 1-2300	Electronic Equipment & Systems, R&D
The Heim Company 46 Sanford Street Fairfield, Conn.	Tel: Clearwater 9-5254	Spherical, Rod-End and Ball Bearings
Heli-Coil Corporation Shelter Rock Lane Danbury, Conn.	Tel: Pioneer 3-7651	Helicalcoil Screw Thread Inserts and Tools
Heliparts, Inc. P. O. Box 131 Fairfield, Conn.	Tel: CL 6-0035	Helicopter and Light Acft Parts & Components
Henry Products Company 842 Rockaway Avenue Brooklyn 12, N. Y.	Tel: Dickens 6-3040	Antennas, Assemblies, Cable Storage Reel, Machine Products
Hermetic Aircraft Instrument Corp. 12 Morris Avenue Glen Cove, N. Y.	Tel: Oriole 1-6363	Overhaul & Repair Acft Instruments
Homelite Corp. Div. of Textron 70 Riverdale Avenue Port Chester, N. Y.	Tel: Westmore 9-3400	Generators

S. S. Hunter, Inc. Engineers Hill Plainview, N. Y.	Tel: Wells 1-7100	R&D and Production Missile Check-out Sys., Overhaul of Instruments
Huron Metal Products 120 Clay Street Brooklyn 22, N. Y.	Tel: Evergreen 9-2800	Ground Support Equipment
Huyck Systems Company Div. of Huyck Corp. 360 Wolf Hill Road Huntington Station, N. Y.	Tel: Hamilton 7-7500	R&D, Computers
Hydra Power Corporation 10-12 Pine Court New Rochelle, N. Y.	Tel: New Rochelle 2-2200	Hydraulic & Pneumatic Control Valves, Actuators and Servos
IMC Magnetics Corporation Eastern Division 570 Main Street Westbury, N. Y.	Tel: Edgewood 4-7070	Electric Motors & Parts
Industrial Acoustics Co., Inc. 341 Jackson Avenue New York 54, N. Y.	Tel: Cypress 2-0180	Noise Suppressors, Ground Mufflers, Thrust Indicators & Meters
Inflated Products Co., Inc. 1 River Street Beacon, N. Y.	Tel: 831-3028	Aircraft Lifting Bags
Instrument Associates 351 Great Neck Road Great Neck, N. Y.	Tel: Hunter 2-9300	Repair Aircraft Instruments and Accessories
Instruments for Industry, Inc. 101 New South Road Hicksville, N. Y.	Tel: Overbrook 1-7100	R&D, Communication and Navigation Test Equip., Radar, Amplifiers
Integral Corporation 100 Frank Road Hicksville, N. Y.	Tel: Wells 1-4095	Hydraulic Components & Assemblies, Check Valves
Intercontinental Electronics Corp. 300 Shames Drive Westbury, N. Y.	Tel: Edgewood 4-8300	Electronic Equipment, R&D, Services
International Business Machines Corp. South Road Poughkeepsie, N. Y.	Tel: GL 4-1000	Data Processing Machines, Services
International Business Machines Corp. Federal Systems Division Neighborhood Road Kingston, N. Y.	Tel: Federal 8-5000	Ground Based Electronic Equipment

International Electric Industries, Inc. 14 Suffolk Street Freeport, N. Y.	Tel: Mayfair 3-3311	Modification Kits, Cord Assemblies, Cable, Harness, Connectors, Extensions
International Fermont, Inc. Subsidiary of Dynamics Corp. of America P. O. Box 539 Suffern, N. Y.	Tel: Sloatsburg 3-2791	Sweepers, Generator Sets, Specialized Vehicles
International Telephone & Telegraph Corp. 320 Park Avenue New York 22, N. Y.	Tel: Plaza 2-6000	Services
Julie Research Labs., Inc. 603 West 130th Street New York 27, N. Y.	Tel: Audubon 6-9200	Precision Resistors, Test Equipment
Kenyon Instrument Co., Inc. P. O. Box 355 - Route 22 Brewster, N. Y.	Tel: Brewster 9-3771	Pneumatic & Fuel System Valves and Gauges
Keystone Bolt & Nut Corp. 125 Church Street New York 7, N. Y.	Tel: Worth 4-4600	Screws, Bolts, Nuts, Washers, Rivets, Anchors, Fasteners
Kieley-Mueller, Inc. 64 Genung Street Middletown, N. Y.	Tel: Diamond 2-2526	Valves
Kings Electronics Co., Inc. 40 Marbledale Road Tuckahoe, N. Y.	Tel: Swiftwater 3-5000	Coaxial Connectors, RF Plugs, Microwave, Components
Kings Point Industries, Inc. 307 Fifth Avenue New York 16, N. Y.	Tel: Murray Hill 4-0810	Straps, Slings, Aerial Delivery Equipment
Kollsman Instrument Corp. 80-08 45th Avenue Elmhurst 73, N. Y.	Tel: Twining 9-5600	Flight Instrumentation & Controls, Astro Trackers & Compasses, Air Data Computers
Korfund Company, Inc. Cantiague Road Westbury, N. Y.	Tel: Edgewood 3-7580	Shock Mounts
Kulka Electric Corp. 633 S. Fulton Avenue Mt. Vernon, N. Y.	Tel: MO 4-4024	Switches and Terminal Boards

Lamtex Industries Motor Avenue Farmingdale, N. Y.	Tel: Myrtle 4-2000	Fiberglass Rocket Engine Cases & Insulation, Piping, Pressure Vessels
Lawrence Aviation Industries, Inc. Sheep Pasture Road Port Jefferson Sta., N. Y.	Tel: HR 3-1800	Repair & Overhaul, Hydraulic & Mechanical, Superchargers, Acft Exhaust Sys
Leesona Moos Laboratory Div. of Leesona Corp. 90-28 Van Wyck Expressway Jamaica 18, N. Y.	Tel: Axtel 7-4400	Test and Services
Linde Company Div. of Union Carbide Corp. 270 Park Avenue New York 17, N. Y.	Tel: LL 1-2345	Oxygen, Gas Cylinders, Regulators
Lionel Electronic Laboratories, Inc. 1226-38 Flushing Avenue Brooklyn 37, N. Y.	Tel: Evergreen 6-5715	Electron Tubes, Radiation & Neutron Detectors, Potentiometers, Nuclear Instruments, Connectors
The Liquidometer Corp. 41-03 36th Street Long Island City 1, N. Y.	Tel: Stillwell 4-1440	Liquid Levels, Indicating Systems, Electronic Fuel Gauges
Litton Industries, Inc. 226 East 3rd Street Mt. Vernon, N. Y.	Tel: MO 7-6607	Variable Resistors, Potentiometers
Lockheed Aircraft Service-New York, Inc. New York International Airport Jamaica 30, N. Y.	Tel: Olympia 6-5130	Service Aircraft
Loral Electronics Corp. 825 Bronx River Avenue New York 72, N. Y.	Tel: Tivoli 2-9500	Radar Systems, Electronics
Lundy Electronics & Systems, Inc. Roberts Lane Glen Head, N. Y.	Tel: Oriole 6-1440	Electro-Mech. Devices, Counter-Measure System, Intervolometers
Lycoming Division Avco Manufacturing Co. 550 S. Main Street Stratford, Conn.	Tel: Drexel 8-8211	Aircraft Engines, Nose Cones
McGraw-Hill Publishing Co. Technical Writing Service Div. 330 West 42nd Street New York 36, N. Y.	Tel: LO 4-3000	Tech Manual Publications, Technical Reports

Machlett Laboratories, Inc. Div. of Raytheon Company 1060 Hope Street Springdale, Conn.	Tel: Fireside 8-7511	Electron Tubes
Magnetic Amplifiers (See Data and Controls Div.) 632 Tinton Avenue New York 55, N. Y.	Tel: Cypress 2-6610	Amplifiers, Power Supplies, Generators, Static Inverters & Convertors
Magnetic Instrument Co., Inc. 637 Commerce Street Thornwood, N. Y.	Tel: Rogers 9-5312	Indicator, Convertor
Manning, Maxwell & Moore, Inc. 250 East Main Street Stratford, Conn.	Tel: Drexel 8-8281	Dials, Gauges, Thermometers
Manson Laboratories, Inc. Subsidiary of Hallicrafters Co. 375 Fairfield Avenue Stamford, Conn.	Tel: Davis 5-1391	Communication & High Power Equipment
Marine View Electronics, Inc. 88-06 Van Wyck Expressway Jamaica 18, N. Y.	Tel: Axtel 7-6900	Electronics
Markite Corporation 155 Waverly Place New York 14, N. Y.	Tel: Oregon 5-1384	Precision Potentiometers, R&D
Materials Research Corp. Route 303 Orangeburg, N. Y.	Tel: Elmwood 9-4200	Special Research Equip., Materials Research, High Purity Materials
J. A. Maurer, Inc. 37-01 31st Street Long Island City 1, N. Y.	Tel: Stillwell 4-4600	Camera & Sound Equipment, Electronic & Optical, R&D
Maxson Electronics Corp. 475 Tenth Avenue New York 18, N. Y.	Tel: LO 5-1900	Electronics, Computers, Communications, Navigation & Guidance Sys.
The Mearl Corporation 217 N. Highland Avenue Ossining, N. Y.	Tel: Wilson 1-7450	Fire Extinguisher Foam
Mergenthaler Linotype Co. 29 Ryerson Street Brooklyn 5, N. Y.	Tel: Ulster 5-0300	Bombsights, Computers
Microphase Corporation 35 River Road Cos Cob, Conn.	Tel: Normandy 1-6200	Filters, Multiplexers, Solid-State and R&D

Midway Electric Supply Co., Inc. 115 West 83rd Street New York 24, N. Y.	Tel: Susquehanna 7-2200	Misc. Electric Lighting Fixtures
Moeller Instrument Company Thermometer Division 132-02 89th Avenue Richmond Hill 18, N. Y.	Tel: Virginia 9-2100	Thermometers, Psychrometers, Hydrometers
Morganite, Inc. 33-02 48th Avenue Long Island City 1, N. Y.	Tel: Stillwell 4-3222	Commutator Brushes, Carbon Products
Munston Electronic Mfg. Corp. 1 Beech Street Islip, N. Y.	Tel: Juniper 1-3900	Communications Equipment, Services
Narda Microwave Corp. Plainview, N. Y.	Tel: GE 3-9000	Microwave Equipment
Nash Engineering Co. Wilson Road South Norwalk, Conn.	Tel: Volunteer 6-3351	Fuel Booster, In-Flight Refueling Pumps, Heating Pumps, Valves
National Carbon Company Div. of Union Carbide Corp. 270 Park Avenue New York 17, N. Y.	Tel: LL 1-2345	R&D
National Electric Instrument Div. Englehard Hanovia, Inc. 92-21 Corona Avenue Elmhurst 73, N. Y.	Tel: Havemeyer 9-2890	Precision Electrical, Optical & Mechanical Devices
National Resistance Corp. 56 Walter Street Pearl River, N. Y.	Tel: Pearl River 5-4824	Resistors
Neptune Electronics Co. 30 West 15th Street New York 11, N. Y.	Tel: Chelsea 3-8130	Resistors, Control, Test Sets, Terminal Boxes, Connectors, Antennas
Neptune Meter Company Eastern District Sales & Service 47-25 34th Street Long Island City 1, N. Y.	Tel: Stillwell 6-1116	Refueling Equipment, Liquid Meters
Norden Division United Aircraft Corp. Helen Street Norwalk, Conn.	Tel: Temple 8-4471	Aircraft Instruments & Controls, Electronics

Norma-Hoffmann Bearing Corp. Hamilton Avenue Stamford, Conn.	Tel: Fireside 8-3731	Ball, Roller & Thrust Bearings
North American Philips Co., Inc. 525 West 52nd Street New York 19, N. Y.	Tel: Oxford 7-3600	Medical and Dental X-Ray Equipment
Northern Radio Co., Inc. 147 West 22nd Street New York 11, N. Y.	Tel: Watkins 9-9117	Electronics
Ohm Wire and Cable Corp. 851 Liberty Avenue Brooklyn 8, N. Y.	Tel: Midway 7-2354	Cable
Olin Mathieson Chemical Corp. Metals Division - Aluminum Sales 460 Park Avenue New York 22, N. Y.	Tel: Plaza 1-7227	Aluminum Alloy
Olympic Radio & Television (See Data and Controls Div.) 34-01 38th Avenue Long Island City 1, N. Y.	Tel: Exeter 2-5200	Electronics, Meteorologic Equipment
Optomechanisms, Inc. Engineers Hill Plainview, N. Y.	Tel: GE 3-8100	Photometric Devices, Film Processors, Fiber Optic Applications
Otis Elevator Company Defense & Industrial Div. 35 Ryerson Street Brooklyn 5, N. Y.	Tel: Ulster 5-6800	Design, Develop & Test Electronic Systems, GSE Simulators
Ozone Metal Products Corp. 101-32 101st Street Ozone Park 16, N. Y.	Tel: Virginia 6-3300	Hydraulic, Pneumatic & Electronic Systems & Components
PRD Electronics, Inc. 202 Tillary Street Brooklyn 1, N. Y.	Tel: Ulster 2-6800	Wavemeters, Microwave, Electronic Test Equipment
Pan American-Grace Airways 135 East 42nd Street New York 17, N. Y.	Tel: Oxford 7-6300	Services
Pan American World Airways 135 East 42nd Street New York 17, N. Y.	Tel: Oxford 7-6300	Services

Pax Electronics Company 48-67 58th Street Woodside 77, N. Y.	Tel: Olympia 1-2100	Telephone Equip., Relays, Power Supplies, Transformers & Spare Parts
Peerless Instrument Co., Inc. 90-15 Corona Avenue Elmhurst 73, N. Y.	Tel: Hickory 6-1100	Aircraft Cameras, Electro-Mechanical
Perkin-Elmer Corporation Main Avenue, Route 7 Norwalk, Conn.	Tel: Victor 7-0420	Aerial Lens, Lens Assemblies, Optics & Optical Systems
Phelps Dodge Copper Products Corp. 300 Park Avenue New York, N. Y.	Tel: Plaza 1-3200	Pipe & Tube, Wire & Cable, Extruded Shapes, Connectors
Philips Electronics Instruments Div. of North American Philips Co. 750 S. Fulton Avenue Mount Vernon, N. Y.	Tel: MO 4-4500	Industrial X-Ray Equipment
Philips Laboratories Div. of North American Philips Co. Irvington-on-Hudson, N. Y.	Tel: Lyric 1-8400	Research
Phoenix Speciality Mfg.Co., Inc. 971 Stewart Avenue Garden City, N. Y.	Tel: Pioneer 1-8120	Gaskets and Washers
Pitometer Log Corporation 202 East 44th Street New York 17, N. Y.	Tel: Murray Hill 2-7872	Radar Test Sets, Electro-Mechanical, Oscillators, Instruments & Controls
Polarad Electronics Corp. 43-20 34th Street Long Island City 1, N. Y.	Tel: Exeter 2-4500	Signal Generators, Test Equipment, Electronic Systems & Components
Polycast Corporation 69 Southfield Avenue Stamford, Conn.	Tel: Davis 5-2644	Plastics
Potter Instrument Co. Sunnyside Blvd. Plainview, N. Y.	Tel: Overbrook 1-3200	Tape Readers, High Speed Printers, Tape Handlers
Premier Microwave Corp. 33 New Broad Street Port Chester, N. Y.	Tel: Westmore 9-8900	Waveguides
REF Dynamics Corporation 393 Jericho Turnpike Mineola, N. Y.	Tel: Pioneer 2-8400	Metal & Plastic Fabrication, Acft Galleys, Hydraulics and GSE

RCA Communications, Inc. 66 Broad Street New York 4, N. Y.	Tel: 363-4141	Communication Service
Radio Engineering Labs, Inc. Div. of Dynamics Corp. of America 29-01 Borden Avenue Long Island City 1, N. Y.	Tel: Stillwell 6-2100	Communications, Transceivers, Freq. Mod., Transformers
Radio Receptor Company Subsidiary of General Instrument Co. Andrews Road Hicksville, N. Y.	Tel: Overbrook 1-4300	Electronics, Radar Systems, Indicator Assemblies
The Rainier Co., Inc. 86 Magnolia Avenue Westbury, N. Y.	Tel: Edgewood 4-6222	Indicators, Controls, Misc. Electronics
Rapid Electric Co., Inc. 2881 Middletown Road New York 61, N. Y.	Tel: TA 8-2200	Power Supplies, Transformers
Recordak Corporation Div. of Eastman Kodak Corp. 770 Broadway New York 3, N. Y.	Tel: Spring 7-0110	Microphotographic Equip, Film Supplies & Services
Reeves Instrument Corp. East Gate Blvd. - Roosevelt Field Garden City, N. Y.	Tel: Pioneer 6-8100	Radar & Communication Equipment
Reflectone Electronics, Inc. Post Road Stamford, Conn.	Tel: Davis 5-2251	Aircraft Navigational Trainers, R&D, Systems
Remington Arms Co., Inc. 939 Barnum Avenue Bridgeport 2, Conn.	Tel: Edison 3-1112	Power Tools, Small Arms & Ammunition, Clay Targets & Traps, Kits
Reon Resistor Corp. 155 Saw Mill River Road Yonkers, N. Y.	Tel: Yonkers 5-9850	Resistors, Potentiometers
Republic Aviation Corp. Farmingdale, N. Y.	Tel: Chapel 9-1100	Aircraft, R&D, Space & Missile Systems
Republic Electronic Industries Corp. 575 Broad Hollow Road Huntington, N. Y.	Tel: Chapel 9-1414	GSE Test Equipment, Electronic Equipment, Audio Frequency
Revere Copper & Brass, Inc. 230 Park Avenue New York, N. Y.	Tel: Yukon 6-3100	Metals, R&D, Services

Richardson-Allen Division Kollsman Instrument Corp. 116-15 15th Avenue College Point 56, N. Y.	Tel: Flushing 3-2828	Rectifying Equipment, Battery Chargers
Roanwell Corporation 180 Varick Street New York 14, N. Y.	Tel: Yukon 9-1090	Communication Headsets
Roberts & Schaefer Co., Inc. 254 West 54th Street New York 19, N. Y.	Tel: Plaza 7-5017	A&E Services
Rotron Manufacturing Co., Inc. 7-9 Hasbrouck Lane Woodstock, N. Y.	Tel: Oriole 9-2401	Fans and Blowers
SMS Instruments, Inc. New York International Airport Jamaica 30, N. Y.	Tel: Olympia 6-5678	Aircraft Instruments & Accessories, Superchargers, Jet Components, Services
Schaffer Air Industries, Inc. 290 North Henry Street Brooklyn 22, N. Y.	Tel: Evergreen 3-5300	Tester, Ground Support Equipment
A. Schrader's Son Division Scovill Mfg. Co., Inc. 470 Vanderbilt Avenue Brooklyn 38, N. Y.	Tel: Nevins 8-4000	Tire Valve Products, Surface & Acft and Air Air Control Products
Seaboard Electronic Corp. 417 Canal Street New York 13, N. Y.	Tel: Worth 6-4060	Acft Keyers, Timers, Signal Simulators, Solid State Electronics, Generators
Sensitive Research Instrument Corp. 310 Main Street New Rochelle, N. Y.	Tel: Beverly 5-2300	Electrical Indicating Instruments, Measuring Standards
Servo Corp. of America 111 New South Road Hicksville, N. Y.	Tel: Wells 8-9700	Servo Units, Radar Components, Electronics, Systems
Shell Chemical Company Div. of Shell Oil Co. 110 West 51st Street New York, N. Y.	Tel: Judson 6-5060	Chemicals, Brake Fluids, Lacquers
Shell Oil Company 50 West 50th Street New York 20, N. Y.	Tel: Judson 6-5000	Fuels, Aviation Lubricants

Sikorsky Aircraft Division United Aircraft Corporation Main Street Stratford, Conn.	Tel: Drexel 8-6361	Helicopters
Simmonds Precision Products, Inc. 105 White Plains Road Tarrytown, N. Y.	Tel: Medford 1-7500	R&D, Hydro & Electro-Mechanical, Instruments and Equipment
Skydyne, Inc. River Road Port Jervis, N. Y.	Tel: 856-5241	R&D, Molded Fiberglass, Test Benches
J & H Smith Mfg. Co. Little Britain Road Newburgh, N. Y.	Tel: John 1-8800	Antenna, Sub-Assemblies
Sonotone Corporation Box 200 Saw Mill River Road Elmsford, N. Y.	Tel: Lyric 2-9600	Batteries & Chargers, Tubes, Kits, Microphones & Headsets, Power Supplies
Sorensen, A Unit of Raytheon Co. Richards Avenue S. Norwalk, Conn.	Tel: Temple 8-6571	AC Regulators, DC Power Supplies, Kits, Converters, Inverters, Frequency Changers
Henry Spen & Co., Inc. 1982 Pitkin Avenue Brooklyn 7, N. Y.	Tel: Dickens 2-3145	Trailers, Cround Support Equipment, Data
Sperry Gyroscope Company Div. of Sperry Rand Corp. Great Neck, N. Y.	Tel: LR 4-0111	Aircraft Instruments, Computers, Gyros, Guidance
Sperry Products Division Automation Industries, Inc. Shelter Rock Road Danbury, Conn.	Tel: Pioneer 8-3581	Electronic Non-Destructive Test Equipment & Services
Standair, Inc. Div. of Standard Aircraft Equipment Co., Inc. 250 Merritt Road Farmingdale, N. Y.	Tel: Myrtle 4-5070	Acft Instrument Overhaul, Carburetors, Fuel Metering & Engine Accessories
M. Steinthal & Co., Inc. 235 East 42nd Street New York, N. Y.	Tel: TN 7-4300	Parachute, Assemblies, Chute Parts, Canopies
Stelma, Inc. 200 Henry Street Stamford, Conn.	Tel: Davis 5-4161	Electronics, Telecommunications, Data Processing

Sterling Instrument Division Designationics, Inc. 76 East 2nd Street Mineola, N. Y.	Tel: Pioneer 1-7070	Computers, Antennas, Gear Trains
Stewart Avionics, Inc. 1785 East New York Ave. Brooklyn 7, N. Y.	Tel: Dickens 5-2010	Trailers, Ground Support & Test Equipment
Stratos Division Fairchild Stratos Corp. Orinoco Drive Bay Shore, N. Y.	Tel: Mohawk 5-0100	Environmental Control Sys, Air Cooling Devices, Grd Support & Low Pressure Pneumatic Equip.
Sylvania Electric Products, Inc. Sylcor Division Cantiague Road Hicksville, N. Y.	Tel: Wells 1-3500	Nuclear Fuel Elements, Custom Metallurgy
Sylvania Electric Products Co., Inc. 730 Third Avenue New York 17, N. Y.	Tel: Judson 6-2424	Electron Tubes
Systems Associates, Inc. 90 New York Avenue North Halesite, N. Y.	Tel: Hamilton 3-4442	R&D, Camera Shutters, Photographic Equip.
TRG, Incorporated 2 Aerial Way Syosset, N. Y.	Tel: Overbrook 1-6900	R&D, Engineering, Production & Field Services
Taffet Electronics, Inc. 27-05 Brooklyn Queens Expressway Woodside, N. Y.	Tel: Ravenswood 1-3500	Electronic & Test Equipment
The Technical Material Corp. 700 Fenimore Road Mamaroneck, N. Y.	Tel: Owens 8-4800	Electronics
Telectro Industries Corp. 35-16 37th Street Long Island City 1, N. Y.	Tel: Yellowstone 2-8600	Tape Recording Equip., Signal Generators, Modulators, Testers, Lab Equipment
Telemet Manufacturing Co. 185 Dixon Avenue Amityville, N. Y.	Tel: Lincoln 1-3600	Recorders, TV Components Color
Telephonics Corporation 770 Park Avenue Huntington, N. Y.	Tel: Hamilton 3-6200	Headsets, Microphones, Electronics, Airborne Intercom Systems

Tele-Signal Corporation 198 Miller Place Hicksville, N. Y.	Tel: Wells 8-7110	Transistorized Telegraph Terminal Equipment
Tensor Electric Development Co., Inc. 1873 Eastern Parkway Brooklyn 33, N. Y.	Tel: Hyacinth 5-9200	Transformers, Connectors
Texaco, Inc. 135 East 42nd Street New York 17, N. Y.	Tel: Oxford 7-8000	Propellant, R&D
Tippetts, Abbett, McCarthy, Stratton 375 Park Avenue New York 22, N. Y.	Tel: Plaza 5-2000	Architectural and Engineering Services
Trak Electronics Co., Inc. 59 Danbury Road Wilton, Conn.	Tel: Porter 2-5521	R&D, Panoramic Receivers, Jammers, Microwave, Multicouplers, Code Converters and Translators
Transdyne Corporation 43 Albertson Avenue Albertson, N. Y.	Tel: Pioneer 1-4990	Communications, ECM, Electronic Display, Optics & Test Equipment
Trio Chemical Works, Inc. 341 Scholes Street Brooklyn 6, N. Y.	Tel: Hyacinth 7-3595	Chemical Solvents
Albert Turner & Co., Inc. 149 Fifth Avenue New York 10, N. Y.	Tel: Algonquin 4-4969	Flight Clothing, Equipage
Union Carbide Corporation 270 Park Avenue New York 17, N. Y.	Tel: LL 1-2345	Metals, Chemicals, R&D
United Nuclear Corporation NDA Division 5 New Street White Plains, N. Y.	Tel: White Plains 8-5800	Heat Transfer, Fluid Flow, Rigid Metals, Radiation Shielding
United Transformer Corp. 150 Varick Street New York 13, N. Y.	Tel: Algonquin 5-3500	Transformers
Vacuum Electronic Mfg. Corp. Terminal Drive Plainview, N. Y.	Tel: Overbrook 1-8300	Detectors
Vanguard Military Equipment Co. 36 East 31st Street New York 16, N. Y.	Tel: Murray Hill 3-6112	Insignia

Vector Plastics Corporation 1275 Marconi Blvd. Copiague, N. Y.	Tel: Amityville 4-2400	Plastics, Antennas, Radomes, Sonar, Engineering & Design
Viewlex, Inc. 17 Broadway Holbrook, N. Y.	Tel: LT 9-6600	Viewers, Cameras, Kits, Audio Visual
Vitro Engineering Company Div. of Vitro Corp. of America 100 Church Street New York 7, N. Y.	Tel: Beekman 3-8800	Services
Volt Technical Corporation 241 Church Street New York 13, N. Y.	Tel: Worth 6-0708	Technical Handbooks
Warner & Swasey Company Control Instrument Div. 32-16 Downing Street Flushing 54, N. Y.	Tel: Inwood 1-4200	R&D
Western Electric Co., Inc. 222 Broadway New York, N. Y.	Tel: 571-2345	Electronic Defense Systems
Western Electric Co., Inc. Defense Projects 220 Church Street New York, N. Y.	Tel: Worth 4-5400	
Western Union Telegraph Co. Government & Contract Services Div. 60 Hudson Street New York 13, N. Y.	Tel: Worth 2-7300	Communications Equipment
Westrex Corporation Div. of Litton Industries 540 West 58th Street New York 19, N. Y.	Tel: Judson 2-3030	Facsimile Equipment and Parts, Electronics, Systems, Engineering and Management
The S. S. White Dental Mfg. Co. 220 West 42nd Street New York 36, N. Y.	Tel: Wisconsin 7-9080	Dental Equipment and Supplies
Worthy Chemical, Inc. 47th Street & Second Ave. Brooklyn 32, N. Y.	Tel: Hyacinth 2-3300	Chemicals
Yardney Electric Company 40 Leonard Street New York 13, N. Y.	Tel: Worth 6-3100	Batteries, Kits

HAROLD T. HUNTON
CHIEF, EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

NEW YORK AIR FORCE
CONTRACT MANAGEMENT DISTRICT

SPRING 7-4200
EXT. 774

111 EAST 16TH STREET
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM FROM:

MR. HAROLD T. HUNTON

N. Y. CONTRACT MANAGEMENT DISTRICT

MAR 2 1 1963

3/19/63

Norman -

Attached is a kit of materials describing the Air Force program + a list of contractors we usually do business with.

I would like to get more information about the situation described at Republic Aviation Corporation. Could you put me in touch with someone or suggest they call me?

(over)

Lets keep in touch

As I develop new material
I'll send them along.

Regards
Hal Hunton

front

INSTRUCTIONS
STANDARD FORMS 40 AND 40–A
DECEMBER 1961
THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON
EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
41 CFR CH. 60

COMPLIANCE REPORT

Nondiscrimination Provisions of U.S. Government Contracts

INSTRUCTIONS

1. General.

a. Executive Order 10925, and the rules and regulations promulgated pursuant thereto, require that each contractor subject to the Order shall file and cause each of its subcontractors or vendors to file compliance reports with the contracting agency or the Committee.

b. Each prime contractor and first-tier subcontractor subject to the Order who has a contract, subcontract, or purchase order for $50,000 or more (or $100,000 or more if solely for standard commercial supplies and raw materials) *and* who also has 50 or more employees shall file compliance reports. In the event a prime contractor or first-tier subcontractor is a multi-establishment company, a separate compliance report shall be filed for *each* reporting unit of the company where any work is being or is to be performed under any Government contract during the current reporting period and for the principal office of the company. The Executive Vice Chairman may, by order, require that reports also be filed for any other establishment where such establishment is reasonably related to the work to be performed under a Government contract by a prime contractor or a first-tier subcontactor, when he finds that such additional compliance reports are necessary or appropriate to the administration of the Order. A compliance report need not be filed for a reporting unit located outside the limits of the United States when no recruitment of workers within the limits of the United States is involved.

c. The filing of the "Plans for Progress" reports (Budget Bureau No. 44–R1174) will be accepted as a compliance report in lieu of this report form. However, this alternative does not relieve such contractors from obtaining compliance reports from their first-tier subcontractors not participating in the "Plans for Progress" program.

d. Prime contractors and first-tier subcontractors having contracts, subcontracts, or purchase orders for construction, repair, alteration, and utilities shall not use this compliance report form in connection with such activities. Special compliance report forms, provided for such activities, shall be filed in accordance with the instructions applicable thereto.

e. For the purpose of simplified administration, all completed compliance reports shall be submitted in duplicate directly to the Committee (at the address given at the top of the report form). The Committee shall retain one copy and furnish the predominant interest agency with the other copy.

2. Definitions.

a. "Order" means Executive Order 10925, dated March 6, 1961.

b. "Committee" means the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity established under the provisions of Executive Order 10925, dated March 6, 1961.

c. "Prime contractor" means any contractor having an agreement or holding a purchase order with the Government.

d. "First-tier subcontractor" means any contractor having an agreement or holding a purchase order with a Government prime contractor calling for supplies or services required for the performance of a Government prime contract.

e. "Contracting agency" means any department (including the Departments of the Army, Navy, and Air Force), agency and establishment in the executive branch of the Government, including any wholly-owned Government corporation, which enters into contracts.

f. "BOASI" means the U.S. Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance.

g. "OASDI" means Old-Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance.

h. "Reporting unit" shall be defined as provided for under the BOASI Establishment Reporting Plan. It generally means a single establishment (a single place of business) of a company, or a group of establishments of a company in the same kind of business and in the same city or county. [A copy of the "Establishment Reporting Plan (A Statement for the Use of the Employer)," Inst. OAA–5019, may be obtained from the nearest district office of the Social Security Administration or from the Committee.]

i. "Employer identification number" means the number which each legal entity has been assigned on the basis of the application (Form SS–4) for an identification number under the OASDI program. This number, together with the reporting unit number when applicable, shall be used on all reports and communications of the contractor concerning the nondiscrimination provisions of U.S. Government contracts.

j. "Reporting unit number" means the number assigned to the reporting units of those multi-establishment companies which participate in the BOASI Establishment Reporting Plan. Single-establishment firms shall use the numeral 1 as their reporting unit number. Multi-establishment companies not participating in the Establishment Reporting Plan shall assign a reporting unit number of four or less numerical digits to each reporting unit of the company.

k. "Principal office of the company" means the central administrative office of the legal entity (corporation, partnership, or single proprietorship) regardless of affiliation, stock ownership, or control.

l. "Predominant interest agency" means that contracting agency having the largest aggregate dollar value of contracts with a prime contractor at the time of filing the compliance report. Such agency shall be deemed to have jurisdiction for the administration of the nondiscrimination provisions in Government contracts, despite the fact that the prime contractor may hold contracts with other contracting agencies.

(over)

m. "Predominant interest prime contractor" means that prime contractor having the largest aggregate dollar value of contracts, subcontracts, or purchase orders under Government contracts with a first-tier subcontractor at the time of filing the compliance report.

n. "Major activity" means the major product or group of products produced or handled, or services rendered by the reporting unit (e.g., manufacturing airplane parts, retail sales of office furniture). In the case of mixed activities at the reporting unit the major activity shall be determined by the activity in which the greatest number of all the employees work.

o. "Standard commercial supplies" means an article (a) which in the normal course of business is customarily maintained in stock by a manufacturer or any dealer, distributor, or other commercial dealer for the marketing of such article; or (b) which is manufactured and sold by two or more persons for general commercial or industrial use or which is identical in every material respect with an article so manufactured and sold.

3. When To File Reports.

a. All prime contractors subject to these reporting requirements on January 1, 1962, shall file *initial compliance reports* on or before March 31, 1962. All prime contractors who become subject to these reporting requirements after January 1, 1962, shall file initial compliance reports within thirty (30) days after the award of the prime contract. (However, no initial prime contractor compliance reports shall be due before March 31, 1962.)

b. First-tier subcontractors subject to these reporting requirements on or after April 1, 1962, shall file *initial compliance reports* as follows: (1) within sixty (60) days after the award or modification of a subcontract or purchase order subsequent to that date, or (2) no later than March 31, 1963, where the subcontractor continues to be subject to the reporting requirements on January 1, 1963, and a subcontract or purchase order has not been awarded or modified prior to January 1, 1963.

c. Annual compliance reports shall be filed by all prime contractors *and* first-tier subcontractors on March 31 of each year so long as the prime contractor or the first-tier subcontractor remains subject to the reporting requirements. If a compliance report has been submitted for any reporting unit covered by this requirement within ninety (90) days immediately preceding March 31 of that year, only the "Certificate of Submission of Current Compliance Report" (Standard Form 40-A) shall be filed with the Committee for that reporting unit.

d. A compliance report may be required by the Committee or a contracting agency at times other than those prescribed above. Whenever specifically requested, the prime contractor or first-tier subcontractor should be prepared to furnish a complete and up-to-date report.

4. How To Submit Reports.

a. Separate compliance reports for each reporting unit of the prime contractor and first-tier subcontractor shall be submitted in duplicate directly to the Committee (at the address given at the top of the report form).

b. When a compliance report has been submitted for the reporting units covered by a request during the current reporting period, the prime contractor or first-tier subcontractor shall complete the "Certificate of Submission of Current Compliance Report" (Standard Form 40-A) and return it to each contracting officer or prime contractor requesting that a compliance report be filed. However, a prime contractor subject to the reporting requirements on January 1, 1962, is not required to furnish this "Certificate" at the time he submits the initial compliance reports due March 31, 1962.

c. The prime contractor shall instruct each of its first-tier subcontractors to submit a compliance report directly to the Committee. In addition, the prime contractor shall complete the items at the top of the compliance report (or otherwise furnish this information) when furnishing report forms and instructions to its first-tier subcontractors. Failure to obtain a "Certificate of Submission of Current Compliance Report" or other notification of submission containing the information required by the certificate within sixty (60) days after the award of the subcontract shall be reported immediately to the contracting officer of the predominant interest agency.

d. A first-tier subcontractor who is also subject to these reporting requirements as a prime contractor shall file as a prime contractor. A first-tier subcontractor having subcontracts with more than one prime contractor shall file as the first-tier subcontractor of its predominant interest prime contractor. The predominant interest agency of the predominant interest prime contractor shall be the predominant interest agency of such first-tier subcontractor. When a compliance report for the current reporting period has been filed with the Committee, the first-tier subcontractor shall furnish each of its prime contractors requesting a compliance report, including the predominant interest prime contractor, with a "Certificate of Submission of Current Compliance Report" (which indicates the predominant interest prime contractor and the predominant interest agency).

e. Each item of the compliance report shall be completed unless otherwise instructed. If an item does not apply, mark "N/A" for Not Applicable.

f. Each compliance report and certificate shall be signed by an authorized representative of the company.

g. Employment statistics shall include the total number of employees in the reporting unit during the pay period ending nearest the 15th of the month preceding that in which the report is due (e.g., nearest the 15th of February for March 31 compliance reports).

h. The columns for "other" minorities in Part III of Standard Form 40 are provided in the event that such groups (Oriental, Spanish-American, Puerto Rican, American Indian) constitute an identifiable factor in the local labor market. When figures for two "other" minority groups are available, a separate column shall be used for each group and shall specify which group is given in each column.

i. Inquiries in connection with this compliance report and requests for supplies of the compliance report and instructions shall be addressed to the contracting officer identified on the form. Inquiries may also be addressed to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, Washington 25, D.C.

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE 16—76821-1

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STANDARD FORM 40
December 1961
PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
41 CFR CH. 60 40-101

COMPLIANCE REPORT

NONDISCRIMINATION PROVISIONS OF U.S. GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

IMPORTANT.—Please read the instructions accompanying this form before preparing this report. Complete all items unless otherwise instructed. If an item does not apply, mark "N/A" for Not Applicable. If additional space is needed, use Item 27 *(Remarks)* and attach a separate sheet and identify the applicable items. Compliance reports for each reporting unit shall be submitted in DUPLICATE DIRECTLY to:

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL
EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
SURVEY DIVISION—COMPLIANCE REPORTS
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

To be furnished by the CONTRACTING OFFICER *(Only for prime contractor compliance report request)*

REPORT TO BE SUBMITTED ON OR BEFORE	NAME AND TITLE OF CONTRACTING OFFICER REQUESTING THE REPORT	AGENCY	ADDRESS

To be furnished by the PRIME CONTRACTOR *(Only for first-tier subcontractor compliance report request)*

REPORT TO BE SUBMITTED ON OR BEFORE	NAME AND ADDRESS OF PRIME CONTRACTOR REQUESTING THE REPORT	PREDOMINANT INTEREST AGENCY

PART I.—CONTRACTOR IDENTIFICATION

1. CONTRACTOR'S REPORTING STATUS *(Note.—A subcontractor who is also a prime contractor shall report as a prime contractor)*

☐ a. PRIME CONTRACTOR ☐ b. FIRST-TIER SUBCONTRACTOR

2. CROSS-REFERENCE IDENTIFICATION	3. EMPLOYER IDENTIFICATION NO.	4. REPORTING UNIT NO.	CODE *(Leave blank)*
2a. NAME AND ADDRESS OF REPORTING UNIT COVERED BY THIS REPORT			
2b. NAME AND ADDRESS OF PRINCIPAL OFFICE OF THE COMPANY			
2c. NAME AND ADDRESS OF PARENT COMPANY IF AN AFFILIATED CORPORATION			
5a. PREDOMINANT INTEREST AGENCY *(If this is a first-tier subcontractor's report, give the predominant interest agency for the predominant interest prime contractor.)*			

(To be completed only if this is a first-tier subcontractor's report)

5b. NAME AND ADDRESS OF PREDOMINANT INTEREST PRIME CONTRACTOR

ANNUAL COMPLIANCE REPORTS

(To be completed only if this is an annual compliance report and a previous compliance report has been submitted for this reporting unit)

6a. DATE LAST REPORT SUBMITTED	6b. PREDOMINANT INTEREST AGENCY FOR LAST REPORT

6c. IF IDENTIFICATION DATA GIVEN IN ITEMS 1 THROUGH 5 (ABOVE) DIFFERS FROM THE LAST REPORT, GIVE IDENTIFICATION APPEARING ON LAST REPORT

PART II.—POLICIES AND PRACTICES

SECTION A: EMPLOYMENT POLICY	YES	NO
7a. HAS AN EMPLOYMENT POLICY BEEN ESTABLISHED TO ASSURE THAT EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY IS GIVEN TO ALL PERSONS WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, COLOR, CREED, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN?		
7b. IF THIS REPORTING UNIT IS PART OF A MULTI-ESTABLISHMENT COMPANY, IS SUCH POLICY COMPANY-WIDE?		
8. HAS SUCH POLICY BEEN COMMUNICATED IN WRITING TO ALL DEPARTMENTS, OFFICES, AND FACILITIES OF THE REPORTING UNIT? *(If by other means, explain in Item 19 below.)*		
9. HAS RESPONSIBILITY BEEN ASSIGNED AND PROCEDURES PUT INTO EFFECT TO ASSURE THAT THIS EMPLOYMENT POLICY IS UNDERSTOOD AND IMPLEMENTED BY MANAGERIAL, ADMINISTRATIVE, AND SUPERVISORY PERSONNEL?		
10. IF EDUCATIONAL OR TRAINING PROGRAMS ARE SPONSORED OR FINANCED FOR THE BENEFIT OF ANY EMPLOYEES OR PROSPECTIVE EMPLOYEES, ARE ALL EMPLOYEES OR PROSPECTIVE EMPLOYEES GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO PARTICIPATE WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, COLOR, CREED, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN?		

SECTION B: RECRUITMENT AND ADVERTISEMENT	YES	NO
11. HAVE ALL RECRUITMENT SOURCES BEEN ADVISED THAT ALL QUALIFIED APPLICANTS WILL RECEIVE CONSIDERATION FOR EMPLOYMENT WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, COLOR, CREED, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN?		
12. IF EMPLOYEES ARE RECRUITED THROUGH ADVERTISING, DOES SUCH ADVERTISING MAKE CLEAR THAT ALL QUALIFIED APPLICANTS WILL RECEIVE CONSIDERATION FOR EMPLOYMENT WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, COLOR, CREED, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN?		

SECTION C: ORGANIZATIONS OF WORKERS	YES	NO
13. HAS A COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AGREEMENT OR OTHER CONTRACT OR UNDERSTANDING BEEN MADE FOR THE REPORTING UNIT WITH A LABOR UNION (OR UNIONS) OR OTHER ORGANIZATION OF WORKERS?		
14. HAS THE NOTICE (STANDARD FORM 38) ADVISING OF THE COMPANY'S OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE NONDISCRIMINATION PROVISIONS OF GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS AND SUBCONTRACTS BEEN SENT TO EACH SUCH ORGANIZATION?		
15a. HAS EACH SUCH ORGANIZATION ADVISED THE COMPANY THAT ITS POLICIES AND PRACTICES ARE CONSISTENT WITH THE OBLIGATIONS UNDER THE NONDISCRIMINATION PROVISIONS IN SUCH CONTRACTS?		

15b. IF "NO," IDENTIFY SUCH ORGANIZATION AND DESCRIBE EFFORTS MADE TO OBTAIN SUCH INFORMATION.

SECTION D: SUBCONTRACTS *(To be completed by prime contractors only)*	YES	NO
16. HAVE ANY FIRST-TIER SUBCONTRACTS OR PURCHASE ORDERS BEEN AWARDED FOR WORK COVERED BY ANY GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS?		
17. IS THE NONDISCRIMINATION CLAUSE INCLUDED IN ALL FIRST-TIER SUBCONTRACTS AND PURCHASE ORDERS SUBJECT TO EXECUTIVE ORDER 10925?		
18. HAVE ALL SUCH SUBCONTRACTORS COVERED BY THESE REPORTING REQUIREMENTS BEEN INSTRUCTED TO FILE COMPLIANCE REPORTS AND BEEN FURNISHED WITH REPORT FORMS AND INSTRUCTIONS?		

SECTION E: GENERAL

19. (OPTIONAL) DESCRIBE BRIEFLY ANY ACTIONS OTHER THAN THOSE REFERRED TO IN THIS REPORT THAT HAVE BEEN TAKEN WHICH AFFECT THIS REPORTING UNIT TO ASSURE THAT EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY IS GIVEN TO ALL EMPLOYEES AND APPLICANTS FOR EMPLOYMENT WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, COLOR, CREED, OR NATIONAL ORIGIN.

PART III.—EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS

20. NAME OF REPORTING UNIT

21. LOCATION OF REPORTING UNIT *(City, county, State)*

CODE *(Leave Blank)*

22. EMPLOYER IDENTIFICATION NUMBER

24. MAJOR ACTIVITY PERFORMED AT THIS REPORTING UNIT

23. REPORTING UNIT NUMBER

25. EMPLOYMENT BY RACE, OCCUPATION, AND SEX

(For pay period nearest 15th of month preceding that in which this report is due)

OCCUPATIONS *(See definitions on reverse)*	MALE EMPLOYEES				FEMALE EMPLOYEES				TOTAL ALL EMPLOYEES	TOTAL NEGROES	% NEGROES
	TOTAL MALES	MINORITY GROUPS			TOTAL FEMALES	MINORITY GROUPS					
		NEGRO	★OTHER	★OTHER		NEGRO	★OTHER	★OTHER			
OFFICIALS AND MANAGERS											
PROFESSIONAL											
TECHNICAL											
SALES WORKERS											
OFFICE AND CLERICAL											
CRAFTSMEN (SKILLED)											
OPERATIVES (SEMI-SKILLED)											
LABORERS (UNSKILLED)											
SERVICE WORKERS											
TOTAL											
**APPRENTICES											
**ON-THE-JOB TRAINEES											
TOTAL EMPLOYMENT ONE YEAR AGO *(If available)*											

★*The columns for "other" minorities are provided in the event that such groups (Oriental, Spanish-American, Puerto Rican, American Indian) constitute an identifiable factor in the local labor market. When figures for two "other" minority groups are available, use a separate column for each group and specify on the line at the top of the column which group is included in each column.*

★★*Figures for these classifications shall also be included in appropriate category above the "Total" line.*

26. EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS WERE OBTAINED FROM

☐ AVAILABLE RECORDS ☐ VISUAL CHECK ☐ OTHER *(Specify)* ________________

27. REMARKS *(If additional space is needed, continue on reverse side)*

28a. DATE

28b. SIGNATURE AND TITLE OF AUTHORIZED REPRESENTATIVE

28c. ADDRESS

Willfully false statements on this Report are punishable by law (U.S. Code, Title 18, Section 1001)

DESCRIPTION OF JOB CATEGORIES
To Be Used With Part III *(Item 25a)*

OFFICIALS AND MANAGERS.—Occupations requiring administrative personnel who set broad policies, exercise over-all responsibility for execution of these policies, and direct individual departments or special phases of a firm's operations. Includes: officials, executives, middle management, plant managers, department managers and superintendents, purchasing agents and buyers, and kindred workers.

PROFESSIONAL.—Occupations requiring either college graduation or experience of such kind and amount as to provide a comparable background. Includes: accountants and auditors, airplane pilots and navigators, architects, artists, chemists, designers, dietitians, editors, engineers, lawyers, librarians, mathematicians, natural scientists, personnel and labor relations workers, physical scientists, physicians, social scientists, teachers, and kindred workers.

TECHNICIANS.—Occupations requiring a combination of basic scientific knowledge and manual skill which can be obtained through about two years of post high school education, such as is offered in many technical institutes and junior colleges, or through equivalent on-the-job training. Includes: draftsmen, engineering aids, junior engineers, mathematical aids, nurses, photographers, radio operators, scientific assistants, surveyors, technical illustrators, technicians (medical, dental, electronic, physical sciences), and kindred workers.

SALES.—Occupations engaging wholly or primarily in direct selling. Includes: advertising agents and salesmen, insurance agents and brokers, real estate agents and brokers, stock and bond salesmen, demonstrators, salesmen and sales clerks, and kindred workers.

OFFICE AND CLERICAL.—Includes all clerical-type work regardless of level of difficulty, where the activities are predominately non-manual, though some manual work not directly involved with altering or transporting the products is included. Includes: bookkeepers, cashiers, collectors (bills and accounts), messengers and office boys, office machine operators, shipping and receiving clerks, stenographers, typists and secretaries, telegraph and telephone operators, and kindred workers.

CRAFTSMEN (SKILLED).—Manual workers of relatively high skill level having a thorough and comprehensive knowledge of the processes involved in their work. Exercise considerable independent judgment and usually receive an extensive period of training. Includes: the building trades, foremen, mechanics and repairmen, skilled machining occupations, compositors and typesetters, electricians, engravers, job setters (metal), motion picture projectionists, pattern and model makers, stationary engineers, tailors and tailoresses, and kindred workers.

OPERATIVES (SEMI-SKILLED).—Workers who operate machine or processing equipment or perform other factory-type duties of intermediate skill level which can be mastered in a few weeks and require only limited training. Includes: apprentices (auto mechanics, bricklayers, carpenters, electricians, machinists, mechanics, plumbers, building trades, metalworking trades, printing trades, etc.), operatives, attendants (auto service and parking), blasters, chauffeurs, deliverymen and routemen, dressmakers and seamstresses (except factory), dyers, furnacemen, heaters (metal), laundry and dry cleaning operatives, milliners, mine operatives and laborers, motormen, oilers and greasers (except auto), painters (except construction and maintenance), photographic process workers, stationary firemen, truck and tractor drivers, weavers (textile), welders and flame-cutters, and kindred workers.

LABORERS (UNSKILLED).—Workers in manual occupations which generally require no special training. Perform elementary duties that may be learned in a few days and require the application of little or no independent judgment. Includes: garage laborers, car washers and greasers, gardeners (except farm) and groundskeepers, longshoremen and stevedores, lumbermen, raftsmen and wood choppers, laborers performing lifting, digging, mixing, loading, and pulling operations, and kindred workers.

SERVICE WORKERS.—Workers in both protective and nonprotective service occupations. Includes: attendants (hospital and other institution, professional and personal service), barbers, charwomen and cleaners, cooks (except household), counter and fountain workers, elevator operators, firemen and fire protection, guards, watchmen and doorkeepers, stewards, janitors, policemen and detectives, porters, waiters and waitresses, and kindred workers.

27. REMARKS (cont.) *(Additional space if needed to continue Item 27 on page 3. If further space is needed attach a separate sheet.)*

EASTERN CONTRACT MANAGEMENT REGION

HEADQUARTERS
NEW YORK CONTRACT MANAGEMENT DISTRICT

111 EAST 16TH STREET, NEW YORK 3, NEW YORK
SPRING 7-4200 EXT 774

COLONEL ROBERT A. GREEN
CHIEF, NYCMD

HAROLD T. HINTON
CHIEF, EEO OFFICE

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY NEWSLETTER

AFSC 78-1

COMPLIANCE REPORT - EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY POSTER - NOTICE TO LABOR UNION
(Standard Form 40) (Standard Form 38)

Since the Office of Equal Employment Opportunity was activated in April 1962, it has received many requests from industrial relations personnel for information about filling out and filing Compliance Reports (Standard Form 40), ordering and displaying Equal Employment Opportunity Posters and accomplishing the required activities concerning Notices to Labor Unions (Standard Form 38).

The attached material was prepared to assist contractor personnel with these responsibilities. Included in this packet are:

Notice to Labor Union Requirements

"Questions and Answers on the Compliance Report"
(Standard Form 40)

Equal Employment Opportunity Poster Requirements

Related Forms, Posters and Notices

Prime contractors are requested to setup internal procedures required to implement the responsibilities described in this material. A part of the contractor's Compliance Review to be performed by the District's Office of Equal Employment Opportunity will be devoted to reviewing the adequacy of these procedures.

New York Contract Management District contractors seeking additional information about the attached material are invited to contact the Office of Equal Employment Opportunity, SPring 7-4200, Ext. 774.

Robert A. Green
ROBERT A. GREEN
Colonel, USAF
Chief

HQ. NEW YORK CONTRACT MANAGEMENT DISTRICT

Office of Equal Employment Opportunity

Requirements Regarding Notice to Labor Unions
(Standard Form 38)

The following was extracted from a memo of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, addressed to heads of all Federal Agencies on 12 June 1961. It explains the Contractor's responsibilities with regard to paragraph 3 of the Nondiscrimination Clause of Executive Order 10925:

> "Paragraph (3) of the Nondiscrimination Clause, obligates the contractor to send to each labor union or representative of workers with which he has a collective bargaining agreement, or other contract or understanding, a notice, to be provided by the agency contracting officer, advising the said labor union or workers' representatives of the contractor's commitments under this Section, and to post copies of the notice in conspicuous places available to employees and applicants for employment.
>
> In accordance with the provisions of the Nondiscrimination Clause and the Executive Order, the contractor is also required to include the Nondiscrimination Clause in every subcontract and purchase order unless exempted by the rules, regulations or orders of the Committee.
>
> Procedure.
>
> Upon notification of award of contract, the contracting officer shall furnish to the contractor adequate copies of the notice prescribed by this Order and advise the contractor that:
>
> -He is required to complete, sign and furnish such notice to each labor union or organization of workers with which he has a collective bargaining agreement or other contract or understanding;
>
> -His subcontractors are also required to execute and furnish such notice in the same manner to each labor union or organization of workers with which they have a collective bargaining agreement, or other contract or understanding;
>
> -The notice must be posted in all employment offices, on bulletin boards and other conspicuous places available to employees and applicants for employment, and must be similarly displayed by the subcontractors.

Agency regulations should provide for the reporting to the Committee of instances where the contractor or the subcontractor is unable or unwilling to furnish such notices to the labor union or organizations of workers, have refused or otherwise declined to accept such notice from the contractor. In making such report to the Committee, the contracting agency shall indicate what action it is taking or has taken in the matter.

Exceptions. The provisions of this Order shall not apply to:

-Contracts and purchase orders exempted from the requirements of the Nondiscrimination Clause as prescribed in the rules and regulations promulgated by the Committee.

-Certain types and classes of contracts and purchase orders which have been exempted from certain provisions of the Nondiscrimination Clause by the rules and regulations of the Committee; provided, that such exemptions specifically include an exemption from the provisions of this Order.

-Any specific contract, subcontract or purchase order where a request for such exemption has been approved by the Committee."

Contractors serviced by Headquarters, New York Contract Management District can obtain copies of Standard Form 38 from the Office of Equal Employment Opportunity, SPring 7-4200, Ext. 774.

QUESTIONS and ANSWERS

on the

COMPLIANCE REPORT (Standard Form 40)

Under the Equal Employment Opportunity Program

President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity
Washington 25, D. C.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON THE COMPLIANCE REPORT, STANDARD FORM 40 UNDER THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY PROGRAM

EXECUTIVE ORDER 10925 AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CONTRACTORS

On March 6, 1961, President John F. Kennedy issued Executive Order 10925 establishing the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity to promote and ensure equal opportunity for all qualified persons, without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin, employed or seeking employment with the Federal Government and on government contracts. This Order and the Government Contract Rules and Regulations which supplement it set forth certain obligations for government contractors and subcontractors, among them the filing of compliance reports.

This leaflet has been prepared to assist Government contractors in completing Standard Form 40 and covers those questions and subjects which have most frequently been raised with the Committee. The answers and the examples cited are intended to clarify the instructions attached to Standard Form 40 and are not to be used in place of those instructions.

Contractors Required To File Compliance Report Form 40

1. WHICH GOVERNMENT CONTRACTORS ARE REQUIRED TO FILE COMPLIANCE REPORTS?

Answer: Each prime contractor and first-tier subcontractor which meets all the following conditions:

a. Is subject to the provisions of Executive Order 10925:

AND

b. Has at least one government contract, subcontract or purchase order for $50,000 or more (OR for $100,000 or more if such contract, subcontract, or purchase order is solely for standard commercial supplies or raw materials);

AND

c. Has a total of 50 or more persons employed by the company.

SPECIAL NOTE: Contractors and first-tier subcontractors having contracts, subcontracts or purchase orders for construction, repair, alteration and utilities shall not use Standard Form 40 in connection with such activities. Special compliance report forms provided for such activities shall be filed in accordance with the instructions applicable thereto.

Example A: Company X, which has 500 employees, has three government contracts. The first contract is for $25,000; the second is for $10,000; and the third is for $20,000. The total amount of these contracts exceeds $50,000. Company X is NOT required to file compliance reports as it has no single contract in the amount of $50,000 or more. The dollar limitation of $50,000 (or, in the case of standard commercial supplies and raw materials, $100,000) is applied to each contract separately and does not refer to an aggregate of all contracts.

Example B: Company Y, having over 50 employees, has two government contracts: one for $75,000 for standard commercial supplies, and another (not for standard commercial supplies or raw materials) for $60,000. Company Y MUST file compliance reports. Even though the contract for standard commercial supplies is for less than $100,000, the company has another contract which meets the dollar limitation of $50,000 or more.

Example C: Company X has a government contract for $150,000 but has only 35 employees in the entire company. Company X is NOT required to file compliance reports as it employes less than 50 persons.

Example D: Company X, which has a $200,000 government contract, has 60 employees distributed among its three establishments as follows: 25 in establishment number one (the principal office); 20 in establishment number two; and 15 in establishment number three. All production work under the government contract is being done in establishment number two. Company X MUST file compliance reports since it employs a total of more than 50 employees. The employee limitation applies to the total number of persons employed by the company and not to the number of employees performing government contract work.

> NOTE: Even though a company may not be required to file compliance reports, it is still subject to the provisions of Executive Order 10925 if it has a contract, subcontract, or purchase order for $10,000 or more under which any work is being or is to be performed for the Government (OR, for $100,000 or more in the case of standard commercial supplies and raw material). These requirements and the nondiscrimination provisions of government contracts are made part of every agreement subject to the Order.

Predominant Interest Agency

2. WHAT IS THE PREDOMINANT INTEREST AGENCY OF THE COMPANY?

Answer: The predominant interest agency is the agency of the Federal Government with which the company does the greatest dollar volume of business.

Example E: Company X holds a $200,000 contract with the Department of the Army. It has three contracts for $100,000 each with the Department of Commerce. The Department of Commerce is the predominant interest agency of Company X as it is the agency with which the company does the greatest dollar volume of business. The Department of Commerce is the predominant interest agency even though it has let to the company no single contract which exceeds the amount of the company's contract with the Department of the Army.

file compliance reports in duplicate for:

(1) The principal office,

AND

(2) Each establishment of the company in which any work is being or is to be performed under that contract,

AND

(3) Each establishment of the company where any work is being or is to be performed under ANY OTHER government contract or subcontract, even though less than $50,000 and fewer than 50 employees are involved.

7. MAY A COMPANY COMBINE MORE THAN ONE ESTABLISHMENT ON A COMPLIANCE REPORT?

Answer: A company may combine a group of establishments into a single report if:

(1) All such establishments are in the same kind of business,

AND

(2) All such establishments are in the same city or county. Both of these requirements must be met. Since the compliance reporting system has been developed to provide information on employment patterns and policies within geographical areas and industry groups, as well as within a particular company, and since wide variations in industry needs, available manpower and labor markets may occur from one area of a state to another, the establishment reporting system provides the only practical means of obtaining this information.

8. MUST SEPARATE COMPLIANCE REPORTS BE FILED FOR THE PRINCIPAL OFFICE OF THE CORPORATION IF ONLY ONE "DIVISION" OR OTHER ORGANIZATIONAL UNIT IS DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN THE GOVERNMENT CONTRACT WORK?

Answer: Yes. Separate compliance reports must ALWAYS be filed for the principal office of each legal entity (corporation, partnership or sole proprietorship) having any contracts which meet the compliance reporting requirements.

For this purpose it is generally satisfactory to use as a test in determining the legal entity all establishments reported under the same "Employer Identification Number" (i.e., so-called company Social Security Number). Thus, if the "division" is a separate legal entity having a separate "Employer Identification Number", the principal office is the central administrative office for all establishments reported under that "Employer Identification Number".

Employment Statistics -- Part III of the Compliance Report

9. WHICH EMPLOYEES OF THE COMPANY MUST BE INCLUDED?

Answer: A company must report on ALL employees in those establishments in which any government contract work is being or is to be performed, and on ALL employees in the principal office, regardless of how many employees in those establishments are performing work under a government contract. (Separate reports must be filed for each such establishment as discussed in No. 4 above.)

Example F: Company X, which has a $150,000 government contract, has 100 employees divided among three establishments:

Establishment #1 (Principal office) Thirty-five (35) employees
Establishment #2 Forty-five (45) employees
Establishment #3 Twenty (20) employees

All production work on government contracts is being performed by 15 employees in establishment #2. Company X must file one report in duplicate for all 45 of the employees in establishment #2 and a separate report in duplicate for all 35 employees in establishment #1 (the principal office).

10. HOW CAN GOVERNMENT CONTRACTORS WHO HAVE ESTABLISHMENTS IN STATES PROHIBITING INQUIRIES OF A RACIAL OR RELIGIOUS NATURE COMPLY WITH THE STATISTICAL REPORTING REQUIREMENTS IN PART III OF THE COMPLIANCE REPORT?

Answer: The Committee has contacted the appropriate enforcement agencies in every city and state having laws regulating discrimination in employment. The Committee has received written confirmation that none of these jurisdictions prohibit the gathering of the POST EMPLOYMENT statistics on the race or national origin of employees, necessary for completion of Part III of the compliance report.

11. WHAT MINORITY GROUP EMPLOYEES MUST BE INCLUDED IN THE REPORT?

Answer: As you will notice on the compliance report form, Standard Form 40, the only groups to be identified are five minority groups: Negroes, Spanish-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Orientals, and American Indians. Furthermore, Negroes are presently the only minority group for which statistics are to be furnished in Part III unless one or more of these other four groups constitute a significant factor in the area in which the establishment is located. No information on religious affiliations is to be reported.

Filing Compliance Reports

12. WHERE SHOULD COMPLIANCE REPORT FORMS (STANDARD FORM 40) AND CERTIFICATES OF SUBMISSION (STANDARD FORM 40-A) BE FILED?

Answer: Standard Form 40: All compliance reports (Standard Form 40) should be sent in duplicate directly to:

The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity
Survey Division - Compliance Reports
Washington 25, D. C.

Standard Form 40-A (Certificate of Submission) must then be sent to all agencies and contractors who have requested that you file compliance reports. Standard Form 40-A is used only after a contractor or subcontractor has filed Standard Form 40 with the Committee for the establishments involved.

13. WHEN MUST COMPLIANCE REPORT FORMS BE FILED?

Answer: Each company having a contract subject to the compliance reporting requirements must file initial compliance reports within 30 days of the award of a prime contract (or within 60 days after the award of a subcontract) unless the time is extended for good cause shown by the contracting agency or by the Executive Vice Chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. Thereafter, annual compliance reports must be filed by March 31st of each year, unless initial compliance reports have been filed within 90 days prior to March 31st.

Example G: Company X is awarded its first contract subject to the reporting requirements on January 2, 1963. On January 29, 1963 (within 30 days) initial compliance reports are filed. Since January 29, 1963 is within 90 days prior to March 31, 1963, Company X does not have to file its annual compliance reports until March 31, 1964. Company X does have to file Standard Form 40-A with each government agency or contractor requesting the filing of Form 40.

HQ. NEW YORK CONTRACT MANAGEMENT DISTRICT

Office of Equal Employment Opportunity

Requirements Regarding Equal Employment Opportunity Poster

The following was extracted from a memo of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, addressed to heads of all Federal Agencies on 12 June 1961. It describes the contractor's responsibilities with regard to that part of the Nondiscrimination Clause which reads:

> "The contractor agrees to post in conspicuous places, available to employees and applicants for employment, notices to be provided by the contracting officer setting forth the provisions of the Nondiscrimination Clause.
>
> In accordance with the provisions of the Nondiscrimination Clause and the Executive Order, the contractor is also required to include the Nondiscrimination Clause in every subcontract and purchase order unless exempted by the rules, regulations or orders of the Committee."

Procedure.

Upon notification of award of contract, the contracting officer shall furnish to the contractor adequate copies of the nondiscrimination poster and advise the contractor that:

-He is required to furnish such posters to his subcontractors;

-The regulations of the contracting agency shall provide for the reporting to the Committee of instances where the contractor or subcontractor is unable or unwilling to post the nondiscrimination poster. In making such report to the Committee, the contracting agency shall indicate what action it is taking or has taken in the matter.

Applicability. The nondiscrimination poster will be required for all contracts and purchase orders except as provided for in the paragraph below.

Exceptions. The provisions of this Order shall not apply to:

-Contracts and purchase orders exempted from the requirements of the Nondiscrimination Clause as prescribed in the rules and regulations promulgated by the Committee.

-Certain types and classes of contracts and purchase orders which have been exempted from certain provisions of the Nondiscrimination Clause by the rules and regulations of the Committee; provided that such exemptions specifically include an exemption from the provisions of this Order.

-Any specific contract, subcontract or purchase order where a request for such exemption has been approved by the Committee.

Contracts Affected. The nondiscrimination poster prescribed by this Order shall be furnished to all contractors with whom contracts have been executed on or after April 5, 1961, the effective date of the Executive Order."

Contractors serviced by Headquarters, New York Contract Management District can obtain copies of the Equal Employment Opportunity Poster from the Office of Equal Employment Opportunity, SPring 7-4200, Ext. 774.

AFSC IMPLEMENTING EXECUTIVE ORDER 10925 PROMOTING

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

in HIRING • UPGRADING • DEMOTION OR TRANSFER • RECRUITMENT OR RECRUITMENT ADVERTISING LAYOFF OR TERMINATION • RATES OF PAY OR OTHER COMPENSATIONS SELECTION FOR TRAINING AND OTHER WORKING CONDITIONS

HEADQUARTERS NYCMD • ECMR • 111 EAST 16TH ST., NEW YORK, 3, N.Y.
EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY OFFICE • SPRING 7-4200 EXT. 774

FOREWORD

In his Executive Order 10925, President Kennedy cites "The plain and positive obligation of the United States Government to promote and ensure equal opportunity without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin".

Subsequently, the Hon. Eugene M. Zuckert, Secretary of the Air Force, directed the Air Force Systems Command to be "responsible throughout the Air Force for the implementation, administration and support of the Air Force Equal Employment Opportunity Program involving Government contractors."

As the cognizant agency of the Air Force Systems Command in this area, the New York Contract Management District has developed a program to implement the Executive Order through its usual contract management channels and procedures with contractors assigned to it by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, and to administer Part 8 of the Armed Services Procurement Regulation dealing with Nondiscrimination in Employment.

This booklet was prepared to interpret the program and explain the policies and procedures to be used in its implementation. Those desiring further information are requested to contact Harold T. Hunton, Chief of the Equal Employment Opportunity Office, SPring 7-4200, Ext. 774.

Robert A. Green

ROBERT A. GREEN
Colonel, USAF
Chief

A message from

GEORGE W. CULBERSON
Senior Intergroup Relations Specialist

(Mr. Culberson directs the Equal Employment Opportunity Program at Headquarters, Air Force Systems Command)

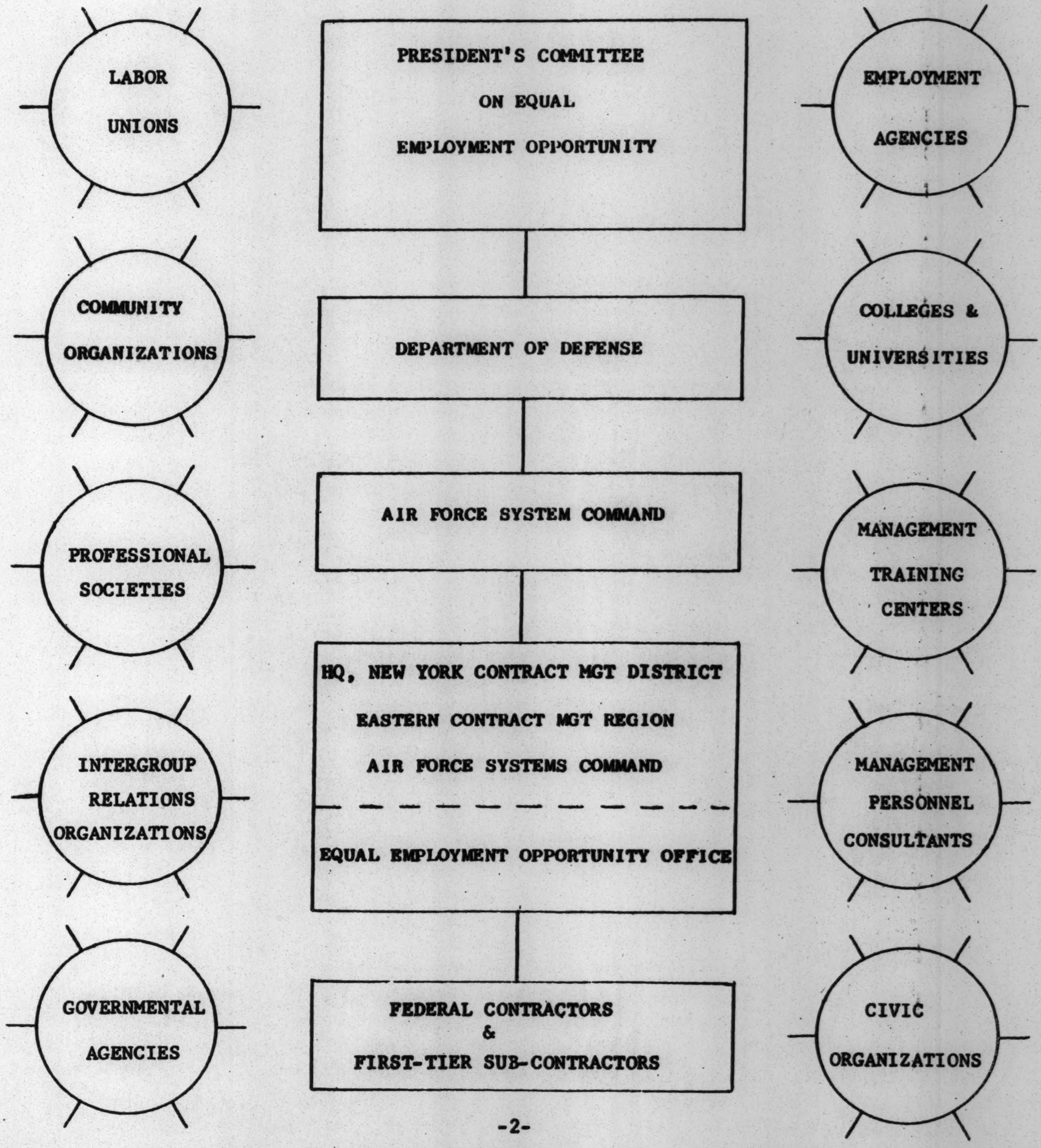
"In March 1961, President Kennedy issued Executive Order 10925, which required every non-exempt contractor to "take affirmative action to ensure" equal opportunity in every phase of employment. The Order also lays heavy responsibility on the contracting agency to ensure that the Non-discrimination Clause is complied with and that the rules and regulations of the President's Committee are carried out.

The United States Air Force has adopted a sound and comprehensive plan for carrying out its responsibility under the Order. It is a quiet, systematic approach to contract management and to the solution of these problems at the working level. It incorporates responsibility and authority into the regular procurement structure at each echelon with top procurement personnel. These responsible officers (military) are furnished staff assistance in the form of qualified intergroup relations specialists, also at each echelon.

Approximately one-half of all Department of Defense contracts are issued by the Air Force. On December 31, 1961, the number of prime contractors with contracts of $50,000 or more was over 7,000. It is estimated that at least five times that number of first tier sub-contractors are also involved. The successful operation of this program can make a vital difference in the employment patterns of some of our most important corporations."

HQ. NEW YORK CONTRACT MANAGEMENT DISTRICT

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY CHART
ON
FEDERAL CONTRACTS


PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE
AIR FORCE SYSTEM COMMAND
HQ, NEW YORK CONTRACT MGT DISTRICT
EASTERN CONTRACT MGT REGION
AIR FORCE SYSTEMS COMMAND
EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY OFFICE
FEDERAL CONTRACTORS & FIRST-TIER SUB-CONTRACTORS
LABOR UNIONS
COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS
PROFESSIONAL SOCIETIES
INTERGROUP RELATIONS ORGANIZATIONS
GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES
EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES
COLLEGES & UNIVERSITIES
MANAGEMENT TRAINING CENTERS
MANAGEMENT PERSONNEL CONSULTANTS
CIVIC ORGANIZATIONS

HOW THE AIR FORCE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY PROGRAM WORKS

--MANAGEMENT OF THE NONDISCRIMINATION CLAUSE--

In accordance with the Executive Order 10925 and the Armed Services Procurement Regulation 12-802, the Air Force has included the prescribed clause entitled "Nondiscrimination in Employment" in all prime contracts.

The Hon. Joseph S. Imirie, Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Materiel) has been named as Air Force Contract Compliance Officer (CCO). A chain of Deputy Contract Compliance Officers (DCCO) on respective contract management command levels has also been designated to assist the CCO in the performance of his duties. Colonel Robert A. Green, of the NY Contract Management District is DCCO for this area. Civilian Intergroup Relations Specialists have been employed and assigned to assist the designated DCCO's in carrying out their responsibilities. Harold T. Hunton, formerly with the New York City Commission on Human Rights is Chief of the District's Equal Employment Opportunity Office.

The Contract Management District (CMD) performs the day-to-day operations required for sound contract management. This is the unit from which the EEO field program is administered. The primary responsibility of the Intergroup Relations Specialist (IRS) in the CMD is directed to surveillance, compliance and affirmative action, as a part of the contract management team.

The IRS is technical advisor to the DCCO, the ACO's and other members of the CMD staff. In coordination with the staff, the IRS works directly with Air Force Contractors on a continuing basis to determine current status of EEO compliance and to develop a workable program for correcting deficiencies as they appear. The program for achieving this end is phased for maximum coverage and efficiency as follows:

Phase I - Contractor Policy

Phase II - Current Practices

Phase III - Affirmative Action

Phase IV - Contractor Surveillance

Phase I Contractor Policy

Once a contractor has been assigned to the Air Force the highest ranking official responsible for the contractor's employment policies is interviewed by the Intergroup Relations Specialist. The Air Force program to implement Executive Order 10925 is explained and the requirements of the Equal Employment Clause are discussed in detail.

The nature and intent of the Company Equal Employment Opportunity Policy is reviewed, as well as the extent to which it has been communicated to management and supervisory personnel. The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity requires that the policy be transmitted and emphasized in such a manner that every responsible employee not only know the policy, but realize it is operative.

A Contractor EEO Compliance Officer is designated; usually, the Industrial Relations Director. He serves as the point of contact through which the IRS continues the compliance reviews, develops affirmative action programs, channels technical assistance, etc.

This phase also includes a check on the specific contract provisions which are mandated and must be performed immediately if they have not already been accomplished. These activities include:

- Filing a Compliance Report - Nondiscrimination Provisions of U. S. Government Contracts (Standard Form 40) and distributing blank forms to first-tier subcontractors.
- Displaying Equal Employment Opportunity Posters on employee bulletin boards.
- Signing the Notice to Labor Unions (SF 38), sending it to employee groups and posting a copy on employee bulletin boards.
- Inserting the "Nondiscrimination Clause" in first-tier subcontracts.
- Checking pre-employment application forms to see that they are free of minority group designations.
- Including- "An Equal Opportunity Employer", or similar phrase, in all recruitment advertising.

Phase II Current Practices

"Do company practices square with the stated policy?"

This question gets directly to the core of concern of this phase. Fact-finding activities usually involve conducting interviews of key employees and reliable sources outside the contractor, taking a tour of the facilities, reviewing Standard Form 40, spot-checking employment records and other pertinent information.

The Nondiscrimination Clause requires that the following employment areas receive attention during the Compliance Review:

Recruitment, Hiring, Training

Transfers, Promotions, Upgrading

Terminations, Layoff, Rehire

Rates of Pay, Working Conditions

Facilities and Working Areas

After an analysis of the data gathered, the Intergroup Relations Specialist makes a determination of the current status of the contractor's employment practices. These findings are reported to the Contractor's Equal Employment Opportunity Compliance Officer. When necessary a program to correct minor deficiencies and initiate new activities is agreed upon.

Phase III Affirmative Action

If it is determined by the Intergroup Relations Specialist that major adjustments are required to bring the Contractor into compliance, then Phase III is initiated. This involves an intensive study of the troublesome employment areas. This is supplemented by additional information gathered from community organizations, employee groups, intergroup agencies, etc.

After a detailed analysis specific recommendations are made, and a timetable drawn up to correct the deficiencies. New resources may be utilized, new procedures might be introduced, appropriate techniques used by similar type contractors are often recommended. During this part of the Affirmative Action Program the Intergroup Relations Specialist has the responsibility to provide, where appropriate, the technical assistance necessary to enable the contractor to resolve the difficulties.

Phase IV Contractor Surveillance

This is not an entirely separate function which awaits the conclusion of the other three phases. Re-checking of agreements and the carrying out of suggestions may occur at anytime. However, it is particularly necessary following Phase III which has established a specific Affirmative Action Program with time schedules. Contractor surveillance is a continuous process.

# # #

HQ. NEW YORK CONTRACT MANAGEMENT DISTRICT

MAJOR RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY OFFICE

- Advises the Chief of the NY Contract Management District on all matters concerning the administration of the Equal Employment Opportunity Program.

- Provides technical assistance to Air Force Personnel responsible for procurement and the administration of assigned contracts, as prescribed by Section 12 of the Armed Services Procurement Regulation.

- Conducts routine and special reviews of contractors and subcontractors to ascertain their compliance with the requirements set forth in Executive Order 10925. When necessary, it attempts to secure compliance by conference, conciliation, mediation and persuasion. If compliance is not accomplished within a reasonable time, reports are made to the Contract Management Region.

- Advises Contract Management District personnel on the Equal Employment Opportunity aspects of Facilities Capability Reports.

- Takes direct affirmative action with responsible employers and union representatives.

- Works with management consultants, private and public employment agencies, vocational schools and intergroup agencies to assure maximum availability of qualified workers, and to make use of maximum training possibilities.

- When directed through appropriate Air Force channels, serves as a speaker at meetings of industrial associations, private organizations, government agencies, community and civic groups to explain the Equal Employment Opportunity Program.

- Prepares for signature by the Chief, New York Contract Management District, for submittal through channels to the President's Committee, recommendations for the issuance of U. S. Government Certificates of Merit to those outstanding employer and employee organizations, which are supporting and assisting in the President's Equal Employment Opportunity Program.

- Acts as the Air Force consultant to contractors, labor unions, employment and management placement agencies; intergroup organizations, professional and Technical Societies, city and state agencies, and interested community organizations on problems related to the program.

HQ. NEW YORK CONTRACT MANAGEMENT DISTRICT

Office of Equal Employment Opportunity

SERVICES AVAILABLE TO NYCMD CONTRACTORS

Technical Assistance

Consultation is available on various facets of the Equal Employment Opportunity Program. Principally among these are:

- Executive Order 10925
- Rules and Regulations of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity
- Air Force Equal Employment Opportunity Program with Federal Contractors
- Plans for Progress Pledges
- Affirmative Action Programs

Compliance Reports, Forms and Posters

Quantity of required forms, posters and reports can be ordered from the Equal Employment Opportunity Office. Those in stock include:

Compliance Report - Nondiscrimination Provisions of U. S. Government Contracts (Standard Form 40)

Certificate of Submission of Current Compliance Report (Standard Form 40-A)

Notice to Labor Unions (Standard Form 38)

Equal Employment Opportunity Poster

Contractor personnel having difficulty completing Compliance Reports or seeking a clarification of the use of the above-mentioned forms and posters are invited to contact the Equal Employment Opportunity Office for assistance.

Printed Matter

Limited copies of most of the materials contained in the list of Equal Employment Opportunity Materials are available upon request.

HQ. NEW YORK CONTRACT MANAGEMENT DISTRICT

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY MATERIALS

Because the Air Force Equal Employment Opportunity Program with Federal Contractors is comparatively new, there has been a growing number of inquiries. The materials listed contain valuable information about many aspects of the program.

<table>
<tr><th>PUBLICATION</th><th>SOURCE</th></tr>
<tr><td>Equal Employment Opportunity
-in Federal Government
-on Federal Contracts</td><td>Superintendent of Documents
U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D. C.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">A booklet with the text of Presidential Executive Order 10925, a brief description of the program of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and a list of its members.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Armed Services Procurement Regulation 12-802 "Nondiscrimination in Employment"</td><td>Superintendent of Documents
U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D. C.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Spells out the standard Nondiscrimination Clause to be included in all federal contracts, where required.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Government Contract Employment: Rules and Regulations of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity</td><td>Superintendent of Documents
U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D. C.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Included sections on obligations of government contractors and subcontractors, contract agreements, exemptions and compliance reports; the complaint procedure, the Certificate of Merit and ancillary matters.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Equal Employment Opportunity Booklet for Air Force Contractors</td><td>Hq. NY Contract Management District
111 East 16th Street
New York 3, New York</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">A booklet prepared by Hq. NYCMD to inform contractors and other interested parties about the functions, responsibilities and services of the newly operative Office of Equal Employment Opportunity.</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><th>PUBLICATION</th><th>SOURCE</th></tr>
<tr><td>NYCMD Equal Employment Opportunity Bulletins</td><td>Hq. NY Contract Management District
111 East 16th Street
New York 3, New York</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">A service to Air Force contractors. These bulletins contain information about the program of particular interest to Administrators, Industrial Relations and Purchasing personnel.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Equality in Job Opportunity</td><td>President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity
Washington 25, D. C.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">A brochure containing the goals, organization, program, powers, complaint process and pledge of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.</td></tr>
<tr><td>HOW TO FILE A COMPLAINT with the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity</td><td>President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity
Washington 25, D. C.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">A leaflet divided into sections explaining how to file a complaint, what happens to the complaint and a series of questions prospective complainants should ask themselves.</td></tr>
<tr><td>INFORMATION: A News Letter</td><td>President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity
Washington 25, D. C.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">A bi-monthly publication containing reports of current activities.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Equal Employment Opportunity Poster

Notice to Labor Unions (S. F. 38)

Compliance Report: Nondiscrimination Provisions of U. S. Government Contracts (S. F. 40)

Certificate of Submission of Current Compliance Report (S. F. 40-A)</td><td>Government Contractors and first-tier subcontractors can obtain quantities of these forms, posters and notices from the predominant interest agency managing their contracts.

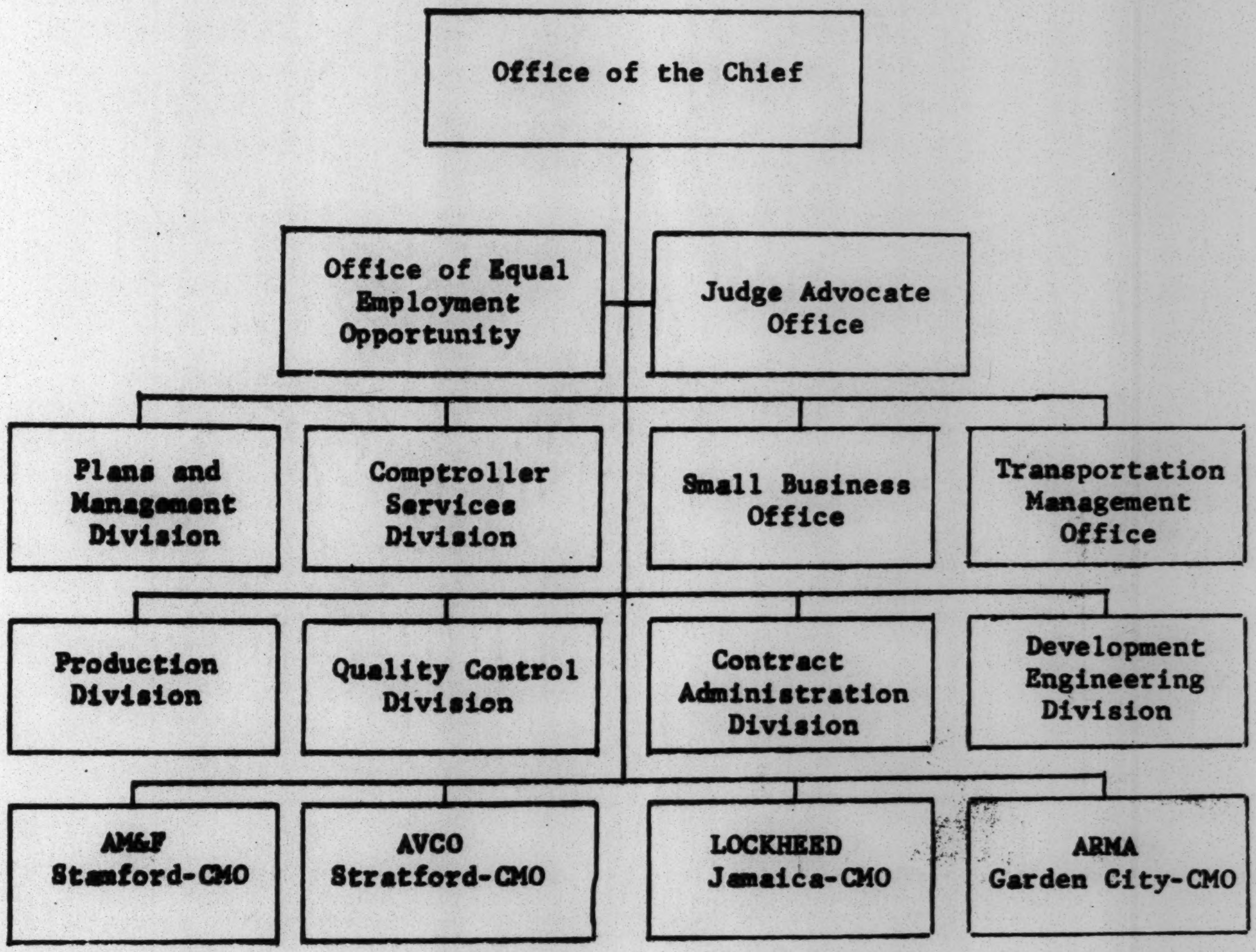
Other interested parties may request small quantities from the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.</td></tr>
</table>

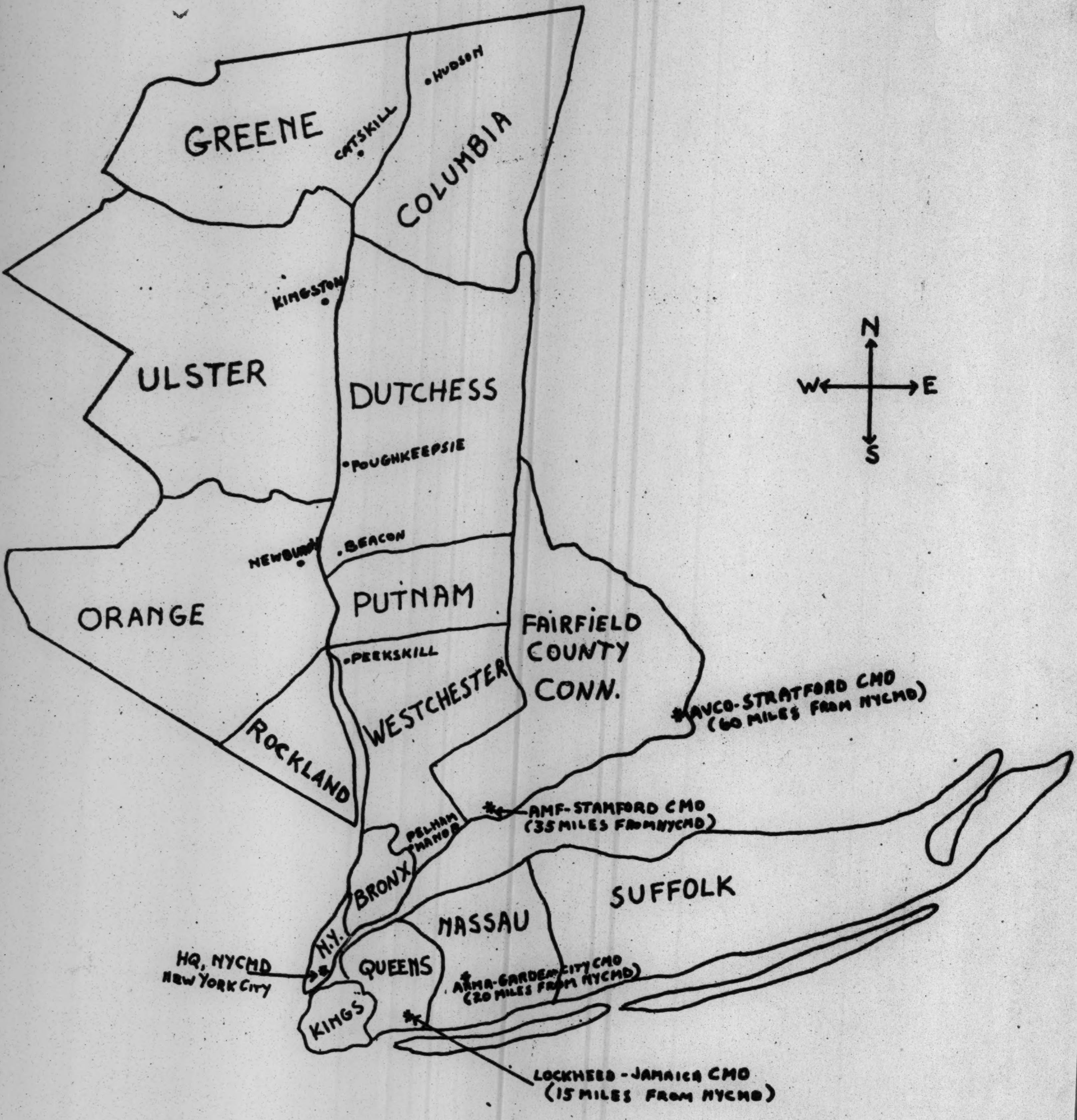
HQ. NEW YORK CONTRACT MANAGEMENT DISTRICT

OFFICE OF EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

Reporting directly to the Chief, New York Contract Management District, responsible for carrying out the Executive Order 10925 on Equal Employment Opportunity signed by President John F. Kennedy, The White House, March 6, 1961. Implementation of the Order for Equal Employment Opportunity for individuals employed by Air Force contractors; work directly with contractors and unions to perform compliance reviews and institute programs of "affirmative action"; establishing and maintaining a working relationship with all employment agencies to assure maximum availability of qualified workers and make maximum use of training possibilities; investigate complaints arising from contractor and subcontractor violation of the Armed Services Procurement Regulation dealing with Nondiscrimination in Employment, review, negotiate and conciliate differences and recommend appropriate action.

ORGANIZATION CHART - HQ. NYCMD


Office of the Chief
Office of Equal Employment Opportunity
Judge Advocate Office
Plans and Management Division
Comptroller Services Division
Small Business Office
Transportation Management Office
Production Division
Quality Control Division
Contract Administration Division
Development Engineering Division
AM&F Stamford-CMO
AVCO Stratford-CMO
LOCKHEED Jamaica-CMO
ARMA Garden City-CMO


GREENE
CATSKILL
HUDSON
COLUMBIA
KINGSTON
ULSTER
DUTCHESS
POUGHKEEPSIE
N
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E
S
NEWBURGH
BEACON
ORANGE
PUTNAM
PEEKSKILL
FAIRFIELD COUNTY CONN.
WESTCHESTER
ROCKLAND
AVCO-STRATFORD CMD (60 MILES FROM NYCMD)
AMF-STAMFORD CMD (35 MILES FROM NYCMD)
PELHAM MANOR
BRONX
SUFFOLK
NASSAU
N.Y.
HQ, NYCMD NEW YORK CITY
QUEENS
ARMA-GARDEN CITY CMD (20 MILES FROM NYCMD)
KINGS
LOCKHEED - JAMAICA CMD (15 MILES FROM NYCMD)

HQ, NEW YORK CMD

Geographical Area

(15 COUNTIES - 14 N.Y. - 1 CONN.)

Interracial Review

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION WITH AIR FORCE CONTRACTORS

Harold Hunton

Emphasis on Employment

IMPLEMENTING "AFFIRMATIVE ACTION" WITH AIR FORCE CONTRACTORS

By Harold Hunton

> ***"The contractors will take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color or national origin."***
>
> **An extract from Presidential Executive Order 10925**

A FAR-REACHING and significant step to combat discrimination in employment was taken when President Kennedy issued his Executive Order 10925. This Order requires Federal contractors to "take affirmative action to ensure" equal opportunity in every phase of employment. "Affirmative action" is the phrase used to refer to the positive steps necessary to ensure that a company's equal employment opportunity policy is put into practice. "Affirmative action" is a new concept in contract compliance. Heretofore, efforts have been limited to nondiscrimination in employment. Under this Executive Order, nondiscrimination has been joined by its natural partner—a concrete program to ensure that the company's equal employment opportunity policy is implemented in every phase of the employment picture.

"Affirmative action" is important for another reason. John Feild, Executive Director of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, put it this way: "The new concept behind this program is that a constructive partnership between industry, government, labor and community resources must be developed on a realistic basis." This constructive partnership becomes a reality as contractors and Federal Agencies reach out to fulfill their responsibilities by consulting, involving and utilizing heretofore untapped resources to implement "affirmative action." As a consequence labor unions, employment agencies, management training consultants, as well as intergroup organizations, vocational guidance centers, colleges and universities, and other appropriate resources are called upon to help make equal employment opportunity a vigorous force.

Although the Air Force Equal Employment Opportunity Program is comparatively new, a number of Federal contractors under its cognizance have already embarked upon significant Affirmative Action Programs. To cite just one example, the Lycoming Division of the AVCO Corporation in Stratford, Connecticut, has initiated a positive program to recruit qualified minority group employees.

Among the most recent activities of Lycoming are:

a. Conferring with the Apprenticeship Training Division of the Department of Labor, the Employment Division of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Human Relations Advisor to the Mayor of New Haven and others requesting their assistance in referring potential employees.

b. Mailings to Negro and Puerto Rican Leaders in the Bridgeport area, citing AVCO's Equal Employment Opportunity Policy and seeking their help to locate potential employees with needed skills.

c. Employing three nonwhite engineers.

d. Participating in a pilot program with Community Progress, Inc., of New Haven to train minority group members for job openings. Community Progress, Inc., a new agency financed primarily by a Ford Foundation grant, will establish programs with educational institutions to qualify trainees for various technical and semi-technical positions.

e. Transferring a Negro employee from the factory force to the employment information window.

f. Hiring an employment recruiter who is a native of the Negro community in Bridgeport. Part of his time is devoted to contacting schools, churches, social groups and civic organizations to stimulate the referral of potential employees.

In the past four or five months, as a result of these activities, Lycoming has hired three times the number of minority group workers it ordinarily would have employed, if the company had relied solely upon its customary recruitment and referral sources.

While the examples cited above are primarily concerned with recruitment, "affirmative action" is vitally involved in every phase of employment. This includes hiring, transfers, training, promotions, layoff, terminations, working conditions and facilities, etc.

Air Force Program

In addition to the contractors' obligations, the Executive Order places responsibility upon Federal Agencies to insure that the equal employment opportunity clause is complied with, and that the rules and regulations of the President's Committee are carried out. Furthermore, each Federal Agency is required to develop efficient procedures based upon its own unique mission.

Shortly after the signing of the Executive Order, the Hon. Eugene M. Zuckert, Secretary of the Air Force, directed the Air Force Systems Command to be "responsible throughout the Air Force for the implementation, administration and support of the Air Force Equal Employment Opportunity Program involving government contractors." At the same time, he appointed the Hon. Joseph S. Imirie, Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Materiel), as Contract Compliance Officer to supervise the implementation of this program.

Among its many functions, Air Force Systems Command administers all Air Force central procurement contracts. These contracts involve most of the materials needed by the Air Force to accomplish its mission. During fiscal year 1962 the Air Force was allotted approximately half of all Department of Defense appropriations. Headquarters, New York Air Force Contract Management District—one of twenty such geographical locations—currently manages contracts totaling over four billion dollars.

After a careful review of the Executive Order, Secretary Imirie's Office decided that expert guidance was required to develop a program to carry out Air Force responsibilities. As a result they contacted the Potomac Institute, a non-profit organization, which serves as a consultant on intergroup matters to a number of Federal Agencies. Harold C. Fleming, Director of the Institute, was formerly head of the Southern Regional Council.

Consultants from the Potomac Institute together with Air Force personnel traveled to different types of installations to gather pertinent data. Based upon these visits and other information, a number of recommendations were presented to Secretary Zuckert, who accepted them in principle. He ordered a pilot project be instituted prior to formalizing the Air Force Program.

A recruitment campaign among professionals in the intergroup field was initiated to staff the pilot program. George W. Culberson became Senior Intergroup Relations Specialist to Brigadier General G. F. Keeling, Director of Procurement, Headquarters, Air Force Systems Command. Other highly trained personnel joined the pilot team. Subsequently, a two-month program was carried out by the newly employed Intergroup Relations Specialists. After a careful review of this experience, minor changes were made and the program formalized. A proposal was prepared requesting the staff necessary to carry out the program throughout the country.

Harold Hunton is chief, Equal Opportunity Office, N. Y. Air Force Contract Management District, USAF.

Working with Contractors

To implement the Equal Employment Opportunity Program the Air Force Systems Command has assigned its civilian intergroup relations specialists to assist key military personnel at various contract management levels. For example: Colonel Robert A. Green, Chief, Headquarters, New York Air Force Contract Management District, has been appointed Deputy Contract Compliance Officer for that District. Soon after his appointment the Office of Equal Employment Opportunity was activated and an intergroup relations specialist placed in charge. This specialist is required to provide technical guidance to members of the Air Force Contract Management Team about Executive Order 10925, the Rules and Regulations of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity and the Air Force Equal Employment Opportunity Program. However, most of the energies of this office are directed at day-to-day contact with contractors to explain and interpret the equal employment opportunity clause, survey the extent of contractor compliance and to stimulate Affirmative Action Programs wherever appropriate.

As an initial step with a contractor the Air Force specialist contacts a ranking official responsible for the contractor's employment policies. The Air Force specialist explains the Air Force Program to implement Executive Order 10925. The requirements of the equal employment clause are also discussed in detail. The nature and intent of the company's equal employment opportunity policy are reviewed, as well as the extent to which it has been communicated to management and its supervisory personnel. The President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity requires that the policy be transmitted and emphasized in such a manner that all responsible employees not only know the policy, but realize that it must be carried out. The contractor is requested to designate an executive responsible for its employment practices as Equal Employment Opportunity Compliance Officer. Usually the Director of Industrial Relations is selected.

At this time the intergroup relations specialist is required to check the *specific* contract provisions which are mandated. Those that are not in operation must be performed immediately. Throughout the term of the contract, the contractor is required to:

—File a compliance report—nondiscrimination provisions of U.S. Government contracts (statistical breakdown of employment force by race and job category) and distribute blank forms to first-tier subcontractors.

—Display equal employment opportunity posters on employee bulletin-boards.

—Sign the Notice to Labor Unions (notifying employee groups of the company's EEO Policy), send it to employee groups and post a copy on employee bulletin-boards.

—Insert the equal employment opportunity clause in first-tier subcontracts.

—Check pre-employment application forms to see that they are free of minority group designations.

—Include, "An Equal Opportunity Employer," or a similar phrase, in all recruitment advertising.

Checking on Contractor Employment Practices

Gathering specific information about a contractor's employment practices requires careful checking and usually takes two to three days. These fact-finding activities involve talking to company employees in key administrative positions; conferring with union officials; interviewing professionals in intergroup relations agencies; gathering data from minority group employees and community leaders. In addition, the intergroup relations specialist tours the plant facilities of Air Force contractors. He reviews employment statistics and manpower needs; spot-checks employment procedures, records, and other pertinent information.

The various phases of the contractor's employment process are analyzed in depth, and an affirmative action program is developed. Recommendations are made, and a time-table agreed upon to correct deficiencies. New resources are often utilized, new procedures introduced and appropriate techniques which have proven successful in similar type industries are implemented. During this phase the specialist provides various kinds of technical assistance to help the contractor resolve the problems. Surveillance of the contractor's progress is followed by frequent check-up.

Since "affirmative action" is a new concept, it is difficult to predict the exact impact it will have upon minority group employment patterns; there are many challenges ahead. Among those which come immediately to mind are the need for:

—Intensive educational programs with Federal contractors and the minority communities to interpret the "affirmative action" aspect of the Executive Order.

—Vigorous recruitment activity to inform minority group members about expanding employment opportunities.

—Significant pre-employment, apprentice and on-the-job training to motivate and prepare minority group members for positions in our rapidly changing technical society.

—New sources of energy to contribute time and effort to cooperate in making "affirmative action" programs successful.

AFSC

EASTERN CONTRACT MANAGEMENT REGION

HEADQUARTERS
NEW YORK CONTRACT MANAGEMENT DISTRICT

111 EAST 16TH STREET, NEW YORK 3, NEW YORK
SPRING 7-4200 EXT 774

COLONEL ROBERT A. GREEN
CHIEF, NYCMD

HAROLD T. HUNTON
CHIEF, EEO OFFICE

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY NEWSLETTER

AFSC 78-1

PURCHASING MANAGEMENT RESPONSIBILITIES UNDER EXECUTIVE ORDER 10925

There have been numerous inquiries from government contractors requesting precise information about contracts covered by Presidential Executive Order 10925, the Rules and Regulations of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, which spells out the specific applications of the Nondiscrimination Clause and their subsequent responsibilities with first-tier subcontractors.

A number of activities required by Presidential Executive Order 10925 appear to fall normally under the responsibility of industrial purchasing personnel who do the buying for government contractors. It is hoped that these materials will assist contractor personnel to implement required activities. Included in this packet are:

The Nondiscrimination Clause

Nondiscrimination Clause Requirements and Exemptions

Required Activities with First-tier Subcontractors

Related Forms, Posters and Notices

Prime contractors are requested to setup internal procedures required to implement the responsibilities described in this material. A part of the contractor's Compliance Review to be performed by the District's Equal Employment Opportunity Office will be devoted to reviewing the adequacy of these procedures.

New York Contract Management District contractors seeking additional information about the attached material are invited to contact the Equal Employment Opportunity Office, SPring 7-4200, Ext. 774.

Robert A. Green
ROBERT A. GREEN
Colonel, USAF
Chief

HQ. NEW YORK CONTRACT MANAGEMENT DISTRICT

Office of Equal Employment Opportunity

The Nondiscrimination Clause
(Executive Order 10925 - Sec. 301)

Except in contracts exempted in accordance with section 303 of this Order, all government contracting agencies shall include in every government contract hereafter entered into the following provisions:

"In connection with the performance of work under this contract, the contractor agrees as follows:

"(1) The contractor will not discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, creed, color, or national origin. The contractor will take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin. Such action shall include, but not be limited to, the following: employment, upgrading, demotion or transfer; recruitment or recruitment advertising; layoff or termination; rates of pay or other forms of compensation; and selection for training, including apprenticeship. The contractor agrees to post in conspicuous places, available to employees and applicants for employment, notices to be provided by the contracting officer setting forth the provisions of this nondiscrimination clause.

"(2) The contractor will, in all solicitations or advertisements for employees placed by or on behalf of the contractor, state that all qualified applicants will receive consideration for employment without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin.

"(3) The contractor will send to each labor union or representative of workers with which he had a collective bargaining agreement or other contract or understanding, a notice, to be provided by the agency contracting officer, advising the said labor union or workers' representative of the contractor's commitments under this section, and shall post copies of the notice in conspicuous places available to employees and applicants for employment.

"(4) The contractor will comply with all provisions of Executive Order No. 10925 of March 6, 1961, and of the rules, regulations, and relevant orders of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity created thereby.

"(5) The contractor will furnish all information and reports required by Executive Order No. 10925 of March 6, 1961, and by the rules, regulations, and orders of the said Committee or pursuant thereto, and will permit access to his books, records, and accounts by the contracting agency and the Committee for purposes of investigation to ascertain compliance with such rules, regulations, and orders.

"(6) In the event of the contractor's non-compliance with the nondiscrimination clauses of this contract or with any of the said rules, regulations, or orders, this contract may be cancelled in whole or in part and the contractor may be declared ineligible for further government contracts in accordance with procedures authorized in Executive Order No. 10925 of March 6, 1961, and such other sanctions may be imposed and remedies invoked as provided in the said Executive Order or by rule, regulation, or order of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, or as otherwise provided by law.

"(7) The contractor will include the provisions of the foregoing paragraphs (1) through (6) in every subcontract or purchase order unless exempted by rules, regulations, or orders of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity issued pursuant to section 303 of Executive Order No. 10925 of March 6, 1961, so that such provisions will be binding upon each subcontractor or vendor. The contractor will take such action with respect to any subcontract or purchase order as the contracting agency may direct as a means of enforcing such provisions, including sanctions for non-compliance: Provided, however, that in the event the contractor becomes involved in, or is threatened with, litigation with a subcontractor or vendor as a result of such direction by the contracting agency, the contractor may request the United States to enter into such litigation to protect the interests of the United States."

HQ. NEW YORK CONTRACT MANAGEMENT DISTRICT

Office of Equal Employment Opportunity

Nondiscrimination Clause Requirements and Exemptions

The following was extracted from the Rules and Regulations of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. It spells out in detail the contract requirements of Executive Order 10925. In addition, it describes the specific conditions for exemptions referred to in Sec. 303 of the Order.

§ 60-1.3 Contract agreements; exemptions

(a) Requirements of the Order. Each contracting agency shall include in each of its contracts or contract modifications, the nondiscrimination provisions of section 301 of the Order unless the contract is exempt in accordance with the provisions of paragraph (b) of this section. Each contractor or first-tier subcontractor shall include paragraphs 1 through 6 of the contract clauses contained in section 301 of the Order in every subcontract or purchase order made in connection with the performance of the government contract, so that the provisions of section 301 will be binding upon each subcontractor or vendor, with whom the contractor or first-tier subcontractor deals. Such necessary modifications in language may be made as shall be appropriate to identify properly the parties and their undertakings. Subcontractors below the first-tier shall not be required to insert the nondiscrimination provisions of section 301 of the Order in any contract which they may make in connection with the performance of a government contract except upon special order of the contracting agency or the Executive Vice Chairman. Subcontracts or purchase orders may incorporate by reference the nondiscrimination provisions of section 301 of the Order.

(b) Exemptions--(1) Specific contracts, subcontracts, or purchase orders. The Executive Vice Chairman may exempt a contracting agency from requiring the inclusion of the contract provisions set forth in section 301 of the Order in any specific contract, subcontract, or purchase order when he deems that special circumstances in the national interest so require. Exemptions may also be granted to groups or categories of contracts of the same type where it is impracticable to act upon each request individually, or group exemptions will contribute to convenience in the administration of the Order. Requests for such exemptions may be submitted in accordance with § 60-1.62.

(2) Transactions of $10,000 or under. Contracts, subcontracts, purchase orders, and other transactions not exceeding $10,000, other than government bills of lading, are exempt from the requirements of section 301 of the Order.

(3) *Standard commercial supplies and raw materials*. Contracts, subcontracts and purchase orders not exceeding $100,000 for standard commercial supplies or raw materials are exempt from the requirements of section 301 of the Order, except that the Executive Vice Chairman may from time to time by order provide that specified articles or raw materials shall be subject to the Executive Order and rules and regulations promulgated pursuant thereto, when he finds that the inclusion thereof is necessary or appropriate to achieve the purposes of the Order. Contracting officers shall not procure, or approve the procurement of, supplies in less than usual quantities in order to avoid application of the Order to any transaction which would normally be subject to its provisions.

(4) *Government bills of lading*. Government bills of lading in any amount are subject to the Order, and the nondiscrimination provisions may be incorporated therein by reference. When acting pursuant to such bills of lading, carriers shall be exempt from complying with paragraphs 3 through 7 of the contract clauses contained in section 301 of the Order unless otherwise specifically ordered by the contracting agency or the Executive Vice Chairman.

(5) *Contracts outside the United States*. Contracts, subcontracts, purchase orders and other transactions are exempt from the requirements of section 301 of the Order where work is to be or has been performed outside the United States and no recruitment of workers within the limits of the United States is involved. The provisions of section 301 of the Order shall nevertheless be applicable to the extent that work pursuant to such contracts is done within the limits of the United States.

(6) *Sales contracts*. Contracts and other transactions providing for the sale of Government real and personal property where no appreciable amount of work is involved are exempt from the requirements of section 301 of the Order.

(7) *Withdrawal of exemption*. When any contract or subcontract subject to the Order is of a class exempted under this section, the Executive Vice Chairman may withdraw the exemption for a specific contract or group of contracts when in his judgment such action is necessary or appropriate to achieve the purposes of the Order.

(8) *Effects of exemption*. Notwithstanding the inclusion in any contract of the provisions set forth in section 301 of the Order, the contractor shall be exempt from compliance therewith if the contract containing such provisions of the Order is exempt under any exemption contained in the rules, regulations and relevant orders issued by the Committee.

(9) *Review of exemptions*. The Executive Vice Chairman shall report periodically to the Committee for its review any exemptions of a specific contract or class of contracts granted pursuant to these rules and regulations.

Additional copies of § 60-1.3 can be obtained from the Equal Employment Opportunity Office, SPring 7-4200, Ext. 774.

HQ. NEW YORK CONTRACT MANAGEMENT DISTRICT

Office of Equal Employment Opportunity

REQUIRED ACTIVITIES WITH FIRST-TIER SUBCONTRACTORS

A. The Nondiscrimination Clause
(Sec. 301 of Executive Order 10925

The Nondiscrimination Clause must be included in first-tier contracts and purchase orders subject to Presidential Executive Order 10925. § 60-1.3 of the Rules and Regulations of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity contains detailed information about contract requirements and exemptions.

B. Compliance Report - Nondiscrimination Provisions of U. S. Government Contractors (Standard Form 40)

Each prime contractor and first-tier subcontractor subject to the Order who has a contract, subcontract, or purchase order for $50,000 or more (or $100,000 or more if solely for standard commercial supplies and raw materials) and who also has 50 or more employees shall file compliance reports.

- The prime contractor shall instruct each of its first-tier subcontractors who meet the requirements to submit a compliance report directly to the Committee.

- The prime contractor is required to furnish reporting forms and instructions to first-tier subcontractors.

C. Certificate of Submission of Current Compliance Report (Standard Form 40-A)

When a compliance report for the current reporting period has been filed with the Committee, the first-tier subcontractor shall furnish each of its prime contractors requesting a compliance report, including the predominant interest prime contractor, with a "Certificate of Submission of Current Compliance Report".

If a prime contractor fails to obtain a "Certificate of Submission of Current Compliance Report" or other notification of submission containing the information required by the certificate within sixty (60) days after the award of the subcontract, it shall be reported immediately to the contracting officer of the predominant interest agency.

D. Equal Employment Opportunity Posters and Labor Union Notices

Under the procedure established by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity the contractor is also required to furnish copies of Standard Form 38 (Notice to Labor Unions) and Equal Employment Opportunity Posters to First-tier subcontractors.

E. Ordering Supplies of SF 38, 40, 40-A and Equal Employment Opportunity Posters

These forms and posters should be available at your predominant interest agency. NYCMD contractors may order them from the District's Equal Employment Opportunity Office, SPring 7-4200, Ext. 774.

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JAN 15 1965

January 14, 1965

Mr. Val Coleman
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Val:

I am enclosing a draft of that statement we are going to get signers for. We have the beginnings of a pretty good list of people we want to invite to sign the statement. Our plan was initially to try to get Harry Belafonte, Miriam Makeba, and Marlon Brando to write the covering letter inviting others to join in signing the statement. We are working with John Killens who is doing quite a bit on this and with Clarence Jones who handles legal work for Harry Belafonte and a number of other well-known people.

Perhaps it would be a good idea to send this draft statement to Marlon Brando. In addition, we are very anxious to have him come to the conference, particularly for Monday, March 22 afternoon and evening if at all possible. We'd like to have him take a real leadership position in this and perhaps be the one to read this statement publicly, which will come after dinner on Monday, March 22.

Give us some advice on the best way of proceeding. If we have an address, we could send this material off to Marlon Brando. Mary-Louise Hooper will be in touch with you if I am not. In the meantime, if you have any information please let us know.

Sincerely,

George

George M. Houser

GMH/jkb

enc.

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WHEREAS:

South Africa is the only country in the world where oppression, denial of civil and human rights and discrimination in every walk of life - based on color - is legally enshrined in the Constitution and the law;

WHEREAS:

The South African policy of APARTHEID has been attacked by nearly every nation in the world, and in almost every session of the United Nations since 1946, with no response from the South African Government except defiance, and a steady increase in repressive, authoritarian measures;

WHEREAS:

UNDER APARTHEID approximately 5,000 political prisoners now Sit in South African jail cells;

UNDER APARTHEID white miners earn approximately 15 times as much as Africans, and in secondary industry about 5 times as much;

UNDER APARTHEID 50% of all African children are tubercular at the age of 10, due to malnutrition ~~(Manchester Guardian, June 9, [illegible]~~) and the general infant mortality rate is one of the highest in the world: 200 to 400 per 1000, for Africans - 27 per 1000, for Whites;

UNDER APARTHEID the government subsidy for an African child's education amounts to $19.67 a year, for a white child's - $196.70;

AND WHEREAS:

UNDER APARTHEID those non-Whites residing (because employed) in urban areas are not permitted to share in the cultural advantages available to Whites - may not visit art galleries, use the main Public Library, attend lectures, plays or musical programs or even the movies except in their own segregated areas, where the cultural fare is almost non-existent:

LET IT BE KNOWN THAT WE, the following, do pledge ourselves to do all within our power -

ARTISTS and SCULPTORS: not to allow our work to be displayed in any South African exhibition;

NOVELISTS, POETS and ESSAYISTS: not to permit our books to be published in South Africa;

PLAYWRIGHTS: not to permit performance of our plays in South Africa

PERFORMING ARTISTS: not to perform on the stage in South Africa, or to participate in making films in that country;

COMPOSERS, CONDUCTORS and MUSICIANS of all kinds, classical and modern: not to conduct or perform music in South Africa, or to allow performance of our works there;

FILM PRODUCERS: to prevent the showing of our films in the Republic of South Africa.

WE MAKE THE ABOVE PLEDGE in solemn resolve to refuse any encouragement of, or indeed any personal or professional association with the present Republic of South Africa : this until the day when all its people- black and white - shall equally enjoy the educational and cultural advantages of this rich and lovely land.

TO THIS SOLEMN PLEDGE WE HEREBY SET OUR HANDS :

SIGNATURE	PROFESSION

12900 Mulholland Drive

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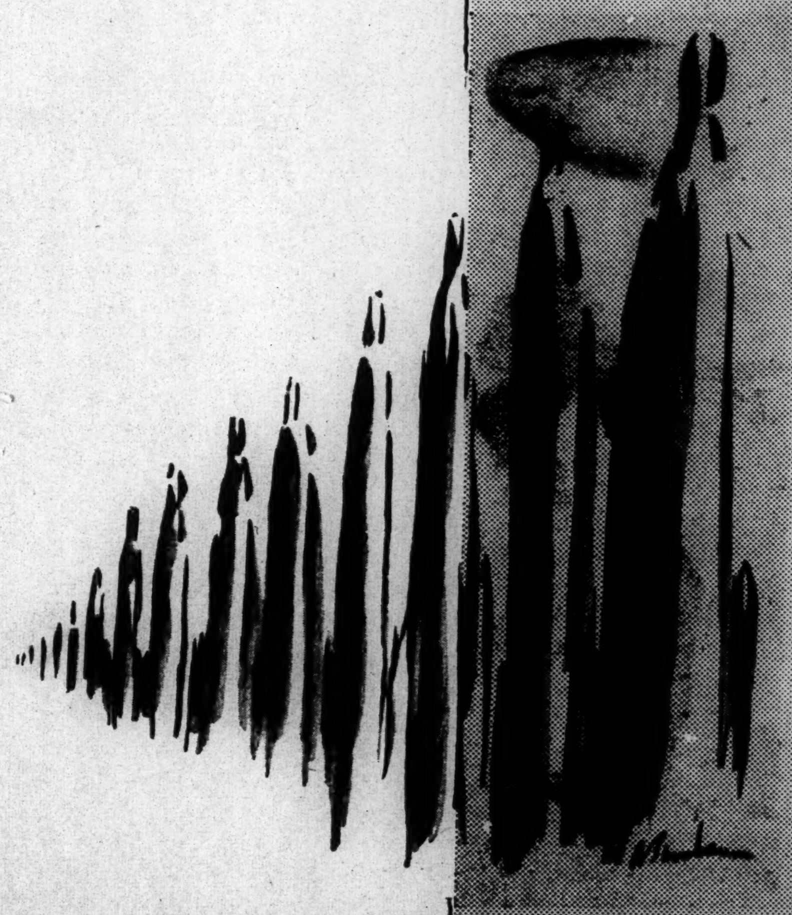
AN INQUIRY INTO ENOUGHNESS



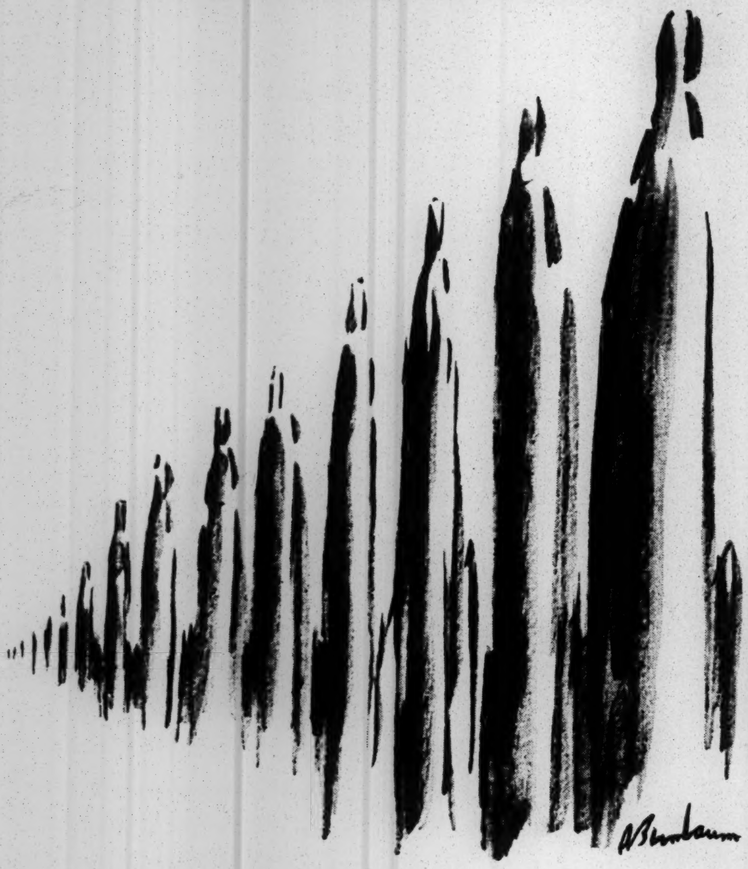
THE NEW YORKER

OCTOBER 10

1964

A REPORTER AT LARGE

AN INQUIRY INTO ENOUGHNESS



THE great, and conceivably the final, commonplace of our time is that nuclear war is unthinkable, and yet, as heads of state keep telling us, the weapons that make such a catastrophe possible continue to be turned out daily in the United States and in Russia (and, at a far slower tempo, in Great Britain and France). Once begun anywhere, stockpiles of this formidable ordnance have done nothing but grow, following a pattern that has prevailed ever since the first atomic bomb was put together, nearly twenty years ago. As world leaders have also repeatedly told us, there are "devices" in existence now that are thousands of times as powerful as the two that were detonated over Japan in 1945. We hear, too, of "low-yield" weapons—"refined" or "sophisticated" models—that military men consider ideally suited to such "tactical" pursuits as the taking of a bridge or a beachhead. (Certain of these models have forty times the yield of the Hiroshima bomb, which is now categorized as "nominal" in size.) There are now on routine patrols planes each of which is armed with bombs whose combined potency is the equivalent of all the firepower expended in the Second World War; this is less than half the firepower of a single one of the Polaris submarines that lie ready for action at the bottom of the sea. The chiefs of the nuclear governments bluntly state that there can be no perfect defense against incoming rockets. Repeatedly, in pleading for disarmament, these personages have declared that the opening minutes of a nuclear war could leave millions of casualties. The broad effect of this steady preachment, delivered for years from the secular pulpits of scattered chancelleries, has been to call forth the question—profoundly and widely, I believe—of just how much is enough when it comes to nuclear weapons. If two "nominal" specimens could do what they did to Hiroshima and Nagasaki, then why the assembly-line production of thousands upon thousands more, every one of them the potential cargo of a missile or a plane capable of travelling at several times the speed of sound? Given the nature of these weapons, I have been asking myself, is it reasonable to imagine that a country can reach the point of deciding that its arsenal is strong enough to see it through any crisis—of feeling that it need no longer concern itself with the comparative strength of rival powers? In short, is it reasonable to imagine that Russia or the United States could choose to resign unilaterally from the present arms race? While the question might apply to either nation, it probably makes more sense to address it to the stronger of the two—which, according to all the intelligence reports that our leaders believe in, is our own. In any event, I have recently put in a fair amount of time in Washington exploring the idea of enoughness, so to speak, with members of the United States government. Among the people with whom I discussed the various aspects of this idea were the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense, the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, senators, congressmen, multi-starred generals, and decision-making scientists. And as far as I can make out, the idea of armed sufficiency, in any settled, static form, is a tortuous and elusive one, as hard to define as the state of the world. Wandering the capital in search of elucidation, I grew accustomed to hearing earnest answers that were charged with dilemma and paradox, with fact shaped by opinion, with logic rooted in prayer. Indeed, before I was through, it seemed less a concept that I was looking into than the mentality of a nuclear capital—of a collection of individuals responsible for the country's safety. Much the same state of mind, with all its doubt and dissension, may also be encountered in the other great nuclear capital, I learned from officials who had spent time in Russia.

A number of the officials I talked with, in the Pentagon, on Capitol Hill, and at the State Department, displayed a surprisingly personal reaction when I asked their opinion on what was enough in the way of arms. A scientist with the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency began his reply with "Don't think for a minute that I'm soft-headed, but . . ." A Regular Army colonel, after inviting me to sit down in his Pentagon office, wanted me to know that he was a devoted family man, the father of four children. "So, whatever I tell you, remember that," he said, and thereupon set forth his belief that the United States needs every last weapon it is capable of manufacturing. It was a viewpoint, incidentally, that was far from universal in the Pentagon. In fact, I met senior officers there who proved to be far more diplomacy-minded than certain officers of the State Department, who were all for solving a political impasse or two around the globe with a few well-aimed conventional bombs. I met numerous "hawks" and "doves"—people with strong views on whether our nuclear stockpiles should go up or down. Few of them, though, were thinking in terms of a fixed level of such armaments, possibly because they were too deeply absorbed in their own positions, or else, as I have suggested, because of the elusiveness—or even the unreality—of any such idea. Some of these partisans, whichever side they were on, sounded as though they were guided less by set convictions than by fear of their opponents' position. One "dove" with whom I talked—a senator's legislative assistant—envied his opponents for having on their side a man with the fierce tenacity of General Curtis LeMay, the Air Force Chief of Staff, an unswerving champion of an all-out weapons buildup. Compared to the General, he said, a certain well-known leader of the "doves" was positively bashful. "Oh, he thinks arms control is important and all that, but he also thinks there are other issues just as important," the legislative assistant told me.

The incessant cross fire of views drove me at one point to seek refuge in the office of the Defense Department's Historian, Dr. Rudolph A. Winnacker, a man of about sixty, who had a genial, professorial detachment that conveyed the impression that the course of history would flow on and on. "Enough? Enough?" he said, reflecting on the subject of my inquiry. "Enough is a matter of circumstances, isn't it? It depends on a nation's ambitions, and on the threats it faces." I asked him whether history couldn't teach us something about the matter of enough, and he smiled benignly. "No, no—please don't take history too seriously," he said. "It's an illusion—the thought that we can perceive the familiar in the past. History does *not* repeat itself. The fact is we have never been more on our own than we are right now, and it's the peculiar power of the atom, combined with the speed of technological change, that has made it so."

SECRETARY MCNAMARA, a direct, efficient man, believed he had a clear picture of what constituted enough. He described it for me unhesitatingly when I talked to him in his office, and, for emphasis, he wrote it down on a sheet of paper as he spoke. The paper read, "Enough = the amount required to deter a Soviet strike + the amount needed to minimize damage to this country in the event of a strike." The formula was not new to me; in fact, I had already discovered that most government officials subscribed to it, but that it didn't mean the same thing to all of them.

That word "deter" was forever being differently defined, and in my view this was of supreme importance, inasmuch as "deterrence" was the basis of our entire policy—including, of course, any possible American resignation from the arms race. Indeed, as I heard the word invoked again and again, it took on an almost mystical quality, as though it represented a truth revealed in Genesis. Actually, I knew, its use in this context went back no more than fourteen or fifteen years, to the time when Soviet troops in Europe enjoyed a numerical superiority and we retained our nuclear monopoly. A Soviet invasion of the West was feared, and we announced that we would deter any such invasion, even if it meant the use of nuclear arms. Now that we no longer have our monopoly, the original concept of deterrence has altered radically. The doctrine has become essentially psychological, because victory in a nuclear war, according to nearly everyone I met, is largely a mirage. "People talk of 'nuclear superiority,' but that's not synonymous with winning a war, as they imply," Secretary McNamara told me. "As a matter of fact, 'nuclear superiority' is ours this very minute. It makes it possible for us to take a Russian strike and hit back, and although that is a considerable achievement, it is not what I think of as victory."

The Secretary's attitude toward victory is shared by most people in Washington, but some officials—particularly elected ones—doubt whether it has yet been widely accepted by the country at large. One congressman—an Ohioan who is an admirer of Mr. McNamara—told me this was certainly true in his district. "The Department of Defense has become the Department of Retaliation," he said, "but it's asking a lot of Americans to expect them to understand that, even when we seem to be getting along with the Soviets. We were all brought up to believe that America was one country that always won its wars. But beyond that, in my opinion, most people, whether they're Russians or Chinese or Laplanders, have an almost animallike faith that in a showdown force can always provide the solution."

For Dr. Winnacker, the policy of deterrence had far-reaching historical implications. In his view, it had the effect of making recent events seem like moments in antiquity. "To think," he said, "that as recently as the Second World War ninety per cent of us were able to remain at home, driving our cars, eating in restaurants, and going to the movies, while the government had the power to call for unconditional surrender abroad. And a few decades earlier, in the days of the Ottoman Empire, the skipper of a gunboat could make foreign policy by going ashore to rescue an American citizen. Wars can never again serve as extensions of diplomacy. We have entered a lifelong endurance contest."

"WHAT will deter a Soviet strike? Answer: Unacceptable damage from our surviving forces." These were words that Secretary McNamara wrote down, emphatically, on another sheet of paper during my talk with him. But, like his formula for deterrence, I found, the words meant different things to different officials. This time, it was the phrase "unacceptable damage" that was variously defined, and this again seemed very important, since, I reflected, the casualties we could inflict on a would-be aggressor were, in effect, synonymous with deterrence. The number of such casualties, it seemed to me, had everything to do with the question of enoughness, but the estimates I heard rarely agreed, though they were all appallingly high. Moreover, they were all admittedly speculative—even the ones offered by officials of the highest rank. "What level of destruction is it that will deter?" Dr. Harold B. Brown, the Defense Department's Director of Research and Engineering, asked. "One impact on Moscow or a hundred and fifty million casualties throughout the Soviet Union? I'd call those the extremes, but someone else might consider either one reasonable, depending on his point of view." Another official suggested that the point of enough as far as the Russians' willingness to absorb punishment was concerned would probably not be reached until their losses exceeded the ones they suffered in the Second World War—about twenty million dead. A sub-Cabinet officer believed that the cause of deterrence as it is now being served by both East and West held out the prospect of three hundred million fatalities in the Soviet Union, Western Europe, and the United States. "Definitely unacceptable," he said. "Definitely unacceptable, too, when one takes into account the factor of associated industrial destruction." So high are casualty expectations, I was given to understand, that even if a nuclear attack were to be made on us, we might choose not to respond in kind, lest nuclear hostilities be stepped up to their full potential. This, I learned, is in keeping with the idea of "flexible response," to which the government is at present committed. This flexibility, it was explained to me, permits us to choose among retaliatory measures ranging from a "spasm response," which means hitting back at an attacker with everything we have, to a "controlled response," which means letting the punishment fit the crime. "Even if New York were destroyed, I would want to investigate the reason and motive before responding," one of the most important members of our government informed me. "Would you want us to respond spasmodically to a single insane attack made by one man with one weapon, for instance? Wouldn't you want us to bear in mind the possibility that we would bring about a worldwide holocaust if we were to do such a thing? I am not suggesting for an instant that an attacker would escape punishment. Our response would be swift, but would it need to be so swift that the President would lack time to evaluate the attack and match it? I know that many people doubt whether measured retaliation could ever be practiced, but if it should be practicable, then our duty, I believe, would be to try to keep any conflict down to a level that, however tragic, was not apocalyptic."

All of the people I talked with assured me that the human species was destined to survive, come what might. Not one of them, whether a "dove" or a "hawk," took much stock in the notion of "overkill"—the assertion that there are already many more than enough nuclear weapons in existence to wipe out the entire populations of the Soviet Union and the United States. ("Why wouldn't things be bad enough anyway?" one man at the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency asked me.) "Overkill" was generally dismissed, I found, as logistically specious. The "overkill" theorists, employing the Hiroshima bomb as a unit of measurement, assume that for every twenty kilotons of nuclear explosive—the power of the Hiroshima bomb—there would be a hundred thousand casualties, which was approximately the number killed in the Japanese city. Thus, one megaton of nuclear explosives would produce five million casualties. Once this premise is accepted, there is nothing to do but add up the supposed megatonnage in nuclear arsenals, which, as everyone knows, now equals many, many times twenty kilotons—or, for that matter, twenty megatons. "By this chain of reasoning, the 'overkill' people could claim that the existence of a single bomb of a hundred megatons would prove their theory, and that's patently impossible," I was told by a senator who leaned to the side of the "doves." "Besides, their calculations are based on what would happen to cities of a hundred thousand or over, and don't allow for people living in sparsely settled areas. Still, as a catchword, rather than a concept, 'overkill' is hard to beat. I know I've been tempted to use it that way more than once."

Perhaps the most authoritative assurance that the species is safe from extinction was given me by General Glenn A. Kent, of the Defense Department's Office of Research and Engineering, who has drawn the grim assignment of projecting the likely casualty tolls in the United States from various types of enemy attacks. General Kent, a quiet-spoken, pleasant man, told me, "Even if we did nothing to protect ourselves, enemy attacks would be unlikely to kill more than seventy per cent of the American people. That's where we find the curve of our graph flattens out. Strong diminishing returns set in there, you see, and that's a law that the Russians can't repeal any more than we can. Naturally, the more protection we had, the higher our survival rate would be. With an efficient system of civilian defense—and, of course, some ballistic-missile defense—we might save seventy per cent or more of our society—and by 'society' I mean the viability of the country. Some people claim that if we were to get below a certain survival threshold, we couldn't ever recover, but in my opinion that threshold would be represented by a very, very low figure. The number of survivors certainly wouldn't be anywhere near as low as the number of Pilgrims who landed at Plymouth, and look at what that small number was able to do with this country in a comparatively short time."

"WE have tens of thousands of bombs, but if only we had just a single way of telling when we'll ever have enough of those horrible things!" Senator John O. Pastore, of Rhode Island, said to me. "We're up against the fear of the unknown, and it makes us suspect we have too little when all the time we may have far too much. How long do you suppose we can go on the way we're going?" The Senator, who is chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, was discussing still another facet of enoughness—the question of whether we possess the patience and forbearance to go on indefinitely adhering to a policy whose triumph lies in the preservation of a "terroristic peace" (as General Austin W. Betts, of Army Research and Development, had called it when I talked to him). Like many of his colleagues, Senator Pastore saw deterrence as a mosaic of precarious details and assumptions, every one of which must be kept carefully in place, lest (as the Russians also theorize) a glaring weakness prove irresistible to a would-be aggressor. It seemed to the Senator to demand unending alertness—the whole distracting, expensive process of contriving a proper "mix" of conventional and nuclear weapons, small and big, in order to present the Communists with a "credible deterrent." This term, which I heard frequently, refers to our having a "family" of weapons so variegated that the Communists could not doubt, as it is sometimes thought that they may, our disposition and ability to employ violence whether the action required should be limited or all out in scope. As Secretary McNamara testified last winter before the House Armed Services Committee, "The greater our variety of weapons, the more political choices we can make in any given situation."

The claims on our endurance of which Senator Pastore spoke are everywhere apparent, a stark and now familiar vista. The bombs and missiles, the submarines and newly developed tactical weapons, all stand for such claims, and so, of course, do the defense plants in which millions of men are earning a livelihood. So do the vast numbers of men in uniform—each of whom, as an Air Force major observed to me, can accomplish his mission "only if he never does what he's been trained for." Moreover, I was often told, the longer we hold to our present course, the more binding grows our commitment to deterrence—a word that, it might be mentioned, some officials consider simply a euphemism for "arms race." Certainly our nuclear stockpiles must tend to have such a binding effect, for their longevity, it appears, is almost as impressive as their potency. "Nuclear materials aren't products that go away," I was informed by Spurgeon Keeny, of the United States Office of Science and Technology. "They're not like tanks or planes, whose life expectancy is ten to twenty years. They're made of uranium 235 and plutonium, and that stuff lasts forever, as far as I'm concerned. Plutonium has only lost half of its power after twenty-four thousand years, and as for uranium 235, the period is seven hundred million years." The plants turning out our nuclear weapons are another binding factor. Their capacity, I was told, had been set at formidable levels in the somewhat panicky months immediately after we discovered that our nuclear monopoly was gone. Production quotas were considered not only high but unattainable, though they proved not to be so. Costs, too, were overestimated, as it developed, which inflated both the government's outlay of capital and the size of its industrial empire. Subsequently, demand, too, became inflated. "Having atomic weapons became a status symbol for our services," Arthur Barber, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, told me. "The Army wanted to push them into artillery guns, the Navy wanted to pipe them aboard carriers, and the Marines didn't want to have that left-out feeling." In this same connection, James T. Ramey, a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, told me, "What we called the tin-cup theory was then the fashion. The military would come to the Commission and simply say, 'We'll take whatever you're capable of giving us.' "

Tin cups haven't been rattled quite so freely since 1961, when Secretary McNamara took office. Even the Secretary's detractors concede that he is not given to indiscriminate buildups. The standard business practice of evaluating cost effectiveness has been brought to bear heavily on the operations of the Defense Department, and while this may not quite be a redemptive event, it has lent a certain circumspection to the thinking of our military establishment. There are many Pentagon officials, I found, who are quite as well aware as General Kent that the law of diminishing returns isn't easily repealed. "It isn't true, as many people seem to think, that the more weapons we have, the stronger we are," I was told by Alain Enthoven, a former university economics professor who is serving in the Pentagon with the title of Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Systems Analysis). "That's not so, any more than if a man were to go out and spend his money on every pair of shoes in sight. How many of them would he ever get around to wearing? These weapons systems are too damn expensive for us not to ask ourselves whether the next billion we're thinking of spending will do as much as the last billion." I got some idea of just what could be done with one of those billions from Kermit Gordon, Director of the Bureau of the Budget, who was happy that in the year just past defense costs had been cut by almost precisely that amount. "That billion is a lot bigger in civilian terms than it is in military terms," he said. "With it we can underwrite the anti-poverty program for a year. It's more than the government spends on medical research, and it could make it much easier for us to lay out funds on nurses' education and on the construction of libraries and college classrooms. We could use more of these billions, of course, and perhaps they'll be forthcoming. The Secretary is asking questions that have long been overdue. He is insisting on knowing just what contingencies we are preparing to meet; in other words, he is taking the trouble to relate plans and procurement."

Mr. McNamara's application of the cost-effectiveness principle notwithstanding, our vast industrial complex for producing weapons is a long way from a shutdown. Only a few months ago, William C. Foster, director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, disclosed at the current disarmament conference in Geneva that since 1962 we had tripled our inventory of strategic missiles, and that, unless the concept of enoughness becomes clearer, we shall have more than eight times as many missiles by 1965 as we had in 1962. New production schedules always seem to spring up, as if they followed some immutable law of nature. One justification for increased production was described to me as "humane." This is a variation on the concept of deterrence, and is known as "damage-limiting capability." Its humaneness, in practice, would consist in our aiming our warheads at specific military targets—missile-launching sites, for example—rather than at the enemy's cities. Thus, it was explained to me, densely populated areas would be spared, and at the same time our warheads, by forestalling the dispatch of Communist warheads, would limit damage to this country. The man who gave me this explanation, a highly placed official in the Defense Department, went on to mention that we wouldn't necessarily know it if warheads were being fired at Communist missile silos whose weapons had already been launched or at airfields whose bombers were already en route to our shores, but then, imponderables had to be expected in defense planning. "The important thing to remember about damage-limiting capability is that it's not anti-population but anti-military," he said. "Naturally, it takes fewer weapons just to kill people than to wipe out military targets that are shielded and widely dispersed." (Dr. Brown of the Defense Department informed me, philosophically, "In peace it's called deterrence, and in war it's called damage-limiting capability. One country's capacity for destruction is another's damage-limiting capability.")

Often, I gathered, nothing more than a kind of atmosphere and momentum keeps production rolling. One man who told me about this was a former member of the A.E.C., a veteran of the tin-cup days who left the government a few years ago to resume the practice of law. "Perfectly sensible people would sit around a conference table saying they wanted more and stronger weapons," he recalled. "More targets were constantly being dreamed up. There were times when I thought *individuals* would be named as targets. I myself started out as one of those people whose attitude toward nuclear bombs was the simple, traditional one that they were damned powerful weapons and a good thing to have. I wasn't on the Commission long before I discovered that all that seemed to count was the efficiency of the manufacturing complex we were running—from uranium mines to the finished product. No one ever mentioned what the product was, what it could do. We might have been punching out autos. Eventually, my business instincts were offended. I realized that the Defense Department's budget was—and still is, for that matter—far bigger than is apparent. Thanks to the legal setup, the Defense Department didn't have to pay a cent for the bombs it was insatiably demanding. The A.E.C. was the one that footed the bill. It was then that I began to pay some careful attention to the product, and in doing so I went out to the Pacific for some weapons tests. I stood on an island seventeen miles from where one of those products went off, and felt my skin grabbed and pricked, as though someone had put a match to it—as though it had been exposed to the heat from some new sun. When I got back, I began to ask questions, which was then much less fashionable in the government than it is now, and pretty soon I found that I was no longer going home with the bunch, so to speak—that I was off the circuit."

AS I wandered about Washington listening to high government officials, it sometimes crossed my mind that one of the most elusive aspects of the elusive question of enoughness might be whether there was enough wisdom in our own nuclear capital—or in any capital—to resolve the dilemmas that our own ingenuity had called forth. Such doubts were certainly not inspired by any lack of diligence on the part of the officials I met; many of them were putting in twelve-hour days in their offices and doing homework over the weekend besides. Nor did I encounter a shortage of intelligence, or even of intellectuality. Wherever I went, though, I listened to thoughts that were touched with uncertainty and misgiving. This was true even of the statements made by the most ardent proponents of a particular point of view. These men might start out loud and clear, but sooner or later qualification would creep in. Occupied as they were with the daily pressure of duty, they seemed more pragmatic than philosophical in their realization that with nuclear weapons there could be little margin for error. It seemed that only infallibility would do, and, as though that weren't a tall enough order, it had to be achieved before new nuclear countries emerged, for such a development, it was made clear to me, was bound to complicate the already complex choices that had to be made. Yet time and again I heard my questions answered with questions. Although high officials unhesitatingly cited the opinions of writers and thinkers who were unburdened by the cares of government, I came to see that within the government itself tentativeness was everywhere, and nothing was a closed book. One man, a scientist who spends his twelve-hour day designing weapons in the Pentagon, wasn't even sure we *should* defend ourselves under any and all circumstances. "I think we should defend ourselves only if we don't give up essential elements of our national life," he told me. The principle of deterrence itself was open to question. Everyone accepted it as our official position now but not necessarily as our permanent one. "I think of deterrence as something to build on," Senator J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said to me. "It might lead us to a different policy at some point in the future, but, naturally, we would require solid evidence that it was a better one than what we now have." Another prominent congressional figure felt that the policy of deterrence was gradually losing its good name. "Deterrence is beginning to sound like a blueprint for winning the next war," he said. "Both sides are talking too much about knocking out each other's communications networks and resorting to tactical weapons." Many officials, I found, included among our unresolved dilemmas the disposition of tactical nuclear weapons. Some held that if we opened up a runaway lead over Russia in this department, it would enhance our political influence for a good long time, but others saw different implications. They were concerned lest the use of tactical nuclear weapons in the field lead inevitably to retaliation with strategic, or anti-population, nuclear weapons. Nor were these people happy about the ease with which low-yield weapons were being turned out, to be placed in the hands of military units as small as battalions. "We're on record as opposing proliferation of nuclear weapons among nations, but we're proliferating them among ourselves," a Foreign Service man remarked.

Money was another widespread concern. Many officials raised the question of whether we might conceivably be subverting our economy in the name of the most patriotic of all causes—the nation's defense. If we invested unwisely in the arms race over a long enough period, I was frequently told, we might have to pay dearly in terms of taxes and inflation. We might also have to pay dearly in terms of peacetime international economic competition, for defense production, being for the most part narrow and specialized, could have little application to consumer markets. On this subject, Mr. Barber of the Defense Department observed a few months ago at a seminar of the Peace Research Institute, a private Washington organization, "If this trend [of emphasizing defense contracts] continues unabated, in ten years we may have a world monopoly on vehicles that will take us to Venus and Mars, but we may all be driving cars made in Germany, France, and Japan. These nations are putting far more research and development into increasing their commercial efforts than American industry is." The economy was also on the mind of Lawrence Mirel, a young legislative assistant to Senator George McGovern, of South Dakota, at the time I discussed with him his ideas of enough. "Enough is a function of what *else* you think is important," he said. "Can the military ever have enough money to do what they believe in? No—no more than there could ever be enough teachers and schools to satisfy me. Enough is a matter of weighing national needs against each other—wisely, without catering to one need above all the others."

Among members of Congress, too, I encountered mixed feelings about the money being spent for national defense. One congressman from the Midwest told me that he found it hard to apply ordinary standards of prudence to the defense-appropriation bills that came before him. "It's crisis money they're asking for," he said. "It's like money for an operation—you don't ask questions, you just go ahead and spend it." Senator Pastore had also mentioned difficulties in judging such legislation. "When Mr. McNamara and the Joint Chiefs and the Air Force come up here to the Hill and ask us for fifty billion dollars, there's an expertise demanded of us that isn't easy for laymen," he said. "How do I really know whether or not we need those thousands of bombs that Defense claims we need? And maybe Mr. McNamara, who is no technical man either, is wrong when he tells us he's against the country's having a nuclear aircraft carrier. And how can we tell exactly what's wrapped up in that fifty-billion-dollar defense budget? Maybe it includes some unnecessary office chairs. It all ends up with our having to have trust, the same as the public has to trust us legislators. When we behave like jackasses, I think the public is more hurt than vexed."

Numerous officials assured me that even if we *thought* we had enough weapons, we wouldn't dare really believe it, because there was always the chance that foreign researchers might hit on new kinds of weapons that would render ours obsolete and ineffective. This view may well be equally prevalent in Moscow and other capitals, since it is widely known how busily we ourselves are engaged in "r. and d."—short for "research and development." A good part of our r. and d. is actually concerned with improving the weapons we already have, but its futuristic side has more appeal for our government officials. Many of them, I found, hoped that our scientists and engineers might come up with a weapon at once so novel and so decisive that it would, in effect, restore the political power we had during our years of nuclear monopoly. (Presumably, we would use the power differently.) But with r. and d., as with other aspects of defense, there were officials who discerned a basic dilemma. Innovation had always begotten innovation, these people said, and went on to argue that r. and d. might well amount to little more than a technological egging on of the arms race. "If you let it, r. and d. can lead you straight into fantasy," one official told me. "Why, just the other day I heard of some Air Force people who are itching for space weapons with which to fight battles back of the moon."

Many r.-and-d. projects definitely in the works have an aura of fantasy. Among them, according to statements given out by the House Armed Services Committee, are a death-ray type of weapon that may be evolved from laser research, chemical and biological agents that can temporarily incapacitate human beings, space platforms for the launching of weapons, and orbiting missiles that can be made to strike targets on command. The possibility of an anti-missile missile is also, of course, widely mentioned, but there is no general agreement that it would prove a hundred per cent effective as a defensive weapon, which is probably the only standard that matters. Its responses, it has been suggested, might well be thrown out of whack by decoys or by bombs fitted with multiple warheads. Moreover, I was told that sheer numbers of missiles could overtax the responses of anti-missile missiles—a possibility that clearly would call for a sharp increase in weapons production. One man I talked with—a researcher with the A.E.C.—wasn't sure that even a foolproof anti-missile missile would be useful. "Suppose that an enemy missile heading for Detroit is intercepted just as it crosses high over Cleveland," he said. "Well, Detroit will come out all right, but there will be one hell of an explosion in Cleveland."

The two men directly in charge of r. and d. for the Defense Department—Dr. Brown and his deputy, Dr. Eugene Fubini—attributed no special mystique to their domain, saying that whatever unusual ingenuity was involved had to be closely tied to the needs of the political world. "There are very few technological facts that cannot be explained to intelligent laymen," Dr. Fubini told me. "R.-and-d. men simply try to present a kind of gross geometry for the consideration of those responsible for particular decisions. If the deployment of a particular type of weapon is being considered, we show different frameworks in which this may be accomplished, each framework having its own set of details, such as costs and effects. If one framework doesn't suit, then another is presented. That's the basis on which r. and d. has always operated—as far back as the bow and arrow. The musket, you know, didn't succeed the bow and arrow because it was technologically superior. Those first muskets were dreadful, as a matter of fact. They were far less accurate than the bow and arrow, but the bow and arrow, you see, had priced themselves out of the weapons market. The cost of making arrows and of training archers had got way out of line." As for Dr. Brown, he felt that we had to go ahead with our r. and d. as long as the Communists went ahead with theirs. We simply couldn't afford to be sloppy, and hence vulnerable, he said; nuclear war might well be unthinkable but that wouldn't make it impossible. "It's too bad that this is a two-man game," he went on, referring to our r.-and-d. contest with the Communists. "But the game is growing older, and someone, I suppose, might argue that it's a good thing—that the more weapons systems the two sides devise, the fewer surprises there can possibly be in store."

The need for wisdom, it was pointed out to me in the course of my inquiry, is compounded by the curious possibility that the United States and the Soviet Union may be in arms races with themselves as well as with each other. This possibility, which adds immeasurably to the elusiveness of the question of enough, derives from the fact that the arms race is by no means the symmetrical affair that it is commonly supposed to be. We and the Russians, it appears, do not match new weapon for new weapon, production schedule for production schedule. In the period when we were building up our fleet of B-52 bombers, for example, the Russians were concentrating on missiles, and when the Russians were preoccupied with submarines, we were busy expanding our ground forces. Moreover, according to Defense Department people who have dealt with the Russians, their nation and ours don't even go about assessing the respective threats to themselves in the same way. "We don't believe a nuclear war would last long, but they seem to think in terms of campaigning through one," I was told by one of Secretary McNamara's chief assistants. "They envision a devastating beginning for both sides and then a war that would go on and on until the Americans finally learned the same lesson that Napoleon and the Nazis did—that Mother Russia's sons, and her winters, and her geographical vastness are unconquerable."

The upshot of this asymmetry, I gathered, is that to a considerable extent there may now be in progress two unilateral races that bear little relation to each other or to the main one that we are constantly hearing about. These races, clearly, would not be going on if each side knew what the other was up to, but until such a day dawns, the Pentagon and its Soviet counterpart will be understandably preoccupied with perfecting what they do know about for certain: their own military establishments. "If we had no guessing to do about Russia's plans, there would be no problem of enough," one of our leading military researchers told me. "There will always be a need for some weapons, in my opinion, but if we knew there would be no thermonuclear war, would we need to deploy as many missiles as we have? And, conversely, if we knew there *would* be a war, wouldn't we damn well be doing even more than we are? In other words, what I am saying to you is that decisions are being made today on the basis of incomplete information."

Some of the guesswork that currently guides governments is being eliminated by means of inventions like the so-called spy satellites now in orbit over both Russian and American territory, but potentially, according to various officials, the great breakthrough in mutual intelligence could come through treaties that effectively limit the production of weapons and control their possible use; if agreements of this sort should ever be reached, then international inspection of defense plants, laboratories, missile bases, airfields, and the like would become automatic and routine. Until that occurs, though, "we're in the catastrophe business," as one official put it. "Quite simply, there are two approaches to security: through arms and through arms control," I was told by Adam Yarmolinsky, Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense. The arms-control approach has never been tried, of course, and its unfamiliarity, I found, seemed to impose upon some officials the need for exerting a nuclear wisdom, so to speak, as opposed to the conventional variety. A number of them appeared to look upon arms control with an instinctive mistrust, denouncing it as colossal naïveté or a colossal swindle or both. It conjured up for them the spectre of politicians' capitulating to "peace demands" from the multitude. "Disarmament isn't some vague, wishful evangelism," a career man in the State Department told me. "If it ever comes, it will be the culmination of a long series of delicate political settlements."

Reservations about arms control are, of course, not a purely American phenomenon. Many of the governments that are accustomed to our protection, I was told, fear that arms control might lead to the withdrawal of that protection. (In fact, I was frequently informed that probably the only country as keenly interested in disarmament as we are is the Soviet Union.) Nor are our sister nations above a hypocritical maneuver or two when it comes to the ideal of disarmament. A member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee recalled that back in 1961, at the very moment the United Nations General Assembly was unanimously passing a resolution calling for worldwide disarmament, seventy of the voting nations were dickering with the United States for military aid. And about a year ago, Secretary Rusk told me, when the relations between Russia and this country were in one of their more benign phases, he was sounded out on the subject by a European Foreign Minister as the two men were leaving a conference table abroad. "The Foreign Minister apparently had rosy hopes for the future," the Secretary told me. "As we walked out together, he said, 'If you and the Russians sign a disarmament treaty, would you give us a good price on some of the weapons you're getting rid of?' "

Skeptical or not, practically everyone I saw recognized in arms limitation a potential method of relaxing the present military standoff. One senator was for it because he thought we were too trustful in our attitude toward the Communists. "Every day the sun comes up, we're letting them decide whether they feel like being deterred or not," he said to me. "If we or some international inspection commission could get in there, we could tell for sure what they had in mind." The more I discussed arms control with government officials, the more it seemed to me that no sharp line divided the "doves" from the "hawks." It was certainly not a case of their being in harmonious agreement without knowing it, but they did have a bond in the seriousness with which they approached the subject of arms control. When I remarked on this to Dr. Herbert Scoville, Jr., Assistant Director for Science and Technology of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, he nodded, and cited as supporting evidence his own government career. "I was with the Defense Department, then I went over to the C.I.A., and now here I am with the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency," he said. His present boss, William C. Foster, the director of the A.C.D.A., previously served as Deputy Secretary of Defense.

The absence of a sharp dividing line was evident everywhere, especially in the last place where many people would expect this to be true—in the Pentagon. The various military services there, I heard, were all sponsoring arms-control studies of varying sorts; even the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the very heart of American militarism, were doing so. "We're used to dealing in weapons in this building. We can fire them for you or control them," I was told by a Navy captain whose chest was awash with decorations from the last war. Paeans to relaxing the arms race were almost suspiciously easy to come by, but I did hear of a number of specific steps that had been taken toward this end. One of them is the disclosure, since 1961, of fairly complete data concerning our arsenal of missiles, bombers, submarines, and the rest. By advertising our strength in some detail, our policymakers reason, we may help to discourage any rash enterprise on the part of a potential enemy. "It's a new conception of security," a Defense Department official told me. "Security used to be regarded as synonymous with secrecy, but now it's being turned into a form of open communication. The President himself has coöperated in this, even telling the world, last July, the number of special-action teams we have trained to combat subversive activities abroad."

Paradoxical though it may seem, the goal of restraining the arms race is taken into account even in the designing of our weapons. Some types of arms, it appears, convey a more menacing impression abroad than others do, equally devastating though they may all be. Consequently, Defense Department technicians seek to devise weapons that they consider "unprovocative." A Polaris missile, whose yield is fifty times that of the Hiroshima bomb, is considered a model of tact, I was informed, because it lends itself to both mobility and concealment. "It's as much out of sight under those waves as though we had general and complete disarmament," a young weapons designer told me. "But that Jupiter missile! It's been phased out for two years now, but that sure was a provocative weapon. It gives me the willies to think we ever deployed it over in Turkey and Italy. It practically screamed that it had no place to go but Russia. It sat out in the open for everyone to see—sleek and erect aboveground, with armed troops guarding it. And it was so vulnerable! I mean, its skin was so thin you could probably shred it with a couple of bullets. All you needed for an anti-missile missile back in those days was a rifle."

Very soon, I was told, all our strategic missiles will be out of sight, deep in underground silos, whose cylindrical walls are hardened with tons of concrete. Far from being vulnerable, these buried missiles are all certified as "survivable"—capable of withstanding a one-megaton shot less than a mile away. While survivability naturally has its military implications, I was told that it is also a formidable political achievement, for if an enemy knows he is up against invulnerable weapons, he is unlikely to be tempted into taking any rash action; in short, it is theorized that the stability of weapons and the stability of the arms race are as one. "Our gain in security doesn't necessarily imply a concomitant Soviet loss," a Defense Department official told me. "That is the great distinction of all arms-control measures that aren't phony. They make for a mutual security. And if the Russians achieve survivability of their strategic missiles, which might be in the next few years, the arms race may be further stabilized."

DESPITE these halting steps toward mutual security, it is secrecy about military and political strategy that remains the general rule, and it is deterrence—the great alternative to arms control—that remains our fixed policy, as it may for years to come. Its fortunes record now moments of high jeopardy, now phases of almost millennial promise, these rises and falls all being traceable to the fear we share with the Communists; namely, the fear of the daily possibility of a surprise attack. Neither side, I was assured over and over, has any wish to initiate such an attack, but both are deeply aware that an accident may upset their plans. Our own officials are haunted by the thought that we may all be ambushed by error, human or mechanical, Soviet or American. They are in almost continuous conclave about this, I learned, their sessions being devoted to imagining what could possibly go wrong, since they know that in the absence of a deliberate attack the policy of deterrence depends for its efficiency on their imagination. Fortunately, we are not alone in grasping this point. One of our highest officials, a man who sees top-secret intelligence reports, told me, "The Russians are storing their weapons carefully. And they, too, are taking care that only their most responsible people retain control over those weapons."

The same official doubted, however, whether the Communists' caution quite matched our own, and as I listened to him and to colleagues of his, I could not help being impressed by the meticulous efforts we are making to forestall mishaps. The construction of our bombs is a case in point. They are fitted out with all manner of safeguards. A bomb, I was told, will not go off accidentally even if it is dropped from an airplane, consumed by a fire, or struck by lightning. At most, its non-nuclear high-explosive section—its priming fuse, so to speak—might go off, but that would produce only a high-explosive blast. The nuclear warhead, it seems, can be activated only if "several things" happen in proper sequence, after which a set of electrical signals have to be flashed in a certain pattern with precise timing. Even then, I was told, a weapon will still not be activated until it has passed through various environmental changes involving velocity and barometric pressures. A special switch for arming the weapon can be tampered with only if the weapon is disassembled—and therefore disarmed. As another form of safeguard, nuclear-weapons designers sometimes deliberately omit automated gadgetry from their creations, to keep them from being fired too easily. For example, I was told by John T. McNaughton, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, that one of the most important steps in the launching of a certain kind of missile, the process of providing the launching mechanism with its critical power supply, is performed in a fashion that might make an onlooker think he was down on the farm. "When the signal for that step is given," McNaughton said, "a man standing in a distant corner starts turning a hand crank that looks just like the one on an old-fashioned ice-cream freezer." As for the arming of such a weapon, the various steps necessary have been made too numerous and too complex for any one man to handle. This also applies, McNaughton said, to preparing a one-man fighter-bomber for takeoff with nuclear armaments. "The pilot would have to be an octopus with a twenty-foot reach to be able to do it all by himself," he went on. "And even if he were able to, he couldn't take off without proper authorization. If he tried it, he'd find his plane's runway blocked by barricades on the airfield. They're always in place to provide against the possibility of anyone's trying a stunt like that."

Such acts of individual impulsiveness, it was emphasized to me by numerous Defense Department officials, were possible only in movies and novels, and my informants displayed a distinct touchiness about plots that involved pilots zooming off on self-authorized bombing missions. "Positive control," as it was called, was exercised at all times, I was told. Thus, no Strategic Air Command pilot was permitted to fly beyond a predetermined point without an explicit "go" order, which had to come from the highest authority and could not be sent out by mistake, as novelists have suggested. I gathered, though, that this was an administrative rather than a physical restraint—and that, as an official put it, was "the difference between 'may' and 'can.'" One Defense Department man did concede that, through what he described as "a fantastic combination of extremely unlikely possibilities," the crash of an S.A.C. plane could result in an accidental nuclear explosion. The odds against it were enormous, he emphasized, but he did reluctantly contemplate the possibility. "What if the plane crashed on an American city?" he asked. "We wouldn't know who or what had hit us. Until we investigated, we wouldn't know whether there had been a crash or an attack. And in a few years the investigation might be truly complicated if new nuclear powers had entered the arms race."

One important safeguard on nuclear missiles consists of "permissive-action links" (known, cozily and inevitably, as PAL), which are electro-mechanical locks that only American officers in possession of a special code can unlock. The inspiration for PAL was itself a sort of accident, I learned from Commissioner Ramey of the A.E.C. Ramey, who was formerly the executive director of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, told me that the PAL system was largely the by-product of an inspection tour of missile bases in NATO countries that he and members of the committee made in 1960. "We were scared stiff by what we saw," he recalled. As the group looked over the bases, he said, they became increasingly worried by the infringement of our national sovereignty, since it was apparent that we didn't necessarily retain control of our own weapons when they were in foreign territory. "It was always the same, whether we were in Britain or in Turkey," Ramey went on. "The ally on whose soil the base was situated owned the delivery vehicle but not its warhead. That belonged to us. If the missile ever had to be launched, a so-called two-key arrangement was supposed to go into effect, which meant that an officer of ours and, say, his Turkish counterpart each had a special key of his own, which was to be inserted in the proper place. When that was done, the weapon would become operational. But we wondered what would happen if, for some reason—two NATO allies falling out, perhaps—the Turk decided to overpower our man and take away his key? Why, the Turk would have himself quite a modern weapon, that's what. It wasn't long after we returned home that PAL was figured out."

Important though PAL and other such safeguards may be, they are only one aspect of the government's concern that, come what may, in war or peace, the command and control of our men and arms be preserved within the bounds of orderly, Constitutional authority. It is the inordinate power of modern weapons, I was told, that has made something special of "command and control," as officials now refer to this once routine matter. A governmental committee has met dozens of times to figure out ways of preventing an accident from irretrievably harming our form of government, and a number of these meetings have been attended by the President himself. "There wouldn't be much sense in defending ourselves if we neglected to preserve the Constitution," I was told by Deputy Secretary Cyrus R. Vance, a forthright, thoughtful lawyer who is the second-highest member of the Defense Department, and who has spent many long hours pondering the intricacies of command and control. Under the law, Vance informed me, the President, and the President alone, controls the detonation of American nuclear weapons, even for peacetime testing. Once the President has decided that such an event may take place, his order makes its way down the long chain of command that ends with the man on the firing line. This arrangement appears manageable enough at present, but in a time of nuclear crisis unexpected contingencies might come thick and fast. It is the possibility of such contingencies, I gathered, that has provoked the thoughts and speculations of the committee considering command and control, nearly all of which have to do with insuring that we are never without the services of a President. "The President's survivability is crucial to our way of life," a member of the committee told me. "As our highest elected official, he normally goes a long way toward standing for the popular will. If we were attacked, that might be more true than ever, because it might be impossible to convene Congress."

This official didn't discuss the committee's conclusions, if any, but he did give me an idea of the sort of question it dealt with. One example had to do with just who should be with the President in the event of a severe crisis. The President might have to operate out of a relatively cramped refuge at a time like that, and this would seriously limit the size of his emergency staff. His Secretaries of State and Defense and the Joint Chiefs were obvious choices, but who else? Wouldn't the chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission have important opinions about fallout conditions? What about the President's family and his trusted personal advisers? Whoever finally made up the group, what would it have to decide? Incoming reports about the developing situation would determine that, and these reports, in turn, would depend on the President's communications setup. In view of his cramped quarters, it was a question whether it would be realistic to provide him with, for instance, a large display board, like the one at the Strategic Air Command Headquarters at Omaha, which, among other things, can show planes and missiles en route to their targets. And whatever the size of the board, what kind of information, in general, would it make most sense for the President to receive? That was a vital question, the committee member said, since it might determine whether the President ordered a controlled or a spasmodic response to enemy action. Computer data would help the President reach that decision, and this raised the question of what type of computer would do the job best, and with what other computers the Presidential computer would have to be able to communicate if he were to receive adequate data. Since the survivability of the President could not be guaranteed, arrangements would have to be made for the Vice-President's safety, my informant went on, but should our second in command be included among the people who were with the President or should he proceed to an alternate headquarters of his own? As for the President's emergency quarters, the site was another debatable matter. In the past, the consensus had been that it should definitely not be in the vicinity of Washington, but second thoughts are now being had on that score. There were people who doubted if the President would have enough time to get very far from the White House, regardless of whether we were faced with a tactical or a strategic warning—that is, with the prospect of an imminent attack or the prospect of an attack within days or weeks. If a tactical warning came in, the President would only have between fifteen and thirty minutes in which to make his exit. But even if an attack on Washington and other American cities were threatened for weeks, the President would still be strapped for time, because those very weeks might represent a last chance for us and our adversary to come to some sort of understanding. "It might not behoove the President to make for the hills at a time like that," the official said. "It might create panic at home, and as for the reaction abroad, his departure would very quickly be interpreted there as either a sign of weakness or a preparation for the launching of an American attack."

The President's role as capstone of our system of command and control is possibly his most difficult one, it was emphasized by McGeorge Bundy, the Special Assistant for National Security Affairs to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. Each morning, Bundy told me, the President wakes up to the uneasy knowledge that he has the power to order a nuclear bombing. "A President may not know the exact pressure measurements of this or that weapon, the way scientists do, but he knows something they don't—the way it feels to be the one man who is able to direct that those weapons be used," Bundy said. "He lives with that knowledge, and he must regard it with the utmost gravity. President Kennedy, I remember, once said to me that he would consider it 'the ultimate failure' if he ever saw fit to use a nuclear weapon. I have the impression that President Johnson feels the same way. I think of them both as men with an enormous desire for historical success."

Apart from the exercise of poor political judgment, the chances of a President's causing an accident are probably remote; he is surrounded by too many advisers and bodyguards for his actions to be governed by such ordinary lapses as forgetfulness, inattention, or fatigue, or by the quirks of personality to which everyone, including Russians, is subject. But a President's military subordinates—hundreds of thousands of disciplined men in uniform operating within the framework of command and control—are another matter. It was freely admitted to me that, explicit though their orders may be, there is never any telling, as all these great numbers of individuals go about their daily duties, when one of them will step out of line for reasons that may not be known even to himself. The possibility of such missteps, I learned, has prompted the Defense Department to organize what is called the Human Reliability Program, a vast undertaking that, as far as I can make out, is dedicated to the proposition that no one in our armed forces may take leave of his senses and let fly with a nuclear weapon. "Twenty-four hours a day, three hundred and sixty-five days a year, I'm concerned with the maturity and stability of every man under my command," I was told by Colonel Richard R. Stewart, commander of the 820th Strategic Aerospace Division, at Plattsburgh, in upstate New York, where both bombers and intercontinental ballistic missiles are held ready for action. "Twenty-three years ago, when I was at my first airbase, my C.O. didn't need to think that way. When I reported to him as a second lieutenant, he said to me, 'From eight in the morning to five in the afternoon, what you do is my business, but after the flag comes down, it's strictly your own.'"

Most of my information about the Human Reliability Program came from the two men who head it—Walter T. Skallerup, Jr., a civilian, and Colonel Paul M. Richards, of the Air Force—both of whom, I thought, had a very reliable manner. They eventually referred me to a psychiatrist, but before they did, I learned that the program has been functioning since 1962 and that the need for it was underscored by a security violation whose peculiar aspects had aroused the interest of both the Defense Department and the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. (Details of the violation remain classified.) Even before the Defense Department embarked on its Reliability Program, the Air Force had been looking into manifestations of abnormal psychology within its nuclear ranks. Its studies, I was told, were at least partly inspired by an incident in which General LeMay himself had figured, along with an enlisted man assigned to guard the General's parked plane. The incident, Colonel Richards recalled, took place in 1960 at Strategic Air Command Headquarters. "As the General approached his plane, he noticed that someone's initials had been crudely carved on the door of the plane," the Colonel said. "That wasn't much in itself, but it was obvious that anyone who was capable of doing that might have also done something more serious to the plane. Anyway, investigators found that the initials were the guard's, and that he'd scratched them with his penknife."

The Human Reliability Program has since collected other examples of curious behavior, a number of which Skallerup described to me matter-of-factly. "Sometimes Air Police get bored with guard duty and shoot at each other," he said. "Or maybe a guard is spooked by shadows and by his fear of Communists. We once received a report of a sabotage attempt when rocks were found inside a bomber's jet intake. Investigators traced them to a guard who had hit his head on the plane and had decided to get even by heaving rocks at it."

Colonel Richards observed that occasionally men in more responsible posts tended to become prey to unusual strains of conscience while on the job. "They get disturbed about the consequences of using the weapons to which they've been assigned," he said. "It impairs their motivation. There's a man who's flying a transport right now for that reason. He had to be reassigned from an ICBM silo, and I understand that until he started having doubts about what he was doing, he appeared as happy and integrated as a man could be."

Life in a silo was not easy, Skallerup said, and went on, "It's a little like being locked up in a bank vault. Those silos are a hundred feet or so deep, and they probably seem deeper to someone who thought he was joining the Air Force to roam the wild blue yonder. And even if a fellow does draw flying duty, it's drilled into him that things aren't the way they used to be back in the days when a hot pilot was a guy who would grab himself a couple of Scotches and go. He has to be even-tempered and responsible at all times." Various measures are employed to counter the dangers of non-combat fatigue. The political lesson of armed restraint—of deterrence, that is—is taught and retaught, its theme being summed up in S.A.C.'s well-known motto: "Peace Is Our Profession." Air crews are constantly put through combat alerts, the men spilling out of ready shacks to get their planes off the ground in less than fifteen minutes. Missile teams, huddled in their vaults beneath the rural landscape, are frequently rehearsed in countdowns and in the dangerous process of fuelling their weapons with liquid propellants. The Reliability Program, Skallerup told me, covers all men who have "the knowledge and opportunity" to make trouble at nuclear stations. "Emotional checks," as he put it, have been run on a quarter of a million men in the Air Force alone. Of that number, thousands were judged to need clinical evaluation, and of those a significant number were transferred from nuclear duty. The medical records of men on nuclear duty carry special tabs, to alert the examining physician when they report for sick call. If they should betray any sign of instability, the physician is required to make this known to their commanding officer, so that they can be counselled or assisted in an effort to save them for nuclear duty. "It's a delicate balance that we're trying to strike," Skallerup said. "We want the men stable but not phlegmatic. We don't want to hurt their spirit, yet we have to keep them toeing the line."

The psychiatrist to whom Skallerup and Richards referred me was Dr. Eugene R. Inwood, a former Army medical officer who is professor of psychiatry at Georgetown University School of Medicine and who has been associated with the Human Reliability Program since its inception. Dr. Inwood, who received me in the study of his home, outside the capital, provided me with further instances of the wayward nature of even carefully checked, highly trained military technicians. The individual vagaries uncovered had prompted the wider application of a "two-man rule," he told me, whereby officers and technicians on certain duty were under orders to move in pairs when they were in what are called "no-lone zones." The idea back of the arrangement, the Doctor said, was to enable each man to make sure that his sidekick wasn't up to anything aberrational. Guards were assigned to enforce the "two-man rule," and the guards, too, had to move in pairs. "There's no question but that technical people and officers whose training or authority is above a certain level can do substantial damage," Dr. Inwood said. "That doesn't hold for maintenance people, though some of them are in a position to set off explosives that are not nuclear in origin." He added that full colonels and some generals now come under the purview of the Human Reliability Program, which didn't use to cover officers of such rank; they had been included only after protracted urging by the Doctor himself and other psychiatrists, and, climactically, the accidental discovery that an S.A.C. colonel was an alcoholic. Dr. Inwood could recall other instances of alarming conduct—conduct of a sort that, he said, could be expected in any large military organization regardless of nationality. An American sergeant stationed in England had pulled his .45 and threatened to shoot at a nuclear bomb. A technical sergeant holding down an important job in New Mexico had been driven to distraction by a nervous wife and had been reassigned just in time. A technical sergeant at one of our bases in Spain had come to the end of his rope after ten years of nuclear duty, but hadn't asked to be relieved, for fear it might hurt his career; he had refused to answer the phone and had behaved so oddly in other respects that the men under him had finally petitioned a flight surgeon to examine their superior. "The sergeant is running a motor pool now," Dr. Inwood told me, and added, "We try to do the best we can, but if each of us were capable of rational behavior at all times, would there have ever been any need for nuclear weapons to be invented?"

THE entrance to an ICBM silo—or, to give its official designation, launch-control center—is called an "entrapment area," and it is accurately named, as I know from having stood inside one on a day I visited an underground Atlas. The entrapment area was a hollow cubicle of darkness, ten feet long, five feet wide, and eight feet high. The steel door through which I had entered it, with a military escort, had closed behind me. Before me was another steel door leading to the interior. In a corner of the ceiling was a closed-circuit television camera, through which the invisible commanding officer of the missile team within the silo peered at me and my escort as he challenged us, in a sepulchral voice. My companion, responding earnestly, identified us and stated our business; his name was Captain Richard W. Wetzel, and he was ordinarily a silo commander himself. Neither Wetzel's voice nor presence, I found, did much to mitigate my sense of entrapment, and I tried to remember the landscape I had just blotted out for myself. I was a mile from the Canadian border, in a corner of upstate New York above Plattsburgh that was in the nuclear domain of Colonel Stewart, and the countryside there was sunny and verdant with maples and birches. Herds of Jerseys were grazing in a nearby pasture, the property of a dairy farmer who had chosen to sell the Air Force an acre of his land for this emplacement. Now, in the entrapment area, I recalled the sign at the gate leading into the militarized acre: "It is unlawful to enter this area without authority of the Base Commander.... Area is patrolled by armed guards and vicious sentry dogs."

"Fuel!" Wetzel told the television camera, giving the day's password.

The door before us was pulled open, but there were two more steel doors to go—mammoth ones, weighing a half ton each. They were blastproof, and had been designed to protect the ICBM from earthquakes and near misses. Each door was opened only long enough to admit us, and then secured again. When we were past both of them, I found myself looking at a lounge and galley, whose stores, I was told, included a ten days' supply of emergency rations. (The silo, which had taken two years to build and cost ten million dollars, had its own water and power supply.) I followed Wetzel down a short flight of stairs to the silo's headquarters room—an area, about thirty by forty feet, that put me in mind of a hospital operating theatre, possibly because fluorescent lamps glared brilliantly against its pastel walls. The room was crammed with instrumentation, the most prominent piece of equipment being a large console covered with twinkling green, red, and amber lights. Through windows I could see two small rooms, one containing double-decker beds and the other a library of technical manuals stamped "SECRET." The silo's commanding officer was in the headquarters room as I entered. He was sitting in an easy chair watching television, a revolver strapped at his side. The image on the screen before him was that of his own ICBM warhead, and he was viewing it in order to make sure that it wasn't afire or being tampered with. "Channel One," he said, taking a last look at the picture before he rose to greet Wetzel and me. He introduced himself as Major Robert Carr. The officers stood side by side for a moment, two nice-looking, cheerful men in their thirties, Carr blond and Wetzel brown-haired. The working uniforms worn by Carr and his men, several of whom were on duty in the headquarters room, added to the hospital atmosphere. They were impeccable white coveralls, designed to show up any stains made by hazardous chemicals. "An ICBM silo is a spotless place," Carr remarked to me.

Before we left him to inspect the missile, he relieved us of our wristwatches; their straps, he explained, might snag on a piece of equipment or their movements might be damaged by a vagrant high-voltage current. In exchange, he gave us hard hats, and Wetzel and I clambered through a low fifty-foot tunnel that was closed off at each end by two more blastproof doors. The tunnel led to the vertical shaft that held the ICBM, and we were scarcely there when a young technical sergeant in white coveralls joined us unobtrusively. We were standing on a narrow ledge whose walls were stencilled "NO-LONE ZONE." Below us were other levels, and below them were the base of the silo and the missile's launching platform. One could descend into the silo by means of a spiral staircase or by means of an elevator that sounded a clanging, ambulancelike bell when it was in use. Around us were phones, fire alarms, fire-fighting equipment, oxygen masks, and emergency flashlights. Lining the cylindrical chamber were four sets of the most immense springs I have ever seen, their huge coils of steel extending down four levels below; they were designed to help absorb the shock of an earthquake or a near miss by an enemy weapon. The missile itself, at the center of the silo, was sheathed in an encircling wall of steel, called the crib, which was broken by apertures through which one could see the graceful stainless-steel body of the Atlas, eighty-four feet tall. My eye went to the warhead. It wasn't sharp-nosed, as I had expected, but blunt, and it had been painted a drab grayish-white.

"I can't tell you its yield or its target," Wetzel volunteered.

"Is it loaded?" I asked.

He replied pleasantly. "We're on alert, and that weapon cost a million dollars."

We descended the steep, winding staircase to the next level, which, except for glimpses of the ever-present Atlas through the apertures, was solid with panels of contacts and relays. These were crucial in governing the sequence of the missile's actions, Wetzel told me, and I could deduce their importance for myself by the open suspicion with which the sergeant eyed me. There was a constant loud, whirring noise, which Wetzel said was the sound of air being washed in a dust collector. The silo, Wetzel said, depended heavily on water; it was needed for air-conditioning, for cooling diesel generators, and for fighting the fires that might be started by diesel fumes and other hazards. As we walked to the elevator to make our next descent, Wetzel, hospitably making talk, spoke of his plans for his eventual retirement. He hadn't yet decided how to spend it, he said, sounding as though his missile days were already behind him. He rather looked forward to a second career, he went on—not that he regretted for one minute the years he had put in with the Air Force. "It's been a good way of life," he said. "I may go into animal husbandry. I majored in that at Penn State, and it's been of some use to me in my work with missiles. It helped bring out my mechanical skills, and it taught me about chemicals."

The elevator was freight-size and slow-moving, and we spent each of our downward rides listening to its clanging bell. A new sound, deep and thumping, took over as we approached Level 6, and Wetzel showed me where it was coming from—a gray diesel generator squatting massively in a corner. As we continued our inspection, I saw many other things: bottles of helium; small brass pipes, which detected noxious gases in the atmosphere; air-support cylinders, whose function, like that of the enormous springs above, was to help maintain the missile's balance in the event of violent earth shocks; emergency showers, for washing burns that the men might suffer in changing the silo's exotic fuels; and emergency eye showers—basins specially fitted out with spouts for cleansing eyes burned by acids. Here, also, was a large white cylindrical tank containing twenty-three thousand gallons of LOX (liquid oxygen), the missile's primary fuel, whose normal temperature is —297° F. "Plenty of fire in there," he said. "But when we fuel up, the LOX-loading lines get so cold you can't even tap them without injuring your finger."

Eventually, the three of us stood at the very base of the silo, well below the missile's tail. The launching platform was there—a rectangular gray metal slab—and, unaccountably, the sight of it brought back to me one of Blake's "Proverbs of Hell": "You never know what is enough unless you know what is more than enough." Our view of the Atlas was now unimpeded, the bottom of its encircling wall being ten or fifteen feet above us. I looked up toward the warhead, but it was obscured by the missile's gleaming bulk. I wondered whether the birches and dairy herds were still visible in the outdoors above, and looked at my wrist to check the time, only to be reminded that Major Carr had my watch. Wetzel smiled. "Relax," he said easily. "There's nothing to do down here but wait and hope for nothing to happen." —DANIEL LANG

Henry Weitzer: I heard Gil Hamilton speak about the Triple Revolution and was disturbed by what seemed like a jargon word, 'cybernation', which is surrounded by a mystique. Should more properly be called automation. I program a small computer and enjoy a game of chess.

Brahm Bassford: I hope to enter the Presbyterian ministry. I am a socialist (Eugene Debs variety) was a delegate to the last socialist convention and have a post with the Socialist party here in New York City (1182 Broadway). Temporarily unemployed. Last job was counsellor for young men just coming out of prison who lived at a center - a sort of half-way house. Will go on to Seminary, perhaps.

Nell Kirby: I run a tea room type restaurant and have been using Hobart machines which can cook a potato in two minutes. I'm aware of the possibilities of automation.

Tom Ludlow: I'm a Friend. I work with Community Service Society, a family counselling agency. I finished social work grad school in June, 1963. I enjoy skiing and sailing.

Jules: Most of us have indicated we are aware this (TR) is a problem confronting our time and our generation in a personal and vital way. A pressing problem, moving on fast. The question is how fast? This all needs digestion, we need to examine the major force and its ramifications. Jack, will you make some opening remarks as our resource person in cybernation?

Jack: I'll just make a few generalizing remarks to open up discussion. I'd like to look ahead of what is said in the TR document itself. Computers have been around for 20 years and are causing a fundamental change more and more rapidly. Till now, machinery has been special purpose machinery, constructed for and carrying out only certain limited types of repetitive operation. This was true of all previous machinery. While we could invent it, it couldn't invent us. But the computer is a universal machine. It has, potentially, the full capabilities of the human brain and is growing very rapidly toward realizing all these capabilities in actual fact. This universal protean machinery is able to do everything humans are able to do. In the immediate future, the first developments in this general direction take certain economic forms because of specific pressures - these are the foothills of the mountains towering beyond. No one then anticipated 20th century machinery from the Greek use of rubbed amber pick up feathers. The fundamental conditions of human existence will be profoundly changed by "mechanical brains". It is high time to take thought about this.

Jules: Do you think the Ad Hoc statement is a correct description of what the likelihood is?

Jack: A modest description.

Jules: Does it seem radical and way out or within our lifetime?

Nell: Seems nearer than 4 generations away.

Jules: Let's give this some kind of perspective. How far ahead will this become a pressing problem? A major, societal problem? Some of you feel it now. Will it be more than 30 years?

Lillian: Major government programs are now computerized. Government retraining programs are now obsolete. High school drop outs, those who lack aptitude for the math and other understanding necessary to deal with highly technical machinery have no place and will have none. And what do we do about all that multiplying population we don't need?

TRIPLE REVOLUTION, Discussion Group II - Cybernation - November 13, 1964

Jules Sokolsky, discussion leader Dr. Jack T. Schwartz, resource person

Catherine Royer, hostess Rough, not verbatim notes

Jules: Let's go around, introduce ourselves, state a major and a minor interest. I feel we have little chance for meaningful contact and discussion. An important interest to me are my wife, who is here, and my children, who are wonderful.

Lillian Cohen: I am a social worker. I work with people who are daily being replaced and displaced by machines. I want to know what I can tell them that would be helpful.

Grace Fisher: I'm a retired social worker who used to be a supervisor of graduate social work students. I'm now "out of work".

Jack Schwartz: I teach mathematics at NYU, work with computers. I am intensely gratified by the defeat of Goldwater.

Judy Finch: I'm from England, not been here long; was a nurse in London; a Friends Neighborhood Group member, looking for work; licensing problem in nursing work here.

Peggy McLaughlin: Social worker, interested in civil rights and the revolution in human rights. I'm from Philadelphia.

Elaine Sokolsky: Formerly a Sears Roebuck copy writer. Sears suffers mild machine displacement, not so much in NYC, but in warehouses all over the country where machines receive, fill, package, mail, and bill orders with no people involved.

Betsy McKelvey: I work full time in the peace movement, some in civil rights. I'm interested in political ideas affecting disarmament, skeptical about the Triple Revolution - want to see how the TR relates disarmament effectively to human rights and political and economic concerns and structures.

Katherine Royer: I do remedial reading with Puerto Ricans; formerly in publishing. I see what automation does and that it can't be stopped.

Joni Ross: I work with an organization that cares about the quality of life of people all over the world. The cybernetics, arms, rights revolutions represent something new in the world which requires new thinking. I suspect there will be more time and more and more interest in the areas of work in which I, for instance, work, as a result of cybernation.

Robert Dobbs: I edit a trade union newspaper (District 65) - which is a retail-wholesale, department store union, though a large number of its members are employed in offices. A large number of us are employed where automation has immediate effect. I am here to learn and to learn how to communicate what I learn to my principals who could have a say, an influence in the orderly transition of society with automation whereby heads would not be chopped off by cybernation. I'm in the third week of studying piano, something I've always wanted to do. Being here, I can't practice it tonight.

Marjorie Collins: I work with the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, helping prepare an experimental radio program on cybernation. I work with Alliance JOIN, which is 5 weeks old. I want to learn how to communicate ideas to all kinds of audiences. I was formerly a photographer who in a way was displaced by machinery - the magazine market shrank due to TV and the kinds of things required for TV. I didn't approve.

Robert Dobbs: Yes, it's pressing now.

Betsy: One difference I see between automation and cybernation is that practically, in ten years automation will be a major problem, and cybernation will be one in 15 to 20 years. That will be a more complete thing, replace brain, will have a major impact.

Henry: Can machines really create decent literature? Create anything? Ask questions and create original algorithms to answer them? Do we know how the brain works? What does cybernation mean? What about it is really different than automation?

Jack: In principle, and that means ultimately, yes, computers can create, think original thoughts and things. This is a technical problem and any technical problem can be solved. Clearly yes, they already exhibit a primitive originality. This is easier to judge in fields which have objective criteria of success. They can now prove new mathematical theorems never before discovered by people; try all possible permutations in an intelligent way. Literature is tough to think about and evaluate. We know about people and so when we write something we try it out on ourselves or other people to guage the effect. A machine could write for an "external thing" - people - that it "knows" about.

Henry: Can a machine begin to formulate questions?

Jack: I think so - more analytically, understanding, have knowledge of how people and their brains work. This is a kind of knowledge which is rapidly accumulating.

Lillian: Can machines solve medical problems? Cure cancer? We could cut down billions now spent on medical research.

Jack: Not tomorrow. But these are feasible possibilities in, say, 100 years. Maybe less.

Tom: Machines can speed up the time element in putting information together for a purpose by doing it in a more organized way that looks like creative thinking. Must a scientist really know what he is doing when he feeds information to a machine? Is there anything in human thinking beyond infinite patterning of permitations and possibilities?

Jules: There are 2 ways of looking at this: 1) to imagine the possible ways in which cybernation may solve problems now beyond the capacity of man; 2) the pressing problem in our time of the possibility of devices carrying on processes of high human mental level, even up to those of high professional level, and the displacement and replacement this creates.

Henry: What is cybernetics?

Nell: I can read you 2 definitions: 1) American College Dictionary: the scientific study of those methods of communication and control special to humans and machines, especially applied to computers; 2) the scientific study of complex electronic machines and human nervous system in an attempt to learn the nature of the brain.

Jules: We're talking about the ability to make decisions under the control of machines. Automation involves a fixed response; cybernation being different, decisions made under different circumstances - feedback to the brain component which then sends message back to the rest of the system. Automation is analogous to a reflex response; complicated by repetition.

Bob Dobbs: An automatic elevator gets different signals, temporally orders them re up and down. Is there some other quality beyond this which makes cybernetics special?

Jules: Yes, cybernetics systems take multiple factors into account, there's a qualitative difference in range.

Jack: It's a matter or function of complexity.

Jules: Up until now, replacement of simple jobs is significant but not too great. How will it be radically different - that is, productivity, level of tasks undertaken.

Jack: There's an evanescent distinction, like trying to distinguish between women and girls.

Henry: Isn't cybernetics a term discarded after Norbert Wiener's death?

Jack: Words are so much a matter of fashion. Some catch on and live. I think cybernation will live - you have a choice - attach one word to what is simpler, the other to what is more complex.

Brahm: Words just point to the rationalization, industrialization, automation of economic and social structures - all the ramifications are not spelled out; automation is eliminating semi-skilled, more and more skilled labor; cybernation will displace white as well as blue collar jobs, managerial positions. The greater the planning or programming, the more concentrated, centralized industrial (decision making) forces will become. Cybernation is when automation becomes a closed system in which the human link is not necessary.

Jack: It's the difference between having water in the basement and having water overflowing.

Lillian: Is this all we'll discuss tonight, these technical distinctions? We've belabored it to death it seems to me.

Jules: What is actually taking place? We have to talk about that, be sure of it, before we can discuss what to do about it. How are the three revolutions tied together? By understanding the impact of what this means, and getting terms understood we can clarify how to go ahead.

Tom: One way of understanding the mind is to think of how a little child gathers information in different ways, making relationships among things brand new to him. A computer does this - its job is to make these relationships quicker than the human mind can. The synapses of a child's mind make the relationships. Creativity could just be new synapses, whether made by machines or people - that other minds hadn't thought of or slipped over - not spiritual but automatic.

Bob: What fundamental challenges to man does this make? Can you give some educated examples? I ask because I feel this discussion is not so important as a discussion of motive. How do you use a machine? A machine is a machine and the motive of the society which uses it always has and is going to control the effects of the machine.

Jack: Motive is important. Suppose in 100 years a machine is made which could, say, score 10,000 on a current intelligence scale - say, Stanford-Binet. This creates the possibility of great concentration of social power. In the past leaders have always needed the support and labor of hordes of cooperative people; with such machines this will not be necessary. Motive will never have been so crucial before. We see this in weaponry technology already where 4 people sitting at keys in different missile silos can wreak more havoc than all the armies and empires of history. The questions about these highly intelligent machines is who will they obey and what will they be told? We might have machines which would be obedient although highly intelligent creatures.

Bob: But the human soul is still the basis on which we determine how and whether we may live. All these things relatively step up the determination.

Jules: Each soul is more important to others. One man with motive has the power to kill millions. 250 million fatalities do not mean the end of cifilization or even an important blow to it.

Lillian: Who develops these machines? Whose money does it? What is the motivation? I don't think it's the general good. Who's pushing it - the big boys of GM, U.S. Steel...?

Jules: Let's focus a little longer on the actual situation. Let's get some examples of what's actually happening in cybernation.

Brahm: There's a machine that translates from Russian to understandable English. The NY Times is printed, laid out, justified by machine.

Henry: We can have abundance, not scarcity.

Jules: What are some production feats of these machines?

Henry: An automobile plant cut down from 5 or 6,000 workers to 300, and can cut that t down to 3. That reminds me of the story of an argument between Ford and Reuther. Ford was boasting about expanding production capacity and Reuther asked - "Machines will build up your plant, but who'll buy your cars?"

Jules: That's, of course, getting into the problem of distribution. What are some more examples?

Brahm: We've heard about the automated-cybernated bakery in Chicago which produces a great variety of bakery products in which orders are received, materials bought in quantities decided completely by the machine on the basis of many factors including holidays, what the weather will be and so on.

Henry: If it can forecast weather that well, why doesn't it tell us?

Jack: The fellows who do the programming for that bakery say it always makes too little bread or too much - but they're working on it!

Henry: New York State made a treaty with the Federal Government to have its taxes checked by computers on the basis of social security numbers.

(Several indicated this would cut down tax cheating.)

Jules: That's something else to think about - it will force morality.

Bob: We can see this with the bomb now. Everyone has to sit down and talk. We and the Russians have to sit down and talk - we can't fight anymore - we all have the bomb - no one could win.

Tom: There's the problem of centralized data processing, stricter security measures, Fingerprints and all kinds of private and public details can be filed in a central, easily obtainable record.

Lillian: There'll be no privacy any more.

Henry: This sounds a lot like science fiction. In fact, science fictions writers have long been dealing with these possibilities, I can remember two pertinent stories, Henry Kuttner's "My Name is Samuel Hall" and Kurt Vogen(?)'s "The Piano Player". In that one 80% of the future world population live in slums and are unproductive.

Brahm: That's the problem as I see it - the development of a large, lumpen proletariat who doesn't or can't work, dependent on and taken care of in a minimal subsistence way by a few elite who have effective control of the means of production and distribution, have tremendous social power. The masses would be gradually eliminated. This seems bad to me. The Triple Revolution solutions talk about giving people a great deal more in terms of education, housing, medicine, transportation, etc. as an immediate stop gap program, and a guaranteed income to maintaim some sort of effective demand. Effective demand would insure that what was produced would be basically or socially useful in some way. The question is will society divide into two camps as South Africa has done -- a war camp and a concentration camp?

Jules: We've raised at least three questions: 1) the mass vis-a-vis the elite, and the problem of the creativity of all vs. the direction and suppression of an elite; 2) centralization of information and initiative; 3) the effect on man's creativity per se - can man be lulled into a state of losing his individual moral character, the individuality and individual initiative he has prized, through cybernation?

Tom: This reminds me of Orwell's 1984.

Jules: Yes, that's becoming a referent point to more and more people.

Jack: I look forward to celebrating the arrival of 1984 and finding it not what he described.

Marjorie: I'd like to consider if it is necessary to have a so-called guaranteed income. What makesxxxxxxxx us think anybody's going to give it to people? What is the motivation? Is it possible to make automation a good thing for society?

Refreshment break, brief literature announcement. Jules indicates we are to resume with that question and the 3 he formulated. (About a 10 minute break.)

Jules: How can the distribution of goods be regulated so that all get what they need, or will some get more than others; on what basis? We're talking about a world in which you can have everything you want - kind of pie in the sky - when this revolution comes.

Lillian: How can you have this without a job?

Jules: What proposals does Alice Hilton and the TR Statement make about this? Our society is getting richer. How do we spread it around?

Betsy: A guaranteed annual income for everyone by the government.

Lillian: For nothing?

Jules(and several others): Just for living, for being. Dr. Hilton puts it in terms of living certificates.

Betsy: The point of the many questions is - who pays?

Marjorie: Yes, how, and why?

Betsy: The idea is unacceptable to many people. Must get across that the social welfare is a good thing in itself. There's much feeling against it. The scale on which it's being talked about here is much larger than that to which people object, but the ordinary individual is against it.

Catherine: This all may be way out, not basically realistic. Start with certain things which are more acceptable like everyone's right to go to college, based on his grades - not just general.

Marjorie: Just one problem - $3,000 a year would not be enough to take away all the problems.

Jules: Well, suppose it was $5,000 a year - $100 a week. Our society is increasingly wealthy and could manage that. Could you all live on $100 a week?

Marjorie: The problem isn't money but money without work. There's a value, a dignity in working and in earning your living which would be lost. What about all the people who are losing jobs now, on welfare?

Brahm: Many things could be done now that are not done because there is no effective demand for them.- demand through the market and the public sector. This can be attacked, I think, only in a political way.

Marjorie: Should the unemployed ask for this?

Brahm: Unions are in a better position; the unemployed are not in an effective position. Unions need to see how their situation is related to the general and public good and general circumstances.

Jules: That their own welfare is at stake.

Brahm: ~~To give effective demand to people generally;~~ A major change is necessary. How to do it? Answer - a new political organization to raise these demands, not the present Democratic and Republican parties who are not willing to raise demands, make the changes. I see a need for a new party.

Grace: What changes?

Brahm: To give effective demand to people generally. For instance, the public sector could build enough housing units so that 2 million would be needed every year, which would create a great many jobs. Of course, as is pointed out, the public sector is being cybernated as much as the private. This is not an infinite process of multiplying jobs, but in the next 40-50 years there'll be enough needs to fulfill to employ many. We need to relate the productive resources we have - including human energy - to the needs.

Bob: I'll bite on your question. I believe these revolutions can be digested in the moral and political system we have today. That goes against the profit motive, which has guided society since the year one! With the ability to give enough to everybody in the world, you no longer need to takd their labor, and incidentally, their dignity, to make the world go round. A Christian kind of ethic seems to be necessary to utilize abundance. Exploitation will be unprofitable just as wars are unprofitable because there are no winners. There won't be any necessity to be immoral. (Implicatmon - we will have an amoral society.)

Elaine: If there is no alternative but that people accept what has to be done, this will be digested into the present system. Eventually, even if painfully, if only becaue there are no consumers because people have no income - they will be given incomes. The depression was a difficult transition period which resulted in new public acceptance of social concepts. It can be done.

Bob: The main group leading the movement is the oppressed minorities -the Negro freedom movement - who are forcing the issue in terms of their needs for a share in society. Violence is old hat. They're doing it in a militant and aggressive, nut nonviolent manner.

Jules: Does anybody feel the present social and economic system can digest these happenings?

Brahm: It, itself, will grow into something different than what now obtains. For instance, in South Africa several million live ar a better standard, have rights and privileges, leisure and luxuries, more that most Americans ...

Someone: They don't have T.V.!

Brahm: No T.V., but everything else.

Jules: What significance does that have? Are you saying they can digest without fundamental changes?

Brahm: It's an example of how a modern industrial society can adjust to having large numbers of not educated, not skilled, not socially useful, productive people. We saw in the depression how we could adjust through works projects. There are many ways to adjust: socialism, totalitarianism, fascism...

Jules: These are different ways in which it can be digested.

Lillian: The Soviet Union during the past 40 years tried to cope with a society not based on profit and money. They had no 3 billion deficit as we have. Yet they're producing goods for all citizens who are all earning their keep. They're coming closer to capitalism, using money differentials and rewards.

Brahm: It's a pretty bad keep - 4 in a room, not enough food -

Lillian: But the Soviet Union found it could not cope with the monetary and political systems of the entire world - the U.S and the U.K. especially - so they are now converting to a somewhat capitalistic system to motivate for profit - not abundance - to stimulate people to greater productivity. Why produce for abundance without profit? What would be the motive? It's agin human nature!

Elaine: Some here are falling into the trap of contradicting yourselves. Like Galbraith's Affluent Society. Just because there's a distribution of wealth doesn't preclude some people continuing to make profits. They may be somewhat smaller than before, though not necessarily so. The money distributed could certainly help in buying the increased things produced by machines. This need not be mutually exclusive if planned for. Just as people once said social security would never work and it does, you can't put thousands on relief, and we can, you can't build low cost housing, but we do, this can be done.

Lillian: Who'll do the distributing? - the governemnt? Is this the democratic process? The two-party system?

Jules: This is what is happening ~~xxxxxx~~ already. There are standards below or above which people cannot fall or rise. I deal with families who live in low income projects which have parking space for cars at $1 a year. They all have t.v., the smoke, and drink. They have telephones. I assume they all have cars since there's parking space. They're on welfare or unemployment. I gather there's a provision for these things.

~~xxxxxx~~ Tom There is no allowance for recreation in New York City, and this is considered to have one of the most liberal system of benefits.

Grace: The allowance has been increasing over the years. Minority groups have been forcing this. I think since 1934 there has been a gradual increase in the accepted minimum to meet the rising cost of living. More people are included and more flexibility to meet the needs of different age groups -in clothing, for example. Rent allowance is on a flexible scale becausethe housing situation here is so atrocious and it's impossible to get really low cost housing much less any that's adequate.

Tom: Has the minimum increased faster than the cost of living?

Grace: No, it's always one or two years behind because budgets are adjusted every two years or so. So it's always lower.

Jules: Well, what about these low socio-economic families I deal with in my work? Everyone of them seems to smoke, drink, have money to spend on clothing, going out, going to beaches, etc. I thought they were at the bottom of the ladder.

Marjorie: Everyone in housing projects is not receiving public assistance.

Grace: They're not necessarily the lowest.

Jules: We do have a concept of a lowest minimum standard of living and the attempt to raise it be various operations. So we already have the principle of minimum standards and can raise them. Why not absorb and distribute increased capacity? What is there about the new system that requires the social system must change?

Henry: Look at historical moments in the U.S. We have labor exploitation, not truly capitalistic. As a nation we're an undefined, secret blend of capitalism, welfare state. Science today, especially in universities, is subsidized by government and foundation grants. WPA didn't work. The military is in effect maintaining a WPA sort of system. GM and Ford need consumers. There have been modifications toward a welfare state. We have today about 75% better standard of living than ever before; 25% are pretty bad off.

Betsy: And getting worse.

Lillian: We already pay farmers to destroy abundant harvests. Why don't we distribute them instead? What makes you think we'll do better with even more abundance?

Grace: We distribute some.

Lillian: And destroy more. Why? We have abundance now and suppress, reject it. Can this government adjust to an affluent society?

Jack: Well, the answer is yes and no. What will be happening in the middle on longer run will require no other feasible method than some sort of living certificate scheme. This can take different administrative forms. We can retain the same forms we have now but extend social benefits. Or we can raise the profits tax from 45% to 95 or 98%. We would still be ostensibly within the framework of stock market, corporations, etc., but this would give people fundamentally different life choices - so in a sense this can't be absorbed except apparently. Must it come with a rude shock (the transition) or as a slow, gradual absorption, a patch this year, another the next? What can we do right away to ease all the problems. Must they be fairly drastic things or the sort we've done all along, but more vigorously - more vigorous Keynesian measures. The $3 billion (excise) tax cut is too small, for example. About 12 billion would be much better. Walter Heller knows this, but it somehow gets lost in the administrative maze. What is required is a sort of careful and modest pioneering to get across the idea of living certificates a little further in the future; seek out the forms in which it is emotionally and spiritually palatable to the public, e.g. retirement benefits are easier to take -people who have worked hard all their lives are not considered just lazy, but deserving of care; education is felt to deserve subsidy - students are considered to be working. Eventually the upper and lower limits will meet, and one will go immediately from study to retirement!

Betsy: But we're talking about money-oriented profit. The TR statement talks about human-centered profit, takes the emphasis from money from living, to creative, intellectual, spiritual pursuits, to seek and spend energies on other things than money. Immediacies are not like this. Who's preparing the government?

Brahm: How do you define what is profitable? It's a political problem. I'm not too sure there will be a decreasing demand. Profits and unemployment decrease together.

Betsy: Sure, you can play monopoly in many ways!

Jules: In summary, we're concerned with who's making the machines, who's using them and for what. In the early part of the discussion we tried to develop understanding of what the cybercultural revolution is as proposed in the Ad Hoc statement. In the latter part we discussed economic consequences of this revolution. We agree, I think, we need not anticipate any severe shocks if there is a rational attempt at meeting the problems, as there has been to some extent all along.

The nature of the change is so great as to require major changes, but it will not require violence. We will need the greater use of mechanisms of democratic and social change. Some feel the present social system, including the profit motive, can deal with the new forces. Some feel central planning will have to take on many functions of profit.

Henry: What happens when there aren't any jobs?

Jules: We are concerned and feel whoever makes the decisions in the future must be concerned with the dignity of each person, the values of work, creativity, privacy, the right to withdraw - how a man may fit into a system which may require individuals to fit in.

Next week we'll discuss what chance has a human being in the new society?

(Reading: Caught on the Horn of Plenty, W.H. Ferry
TR Statement
Suggested: Cybernation and Human Rights, Theobald

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, New York Metropolitan Region
2 West 20 Street, Room 220, New York City 10011

Autumn, 1964

DISCUSSION GUIDE QUESTIONS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS SESSION, TRIPLE REVOLUTION

1. What do human rights mean in a job-income economy where full employment is the goal?

2. What do human rights mean in a cybercultural society?

3. Has the civil rights struggle in the U.S. been a struggle of the Negro to fit into a middle class value system which will no longer be valid in a cybercultural society?

4. Is the civil rights movement in the U.S. truly a human rights revolution in terms of articulating new goals for our society or is it a movement to help the spiritually and economically deprived climb on board the existing social order?

5. Are there indications that total employment opportunities for Negroes have been decreasing because of cybernation in spite of the civil rights movement for more jobs?

6. Is it only unskilled workers who are losing their jobs because of automation and cybernation?

7. Are there indications that leaders in industry and government are flexible enough to make the decisions necessary to realize the full humanizing potentials of the cybercultural revolution?

8. Does it seem likely that attitudes about work and income in this society will be flexible enough to adjust to the new era?

9. What will be the role of education in helping our society adjust to the new era?

10. Will some societies be able to adjust to the cybercultural era more easily than others? Why?

11. Are there any indications that some societies are already making such adjustments more easily than others?

12. Is there any indication that man's freedom will be threatened by cybernation? Should cybernation be limited to only certain areas of life?

13. How necessary will it be for societies to articulate the kind of society they want to be in order to make the necessary human adjustments to the new era?

14. Will politics as we know it with special interest groups and coalitions working to influence decisions of government become obsolete in the cybercultural era? What will happen to the U.S. political scene in the transition to the new era?

15. Will cybernation make revolutions as we have known them (in which the "outs" replace the "ins" and change the social order to their liking) a thing of the past?

16. Will cybernation make the question of ownership of production and distribution facilities less relevant and thus erase one of the differences between the communist and non-communist world? What will happen to the East-West conflict if and when the profit motive for work is no longer relevant?

17. What will happen to Marxism when economic scarcity has disappeared and the economic need for class conflict has disappeared? What happens to Marxism when the labor now done by people (which is what creates value according to Marxist formulations) is done entirely by cybernetic machine systems, and people are freed to develop kinds of work which are meaningful individually and socially](e.g. in arts and sciences, research, human relations, creative recreation, etc.

TRIPLE REVOLUTION DISCUSSION GUIDE QUESTIONS

Cybernation Session

(1) Why is this called a triple revolution rather than three separate revolutions?

(2) What is the meaning of automation? Cybernation?

(3) How quickly will the transition from our present society to the cybercultural era occur?

(4) What is meant by a redefinition of work? What is the difference between work and labor? How important will this be in the new era?

(5) Will there be a difference in rapidity of adaptation to the new era between industrialized and underdeveloped parts of the world?

(6) What are some of the difficulties that the transition to a cybercultural era will present to our society?

(7) What will life be like in a cybercultural society?

(8) Are we permitting a dehumanized, maximally-efficient socio-economic order to emerge by default?

(9) How can the transition from the present order to a new era be made?

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
New York Metropolitan Region
2 West 20 Street, Room 220
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Discussion Group Guide
Triple Revolution
Fall, 1964

GUIDE QUESTIONS FOR WEAPONRY SESSION, TRIPLE REVOLUTION DISCUSSION

1. Will the cybercultural revolution tend to increase or decrease the ideological differences between the East and the West? Why?

2. Does it follow that a completely cybernated world removes the causes for war?

3. What effect will disarmament have on the total number of jobs available?

4. Has the revolution in weaponry made war more or less likely to break out? Why?

5. Has the revolution in weaponry made nations more or less secure? Why?

6. Is the large military budget of the U.S. creating more or fewer jobs?

7. Has the revolution in weaponry made war obsolete as an institution for dealing with international conflict?

8. Does nuclear deterrence really stop wars?

9. Has technological revolution in weaponry made mass killing psychologically less troublesome to man?

10. Has the revolution in weaponry and defense systems removed wars from the democratic decision-making process?

11. Has the revolution in weaponry made war an international rather than a national decision? 7

12. Is there any such thing as enough in the arms race?

13. Has our large continuous arms budget created a military-industrial elite in our society?

14. Do they have a disproportionate control of the decision-making processes of our government?

15. Are large military budgets a factor in slowing down the cybernation of the civilian sector of the economy?

16. How does the old adage that wars will always be with us because of human nature relate to the present societies with their complex technological and political structures?

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
2 West 20th Street, Room 220
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4.	Alice Mary Hilton, "An Ethos for the Age of Cybortulture", Reprint of the Cyborcultural Research Institute	.50
5.	W.H. Ferry, "Caught on the Horn of Plenty", a Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions bulletin	free

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6.	Alice Mary Hilton, "Cyberculture in the Transition from a War to a Peacetime Economy", an FOR reprint	.20
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*9.	Robert Theobald, "Cybernation and Human Rights", a LIBERATION reprint	.10

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10.	Daniel Lang, "An Inquiry into Enoughness", October 10, 1964, NEW YORKER article	.20
11.	D. F. Fleming, "Does Deterrance Deter?", an AFSC Beyond Deterrance Study	.35
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*13.	Seymour Melman, editor, "A Strategy for American Security" Contains articles on 1) how much military power is enough; 2) problems that demand a review of our military budget; 3) how military budget savings could be effectively used in other areas, and 4) the influence of our policies on the next generation.	.50
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*Indicates that these will be the basic works upon which the respective discussions will be based. Other works listed are suggested supplementary reading.

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Discussion Group Guide
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Americus

November 22, 1963

Miss Nanci Hollander & Mr. David Strauss
Student Activities Building
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Dear Friends:

I am sorry that Mr. Farmer was not able to answer your letter of October 22, earlier. Your are probably aware of the efforts that CORE made in behalf of the Americus situation. Now our takk force worker, Zev Aelony, and the SNCC workers are freed.

We want to thank you for your suggestions and your support in securing the much needed publicity in this case. You may be aware that it was CORE who retained Morse Abrams whose litigation finally secured the release of the defendants.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:lp

SDS

university of michigan chapter

VOICE Political Party & University
of Michigan Chapter of Friends of
The Student Nonviolent Coordinating
Committee
Student Activities Building
Ann Arbor, Michigan

October 22, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Enclosed you will find fact sheets, policy statements and a letter which we have sent to all chapters of Students For a Democratic Society and all Friends of SNCC groups.

We feel that nation-wide demonstrations might produce the public attention needed to force the Justice Department to intervene in Americus,=Georgia. We also feel that we have a commitment to the four people in jail in Americus, to the civil rights Movement and to the American people to publicize these facts which newspapers have failed to print.

Members of the Ann Arbor CORE group have offered to join us in planning our demonstration in Detroit and at their meeting on Thursday they will decide whether or not they will work with us as a group. Having just received your letter of October 18 concerning Americus and the civil rights bill, I know that you also feel that this is a situation of urgency requiring immediate attention.

We would appreciate it if you could send letters to all of you local CORE groups asking that they too plan demonstrations and pickets. Please notify us immediately of your decision and action on this and feel free to call us concerning any questions you might have. The telephone number is 313-6653348.

Thank you verymuch and we hope that you will join us in this expression of anger and commitment to act - NOW.

Yours for Freedom,

Nanci Hollander

Nanci Hollander, Chairman, VOICE Political Party

David Strauss

David Strauss, Chairman, Friends of SNCC

CC: VOICE File
SNCC File

FACT SHEET ON AMERICUS, GEORGIA

In January, 1963, field workers for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee helped set up the Sumter County Movement (Americus, Georgia). The goals of the movement were the registration of Negroes who had never before been permitted to vote, the desegregation of public accommodations, and the establishment of fair employment policies.

On August 8, the leaders of the Movement held a rally at the Friendship Baptist Church in Americus. As the 250 Negroes left the church, approximately twenty police officers began forcibly dispersing the crowd. They battered the crowd with billy clubs and electric cattle prodders. As the people fled, the policemen began arresting those who were considered to be the leaders of the group.

Sallie Mae Durham and Thomas McDaniel, two local youths, were charged with unlawful assembly, unlawful rioting and obstruction of lawful arrest. Their bonds were set at $20,000 each, a sum far beyond the resources of SNCC or the Movement.

Among the others arrested that night were three Northern volunteers serving as SNCC field secretaries. John Perdew, 21, of Denver, Colorado, Ralph Allen, 22, of Melrose, Massachusetts, and Donald Harris, 23, of New York City, were all charged with "inciting an insurrection," If convicted, they face a sentence of death in the electric chair. Eight pease bonds were filed against them, totalling $40,000 each. There is no bond for the insurrection charges.

The next night, approximately 200 Negroes marched to the police station where the five youths were being held. When they arrived, the City Marshal and Chief of Police ordered them to stop praying and singing, and to disperse. The city police immediately attacked the crowd with clubs, black jacks, and cattle prodders. At least four demonstrators wwre severely injured and nearly all were arrested. Among the arrested demonstrators were youngsters ranging from nine to thirteen years of age. James Williams, a Negro who had not participated, was burned by a cattle prodder and kicked until his left leg was broken. He was then literally thrown into a cell with the other prisoners. He was released shortly thereafter, but his leg will be in a cast for at least six months. Two days later, 25 more demonstrators were arrested. On the evening of August 11, Archie B. Porter, a mentally retarded boy of 18, was beaten and arrested. When his mother inquired at the police station, she, too, was arrested. On August 17, another nonviolent demonstration at the police station resulted in 35 more arrests. Among those arrested, was a CORE worker, Zev Aleeony, age 25. He was charged with "inciting an insurrection" and faces the same death penalty, if convicted, as the three SNCC field secretaries. He is being held without bond.

In all, over 250 people have been arrested. Most are now out of jail, and the Movement is continuing its efforts. On October 19, two Negroes were arrested while picketing the local movie theater, which allows no Negroes to enter the front door or to sit anywhere but the balcony. However, the three SNCC field secretaries and the CORE worker are still being held. On November 25, the county Grand Jury will meet to determine the date of their trials--probably in May, when the circuit court comes to Americus. If convicted, appeals could take as long as another year. Thus, even if they win on appeal, they will have spent nearly two years in jail.

(over)

Despite reports of police brutality to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, on August 13, the early edition of the Atlanta Constitution carried an announcement by the Justice Department that FBI investigations in Americus revealed no evidence of police brutality. The Justice Department has since stated that the investigation in Americus is not yet completed. Notably, some Senators (Javits of New York, Williams of New Jersey) and Congressmen (Ryan of New York, Allott, Dominick and Rogers of Colorado) have demanded full investigations of the Americus situation. The New York Times and the Detroit News have had one story each on Americus, but otherwise there has been almost a complete news blackout.

In view of the repression of civil rights workers and Negro citizens perpetrated by Americus and Sumter County officials, we are demonstrating today to make known that we demand that:

1. The Justice Department immediately prosecute Americus officials who have violated the "equal protection" clause of the 14th Amendment and the Civil Rights Act of 1960. Under Section 242 of the Criminal Code the Federal Government may prosecute "whoever, under the color of any law...willfully subjects...any individual of any State...to the deprivation on any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution and laws of the United States."

2. The Justice Department ask the Federal court to issue an injunction forbidding interference by anyone with voter registration work and peaceful assembly.

3. A civil rights task force, separate from the FBI, should be formed and deployed to areas such as Americus, Georgia, and Selma, Alabama, to insure that constitutional rights be protected. As partial basis, the Supreme Court statement in the 1895 Debs case, reads, "the entire strength of the nation may be used to enforce in any part of the land the full and free exercise of all national powers and the security of all rights entrusted by the Constitution to its care."

4. The Justice Department enter amicus curae (friend of the court) briefs on behalf of the defendants in all legal action involving the CORE and SNCC field secretaries.

University Of Michigan Friends of
The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

Voice Political Party (University
of Michigan Chapter of the
Students for a Democratic Society)

URGENT URGENT URGENT URGENT URGENT

Student Activities Bldg.
Ann Arbor, Michigan
October 22, 1963

Dear Friend,

VOICE Political Party, the University of Michigan chapter of Students for a Democratic Society and the University of Michigan Friends of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, have called for local demonstrations through out the country on Nov. 7, to call public attention to, and protest the conditions in Americus, Georgia. The enclosed reprint from the Detroit News and fact sheets will give some background material on Americus.

The demonstrations should take the following form: Contact other civil rights and social action groups and try to have them work with you, especially CORE, since a CORE field secretary is among those in jail in Americus, charged with incitement to insurrection.

If there is a Federal Building in your town or a nearby town, plan to picket it and distribute leaflets, explaining the reason for the demonstration, facts about Americus and what should be done by the Federal Government and by individual citizens (the fact sheet should be used as a basis). If there is no Federal Building near you plan a sympathy rally on campus, or in the community, or picket the local County Building or City Hall.

Publicity is of the utmost importance! Send out press releases to all local newspapers. Write letters to the editor and send telegrams to Attorney General Robert Kennedy.

Although large demonstrations are desirable, it is more important to have many smaller ones through out the country with publicity making the large newspapers.

Please notify us by AIR MAIL letter if you are planning a demonstration and the ~~appropriate~~ approximate form it will take. Also write or call if you have any questions.

ADDRESS MAIL TO:

Nanci Hollander
VOICE Political Party
Student Activities Bldg.
Ann Arbor, Michigan
Tel. 313-665-3348

David Strauss
U. of M. Friends of SNCC
Student Activities Bldg.
Ann Arbor, Michigan
Tel. 313-665-3348

We hope that all of you will join in this attempt to make public this and similar situations in the South and force the Federal Government to intervene.

Thank you very much and we hope to be hearing from you soon.

Yours in FREEDOM,

NANCI HOLLANDER, Chairman
VOICE Political Party

DAVID STRAUSS, Chairman
U. of M. Friends of SNCC

IMPORTANT--PLEASE NOTE
Please investigate the possibilities of sit-in demonstrations at Justice Dep't Office in Federal Bldgs. Please notify us, if a sit-in is possible

4 Rights Leaders Face Death Penalty

By BILL SHIPP

SPECIAL TO THE DETROIT NEWS

ATLANTA, Sept. 26. — Four young men, one a Negro, held without bond in a southwest Georgia jail for more than a month, could be sentenced to die in Georgia's electric chair because they led civil rights demonstrations.

The four, field secretaries for he Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC), have been charged by Sumter County aw enforcement officers with attempting to incite insurrection.

The charge in Georgia carries a maximum penalty of death.

Sheriff Fred Chappell, who is holding the four in the county jail in Americus, said desegregation demonstrations have ceased since the youths were jailed.

"The rest of these outsiders got out of town when we picked those four up on that charge," Chappell said.

The four men are:

Ralph Waldo Allen III, 22, of Melrose, Mass., a former student at Trinity College in Connecticut; Donald Harris, 23-year-old Negro of New York, a graduate of Rutgers University; John Perdew, of Denver, a student at Harvard; and Zev Aelony, 25, of Minneapolis, a former student at the University of Minnesota.

All except Aelony were jailed Aug. 8. Aelony was picked up Aug. 20.

They were given hearings during the week of Sept. 11 to determine if they could be released on bond.

An Atlanta Journal newsman, Walter Rugaber, who attempted to cover Aelony's hearing in justice of peace court, was ordered out of the room, and the hearing was held behind closed doors.

Superior Court Judge T. O. Marshall Jr. had not ruled Wednesday on whether Allen, Harris and Pardew could have bond, Chappell said.

Justice of the Peace Cooper Bradley ruled that Aelony was to be held without bond.

CASE TO GRAND JURY

The charges against the civil rights workers will be presented to the Sumter County grand jury in November. If they are indicted they will be tried in Sumter Superior Court.

The four were among 200 persons arrested during mass street demonstrations in Americus, a southwest Georgia farm center 30 miles north of Albany, scene of other dramatic civil rights demonstrations.

Chappell said the capital charge and other minor charges were brought against the four young men because they "started these demonstrations and mass meetings."

Their prosecutor, Solicitor General Stephen Pace Jr., said the capital charge was filed partly because the youths instigated a mass meeting "for the purpose of marching without a permit."

BID FOR BOYCOTTS

He said the group also attempted to organize boycotts of Americus merchants and schools in attempt to force desegregation.

Chappell said yesterday the four are held "quietly and safely back yonder" in the jail.

He said he had ordered them to stop singing freedom songs when they were first arrested.

"I'm not running a night club here," he said.

Several congressmen have called on the Justice Department to investigate the jailings and accusations of police brutality. The FBI has said it found no evidence of brutality.

The youths, except Allen, came to the area early last summer to participate in desegregation activities.

Allen has worked in Albany and nearby Terrell County in civil rights activities since July, 1962.

He has reported being beaten up several times by white persons.

'CAN'T PROTECT'

Terrell County Sheriff Zeke Mathews, in the presence of sheriff Chappell and a reporter, told Allen last summer that he was "not safe down here . . . Ralph, we just can't protect you any more."

The law officers confronted Allen at a voter registration meeting at Mt. Olive Baptist Church in July, 1962. The church burned to the ground six weeks later.

SENATOR PROTESTS

In Washington Senator Williams (D-N.J.) protested the jailing of Harris, the Rutgers graduate.

Williams said, in remarks for Senate delivery, that the severity of charges placed against Harris "passes all understanding."

Williams said he has asked the Justice Department to explore the possibility of assisting Harris.

Oct 8

Column James Farmer

Much nonsense is being trumpeted in America today, proclaiming the end of the race problem as the problem of race in the nation. The Pollyanna peddlers would have us believe that nothing remains of the anguish of black folk except the pain of poverty - felt with equal intensity by all of the poor. Just kill poverty, they say, and the white man will be blind to color and the black man will be free.

This kind of spiel may serve the interests of some Negroes, and it goes over with a bang with white liberalsaudiences, but it sounds good only when you say it fast. Bigotry and hatred still run riot in the land. And no amount of fancy talk can mask the ugly face of prejudice. Honied words cannot conceal the fact that the bulk of us dwell in the worst housing, study in the least instructive schools, labor at the most unrewarding jobs and face with highest frequency the cop's club and gun.

Many whites, it is true, have no jobs and subsist in bad housing, are crippled in poor schools and confront bellicose policemen. But it is worse for us. And black color more than bleak poverty spells the difference.

The pontiffs who tell us that the civil rights phase of our battle is won and our remaining problems are purely economic, say that we must drop civil rights, forget battles against bias and form a Grand Alliance with institutional Labor and the institutional Church. Among these suggested bedfellows are many who have pirated our dignity. Bricklayers, carpenters, sheet metal workers, printers - our allies? Eleven o'clock Sunday morning hypocrites are soul mates? I believe in the goals of labor and I believe in the brotherhood of man, but black people must not become a tale to the kite of some Grand Alliance or a dancer to some fiddler's seductive tune.

Allies, yes! But no Grand Alliance with the powerful. The alliance must be *ad hoc*, day to day, made and broken at will, solving earth's problems, not celestial ones. While we bleed, physically and spiritually, there is no time to spin ivory tower theories.

One *ad hoc* alliance which CORE formed speaks loudly of where we are going. Two Negro women laundry workers from Houston, Texas came by my office a fortnight ago. With them came the union's International President, Russ Crowell. They asked for CORE's help and we gave it.

The Houston employer, Martin Linen Company, paid its employees 83 cents an hour. Back in May the union won an election, but not until August did the company sit down to talk. After seven sessions they rejected the workers' demands for a dollar an hour and offered two cents the first year and three the next. It will be no surprise that the 37 workers, all but four Negroes, spurned this piggy-bank offer and struck. Replacing them with scabs from Mexico the company paid the strikebreakers the very dollar they had refused the Negro workers. In high southern style, Martin Linen hired private police sporting pistols and dogs straining on the leash. One day the manager ordered his union-slashing cops to release the dogs on these "niggers" and even the police balked at this. Another time he phoned the landlord jof neighboring houses where pickets were resting demanding that they be turned into the streets. Company drivers gunned their trucks, spraying gravel at the pickets. And this company, like many in Dixie, is substantially owned and effectively controlled by New York liberals.

CORE intervened, alerting its chapters from Baltimore to Boston where the Yankee owners of this Rebel plant held other laundries. From Birmingham to Bogalusa and Selma to Houston, northern wealth subsidizes southern racism. We will not let northern "friends" who weep large tears about the South duck the blame for what

their dollars do in Dixie!

I wired the two New York owners on a Thursday. Friday we met with one while the other said he could not meet until Wednesday. We announced that we were organizing for picket action in five cities on Tuesday. Both New York owners met in my office on Saturday and we laid it on the line.

With a Tuesday morning deadline staring them in the face, the owners agreed to fly their Houston people up and start negotiations. Union and company met all day Sunday, and by Monday evening a contract was signed, sealed and delivered.

Skilled workers received hourly increases up to 65 cents, unskilled get 97 cents per hour. All get union security and the work week drops from 45 hours to 40.

From this scant beginning babies will get a drop of milk, not a bellyful - a full stomach, in hospitals and hotels, in stores and on farms, looks to a federal minimum wage law of $2 two dollars per hour. A bill now languishing in the House Rules Committee of Judge Howard Smith would extend the coverage and increase the hourly minimum to $1.75.

This is the kind of alliance that whets my appetite. Unions, churches and civil rights groups must unite to get the bill passed. Next year we will come back to raise the minimum and cover more workers.

These are the real and shared interests, where present needs of black people are at the top of the priority list - giving us a pay-off now!

NEW YORK
Amsterdam News
W. 61,655

JUL 31 1965

THE CORE OF IT!

by JAMES FARMER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR

Bogalusa

(Second of three parts)

(Last week I outlined the conditions under which Negroes in Bogalusa are forced to live, the emergence of the Bogalusa Voters League and the invitation of CORE into the struggle.)

A Short And Violent History

In capsule, the Bogalusa Voters League made clear its intention to test the enforcement of the Civil Rights Bill in the fall of 1964. The Mayor assured assistance, but the first tests met total resistance and police complicity with the bigots. In response, the BVL invited CORE into Bogalusa in January of 1965. CORE workers arrived on January 5, and the lines of conflict were sharply drawn.

By late April, CORE and the BVL recorded countless incidents of violence ranging from a fusillade of bullets into Mr. Robert Hick's home to the near-fatal beating of CORE field secretary Bill Yates. The decision had been taken to present the city with a broad set of demands, addressing itself to a wide range of grievances, much beyond the questions of voting and public accommodations. Marches began in earnest and were met with further violence, including an assault attempt on myself. Finally, the demands were placed before a three-man conciliation board formed by Governor McKeithen, agreements were reached, and BVL and CORE were soon hailing a major victory — a stride had been taken and peace returned to Bogalusa.

In a very few weeks, however, it was apparent that the Klan had gained the ascendancy in the city administration. The murder of Deputy Sheriff O'Neal Moore, a Negro lawman, signalled the Klan's intention to repudiate every agreement reached — one of which was the hiring of Negro policemen. In short order it was crystal clear — the Bogalusa administration did not intend to live up to any of its agreements — and BVL, supported by CORE, mapped a new drive.

Bloody Road

The current fight, instituted on July 8, has been a bloody road. On Friday, July 16, CORE and BVL pickets were assaulted and badly beaten seven times before state troopers, standing nearby and watching, would intervene. There have been few results thus far.

A single negotiation session was finally wrested from Crown Zellerbach; the results were: nothing.

Governor McKeithen's role has been illusory and politically cynical. Well-timed visits of the Governor have stopped constructive action; the recent withdrawal of state troopers in effect handed the town to the Klan; and the request for a 30-day cooling off period, rejected by the BVL, was a public relations parlay—he offered nothing in return.

The fat remains squarely in the fire.

The Demands

It is important to remember that, for the first time in the struggle for Negro rights in the southern United States, a black community has asked, in Bogalusa, for a *full* redress of Negro grievances. These demands, which are a pathetic roster of the plight of the southern Negro, follow:

1. Equal economic opportunity in public and private employment and in city licensing practices.
2. Equal educational opportunities in integrated school facilities.
3. Desegregation of all public accommodations and facilities.
4. Extension to all of the community of underground piped sewers, paved roads, bright street lighting and an adequately enforced housing code.
5. Inclusion of Negroes at decision-making levels on city and parish and industrial planning boards.
6. Removal of all unconstitutional and discriminatory laws from the city ordinances.
7. Employment of Negro policemen with all proper police powers.
8. Measures to insure the free registration of voters and the right to vote.

These, then, are the "impossible" demands that have provoked a war.

(To Be Continued)

NEW YORK
Amsterdam News
W. 61,655

AUG 14 1965

THE CORE OF IT!

by JAMES FARMER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR

Community Organization

(First of two parts)

"Community organization" has the smell of a cliche — a waspish ideal born in the university tearoom and nurtured by "right thinkers" who have rarely been North of 110th Street. Making it real has been largely left to a handful of political comers and a fistful of the "deserving poor" that seem to proliferate in the War on Poverty.

Of the very few times it has worked, however, one story has not been told . . . and that story, the story of a project supported by, but not initiated or run by CORE — an idea that jumped off the page — is the story that follows:

The Council for Jobs and Freedom — February 1 to May 21, 1965.

In the fall of 1964 it became increasingly clear to many that the civil rights revolution was in mortal trouble — legislation, poverty programs, all vastly inadequate and often insensitive to need, were slowly but surly draining the militancy and solidarity from the movement.

The name of the game, it became clear, was the "urban ghetto", dramatized by demonstrations and riots, but left utterly unchanged at the roots. In fact, evidence of discontent and retaliation in the streets was accelerating. Everything that was being "done" had a bad odor of paternalism and first-aid procedures. The ghetto cried for organization — organization **outside** the federalism and politics of OEO and the monopolies of partisan pork-barrelling.

Into Streets

So a small group of men and women, formerly of the East River chapter of CORE, moved out of the seminar, out of the reams of low-circulation newsprint about the "grass roots" and into the streets. Despite all the heady discussions they weren't **really** sure of what they were doing, but they were sure that they would be taught — by their own people.

They had approximately $2,000 in the bank, so they rented a loft at 72 West 125th Street, spending the Christmas season plastering and painting — the doors were to open at the end of January.

They opened and the founders ducked.

Within a week the place was an asylum, a thimble-sized riot with hundreds of youngsters placing their outrage on their threshhold. Miraculously and almost immediately, a shape and direction began to emerge from the chaos. The men, women and children that came to them were not familiar faces — few, if any, had gone to jail for civil rights activity, but many had been jailed on possession, felonious assault, alchoholism, or for lifting two-pants suits from Blumstein's windows during the summer riots.

They were suddenly and startlingly at the nitty-gritty, and it can be a terrifying place to be when much of your membership has a life-expectancy of around 34.

Needs of People

The early, somewhat primitive programs were entirely centered around the needs of the people who had come into their orbit. Youth councils and clubs, centered around youngsters bursting with resentment and foot-loose after Malcolm X's death, became a channel for heated dialogue and self-governing groups.

Many of these youngsters began, over a period of time, to conceive of a means of "whipping the white man at his own game" — through words and aggressive competition on the job market, rather than with gasoline-filled Ruppert bottles. This was a small-time miracle, dubbed, by the youth clubs themselves, as "intellectual nationalism."

JAMES FARMER

COLUMN
July

A NEW LOOK AT THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

The major war now confronting us is aimed at harnessing the awesome political potential of the black community in order to effect basic social and economic changes for all Americans, to alter meaningfully the lives of the Black Americans (our plight has not been and will not be changed by past victories), and to bring about a real equality of freemmen.

This job cannot be done for us by the Government. In the first place, the establishments - Federal, State and Local - have too much built-in resistance to fundamental change. Any establishment by definition seeks its own perpetuation and rejects that which threatens it. For example, too many politicians take over and seek to make the anti-poverty programs an adjency of their political aspirations. They attack community action programs of the anti-poverty war as being anti-city hall. School Boards, which have already lost the drop-outs and other under-privileged youth, more often than not reach out greedily to control community education programs and see that they do not shake up the school systems. Powerful lobbies, such as the financial and the real estate interests, exert tremendous prussure to see that programs to relieve poverty do not threaten their interests.

Further, it is impossible for the Government to mount a decisive war against poverty and bigotry in the United States while it is pouring billions down the drain in a war against people in Viet Nam. The billion dollars available to fight poverty is puny compared with the need and insignificant compared with the resources expended in wars.

Thus, we must be constructive critics of the anti-poverty program, using its resources for our fight where we can, insisting that local anti-poverty boards by truly representatives of the deprived communities and the minorities which they are supposed to help, and attacking waste and pork-barreling wherever it occurs.

Yet it would be fatal to think that the anti-poverty program alone can make the necessary changes in the social and economic life of Black Americans. It can be no more a solution to our problems than were the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960 and 1964 xxxx, or the Voter Rights Act of 1965 will be. Like those laws, the anti-poverty program has to be seen as no more than a tool, useful at times, but inadequate at best, to do the job.

We can rely upon none but ourselves as a catalyst in the development of the potential power of the black community in its own behalf and in behalf of the nation. CORE has the nationwide network of militant chapters required, unshackled by compromising entanglements, political commitments and alliances. CORE has the flexibility to move in the new directions demanded by this phase of the war, while it fulfills its commitments to the unfinished tasks of the last phase.

In this new phase of our war to change the life of the Negro in a changed America, there are two aspects: community organization and political organization. It must be clearly seen that neither aspect is an end in itself. Community organization, including social services, for its own sake is mere social uplift and has no basic importance in changing the life role of the Negro. Political organization for its own sake is sheer opportunism. While both aspects must be undertaken simultaneously, the first, community organization, may be seen as a step to increase the effectiveness of the second, political organization. Or another way of viewing it, is to see community organization as a tool - a tool to build a vehicle. Poltical organization, then, is the vehicle to take us to the desired objective. That objective is an open society free of race discrimination and forced segregation, shorn of poverty and unemployment, with decent housing and high quality education for all. The objective, in a word, is a new society, a free and open society.

JF public

Farmer Column **THE DEACONS** 7/7

Let's get two things straight regarding the Deacons for Defense and Justice down in Louisiana. Yes, they tote guns and no, they don't shoot first. A good deal of nonsense has been talked about the Deacons, most of it coming from the Southern press---in an effort to discredit CORE, the Deacons, and even to justify violent reprisals and assaults from the Klan.

8183

First, a little history---the Deacons were originally formed in Jonesboro, Louisiana as a strict and disciplined defense organization. They did not and do not seek violence. But an embattled Negro community decided it needed to defend itself from the homicidal frenzy of the Klan and others in that state.

Some of the bad people like to compare the Deacons with the Klan and that's stupid. The Deacons don't lynch, burn, or assault. The Deacons don't ride shotgun in the enemy camp.

Understand, the Deacons don't replace legal law enforcement---there is no such thing as legal law enforcement in much of the South that will protect a Negro citizen. In fact, there is considerable amount of police complicity with the Klan assaults---enough so, that alarmed Negrees, fearful for the lives of their families armed, organized and walked a beat. And I can't blame them. I can't find fault with a man for excercising his constitutional right to protect his home, with weapons if necessary. Period.

C CORE's Relationship with the Deacons is a more complicated story that also, has been distorted through the southern white press. CORE is and will remain a non-violent organization. And that is an on-going fact in our lives. We believe non-violence still has much tactical validity in the Civil Rights Revolution and many of us are philosophically committed to non-violence as a way of life...But this movement is about People, not philosophies and it is people that we must move, ally ourselves with and ultimately sway. And the kind of people who would prefer to die than see their families outraged are the kind of people we mean to live and work with until we turn this thing around. And that means poor people and that means Deacons.

Our so-called "alliance" with the Deacons is a partnership of brothers, not a tactical alliance of two armies. They don't tell us how to conduct a march, run a voter-registration campaign......and we don't teach them how to zero in on a moving target. One thing is apparent in this year of our Lord 1965-Negroes in this nation are down to about their last ounce of patience. For all the hoopla and the speechmaking and legislation, very little has changed in the reality of Negro life in this country....rats still bite kids and citizens of Bogalusa still don't have the vote. Now if you accept that as fact----than it's clear that violence may be on the horizon, And if violence is on the horizon, I would certainly prefer to see it channeled into a defense discipline rather than the random homicide and suicide of rioting.

Or, in another light, I firmly believe that in tharsearch for political, social and human rights, non-violence is the only practical maechanism at this moment in history. But I believe that when threatened, any man has the right to protect his __life__...retaining ofcourse, the non-violent injunction inside a non-violent demonstration. CORE is in the rights business and the Deacons are in the protecting business. I don't believe in electric chairs, because that is the society retaliating violently, but I do believe in the personal right to self-defense and can only work and hope that __that__ right is rigidly disciplined through organizations such as the Deacons.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

JF Public

THE CHANGING MOOD OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE, AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

By James Farmer

The mood and the tempo of the entire civil rights movement has been radically changed in for some time and this change is now felt by every Negro in America, not only those who have physically participated in the struggle. It is a revolutionary spirit which has caught up even those who not long ago were apathetic and uninvolved in the movement. The philosophy of non-violence and the tough discipline which a few starry-eyed youths imposed upon themselves when CORE was begun in 1942 has now spread and encompasses hundreds of thousands.

The masses of Negroes who are thus involved have thereby achieved a measure ri of spititual emancipatimn with which Lincoln's Proclamation could not possibly have endowed them. The segregation barriers erected in America have, for them, ceased to be an extension of their minds. They are not longer chained to the ancient stereotypes. They do not feel inferior and do not believe that they are, and are no longer comfortable in the confines of the caste. In a word, they have found an imposing dignity.

As one student in Atlanta put it: "I, myself, desegregated that lunch counter on Peachtree Street. Nobody else. Little me. I did it by sitting-in, by walking the picket line, by marching. I didn't have to wait for any big shots to do it for me. I did it myself! Never will that youth and the many like him see themselves as unimportant again.

Yet, spiritual emancipation, important as it is, is only one small step. Economic, social, political emancipation are the longer steps to come. Jobs, housing, schools, and enfranchisement have largely replaced public places as the main focus of the struggle. A man may feel equal and free within the private chamber of his own heart, but if his job is limited by color instead of ability, if he is not free to live where he chooses, if his children cannot be equally educated, then his freedom is a myth and his equality an illusion.

What is needed, therefore, is compensatory action to wipe out the deprivations of the past. The rear wheels of an automobile cannot catch up with the front wheels while they are traveling at the same speed.

The responsibility of accelerating the Negro's march to equality does not rest with the Negro alone. This cannot be a sheer bootstrap operation. When a society has crippled some of its people, it has an obligation to provide requisite crutches. Industry has an obligation not merely to employ the best qualified person who happens to apply, but to seek qualified Negroes for nontraditional jobs, and if none can be found, to help train them. If two or more applicants with substantially equal qualifications should present themselves, and one of them is a Negro, then he should be given a measure of preference to compensate for the discrimination of centuries.

Beyond that, a remedial education and training program of massive proportions needs to be launched. To accomplish more than a gesture, such a program will require billions of dollars - perhaps three billion a year for a five-year period. Anything less will be tokenism. The only source for funds in such amount is the Federal government.

But whether or not the Federal government acts, the freedom fighters will continue their revolutionary thrust. To paraphrase a beaten white Freedom Rider: "We'll take beating. We'll take kicking. We'll take even death. And we'lllkeep coming till we can ride, work, live, study, and play anywhere in this country -without anyone saying anything, but just as American citizens."

public

Harlem **James Farmer**

Cursed by history and grafted onto a wealthy island, Harlem is a white-owned Negro ghetto that systematically rots from apathy, poverty and violence. But those are words, and Harlem has plenty of words. Words from 55 dozen documents cranked out of the commission system, the anti-poverty system and the system system. The single most outrageous fact about Harlem is that *they know*. "They", the people who can provide jobs, hire Negro cops, kill rats and fumigate the physical blight, they *know*. Make no mistake, Harlem is not the victim of the Mayor's innocence, the Governor's improvidence or the President's ignorance. It is the victim of deliberate betrayal, real and present racism, greed and political cynicism. Yes, we *are* in for another "long, hot summer" and let no one call that a self-fulfilling prophecy. Words are not the gasoline of riots. Rats, unemployment, narcotics and rotted doorframes are the self-fulfillers.

You see a rat, he bites. You see an unemployed man, he might bite too. In understanding Harlem and similar places throughout the North, consider the Negro who comes from Georgia or Alabama to 125th Street. From the absolute segregation of the South we come wishfully North to the "open society". We find Harlem. We find the almost absolute segregation of the North. And consider how much more violent is our outrage when we discover this geographic betrayal. Only now, in the past half-decade have we acted to secure the right to vote in the South, but in the North even with that right we find ourselves physically starved, racially isolated and politically manipulated. All this, with the heady air of freedom 15 blocks south. How can you counsel this furious man? "Patience" is surrender, "violence" is suicide and "education" is inadequate and often a cynical contrast to an empty stomach and a fetid home.

Only a racial concert of action to relieve our lives can touch us. Only an open market in jobs and homes and limitless educational options can answer our defeatism.

And all of this must be set in motion by those in the seat of political power. Don not tease and further infuriate us with a "clean-up-one-block-a-year" tokenism. Write no more studies about our cultural and psychological hangups. Don't wait until our people are blooded by five days of rioting to toss our children a smattering of jobs. Don't pour tens of thousands of federal dollars into programs that are instantly siphoned into a political "bag". Don't insult our intelligence by hiring black faces to sit near your windows and for God's sake, walk in Harlem and learn that we are not telling a lie.

FARMER
file - Publications - col. for Amsterdam News

Jan '65

There is a special eloquence in nonviolent direct action; it speaks in a metaphor of brutality and love. I have always felt that truth, unvarnished, is one of our most potent weapons. That is why I am happy to write these columns for the Amsterdam News.

Yes, the Negro is angry now.... Not just in the Gethsemane of Birmingham, Montgomery and Meridian, but throughout this ill-jobbed, ill-housed, ill-educated world.

Ironically, much of the white community feels that there has been vast progress in the past few years in the areas of education, employment, housing and public accommodations. The Civil Rights Bill has become law and thus redeems America's promises. But the American Negro sees nothing but a maddening slowness and tokenism. We saw James Meredith in the University of Mississippi, but no one took his place. We see integrated lunch counters, but only a blackout in jobs which could give us the wherewithal to enjoy newly desegregated facilities.

The white community sees a "war on poverty". We see a program that says: "The problem is with you. If you get a skill, learn to be like white folks, then everything will be all right." We're too cynical for that. We're in favor of the program, but we know that we'll still be black and everything won't be all right. We know that the "man" won't hire us because we're black and we know that if he would hire us, there simply aren't enough jobs to go around.

In truth, we want more than freedom. The Negro wants a recovery of pride (this is, in part, why I am now in Africa), a sense of simple dignity, a genuine competitive social and economic equality. All of this must be understood in terms of an enormous awakening within the Negro community.

The awakening has brought new hope. It has also made our deeply seated, historic anger visible. It is the anger of a man long taught to stare at his toes who now has proudly leveled his eyes at his antagonist. There is no geography in this anger and as the months of protest and oppression pass, the apathy and distance of the upper and middle class Negro are being replaced with commitment both personal and economic.

We walk in the ghetto streets, North and SOuth, and we sense the immediacy of the demand. Listen to the singing in the jails, where the whole white superstructure of control, the clinical redress of the state, is made lyric with a unison of Negro voices. We have so much to do and so little time to do it. This is the temperament, the mood, the sense of historic timing that make it manifest that the entire job must be accomplished quickly.

THE CORE OF IT!

by JAMES FARMER NATIONAL DIRECTOR

The Cracker North

The total anguish of the American Negro has never been visible. White folks have a way of spinning a social crisis into a romantic ballad, often masking the nitty, ugly facts of American life. The civil rights revolution feeds from its Selma's and wastes from its Harlem's.

AMSTERDAM NEWS Feature

And the wretchedness and the human deterioration in the north is as profound and as critical as the crack of a Klansman's rifle in Mississippi.

Tens of thousands of righteous and mindful citizens have applauded virtually every CORE move and countermove in Bogalusa, Louisiana and yet much of that same righteousness turns to hypocrisy when the same organization with the same moral and tactical commitments, levels its sights on the slums and schools of the northern ghetto.

Consider the kind of restraints we had to impose upon ourselves when Paul Screvane, the man who sent battalions of billy-winging white cops into the Harlem riots, marched in the lead column out of Selma, Alabama into Montgomery.

No one can fault any public or private person for an honest witness in the south, but the mind boggles at the spectacle of a northern political sharpshooter getting his southern hash marks when a million of his own constituents waste in the sewer of bad schools, worse housing and spiralling unemployment.

A Trap

I think its a trap to proudly compare southern and northern racial problems. Stepping across the Mason-Dixon line means only one thing to a Negro — it means that his reward for severing his family ties is likely going to be a new, although mistier version of the foot on the neck.

And until those who shed tears and write checks about violence in Mississippi ride the uptown IRT and notice that the white folks all get out at 96th Street because it's next-stop is Harlem — until the housewife who glues herself to the TV and teargas of Demapolis, Alabama burns her PAT picket sign and starts noticing the ethnic breakdown among garbage collectors and janitors — until reality in the form of rats imposes itself on the Manhattan seminars about the medieval south — all of us, black and white, are in a lot of trou

Discouraging

A typically discouraging example of this moral version of musical chairs are some important folks in the city of Syracuse, New York. Syracuse, where CORE has been in a long time face-off on employment discrimination at the Niagra-Mohawk power company, is a masterful example of the cracker north. Many of these same people who went foot weary on that Alabama highway, have refused to support the struggle for jobs for Negroes in Syracuse. Why? It's not difficult to explain, if you think of these men in terms of their vested social and economic interests in their home communities. That's right, the "power structure" — the folks that contribute to anything except self-analysis.

Examples

The examples are legion. I've been badgered and pleaded with by dozens of white Northerners who weep for Mickey Schwerner and in the same sentence beg CORE not to rock the boat in Bedford - Stuyvesant or Wall Street.

But rock the boat we will, not a difficult task in view of its New York construction standards. I agree that demonstrations should be specifically directed and non-violent, but I don't condemn the retaliating man and it doesn't sit well in my ear to hear liberal people tell me to keep it "responsible."

Negroes in this country have been handcuffed for 300 "responsible" years and you can be sure we will keep our own counsel and make up our own mind as to what "responsible" is in this struggle.

The north is a battleground for human rights as surely as is the south; and we have no intention of resting until both campaigns are securely won.

file-JF. public

James Farmer Amsterdam News

THE CRACKER NORTH

The total anguish of the American Negro has never been visible. White folks have a way of spinning a social crisis into a romantic ballad, often masking the nitty, k ugly facts of American life. The civil rights revolution feeds from its Selma's and wastes from its Harlem's. And the wretchedness and the human deterioration in the north is as profound and as critical as the crack of a Klansman's rifle in Mississippi.

Tens of thousands of righteous and mindful citizens have applauded virtually every CORE move and countermove in Bogalusa Louisiana and ~~the same~~ yet much of that same righeeousness turns to hypocrisy when the same organization with the same moral and tactical committments, levels its sights on the slums and schools of the northern ghetto, Consider the kind of restraints we had to impose upon ourselves when Paul Screvane, the man who sent battalions of billy-winging white cops into the Harlem riots, marched in the lead column out of Selma, Alabama into Montgomery. No one can fault any public or private person for an honest witness in the south, but the mind boggles at the spectacle of a Northern political sharpshooter getting his southern hash marks when a million of his own constituents waste in the sewer of bad schools, worse housing and spiralling unemployment.

I think its a trap to proudly compare southern and northern racial problems. Stepping across the Mason-Dixon line means only one thing to a Negro---its means that his reward for severing his family ties is likely going to be a new, although mistier version of the foot on the neck. And until those who shed tears and write checks about violence in Mississippi ride the uptown IRT and notice that the white folks all get out at 96th Street because it's next-stop Harlem----until the housewife who glues herself to the TV and teargas of Demopolis, Alabama burns her PAT picket sign ~~x~~ and starts noticing the ethnic breakdown among garbage collectors and janitors---until reality in the form of rats imposes itself on the Manhattan seminars about the medieval south---all of us, black and white are in a lot of trouble.

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file JF publications

James Farmer   Amsterdam News

[illegible]

May 8

The Housing Racket

The question of housing, often left on the back shelf of the civil rights movement, is probably the most outrageous site of corruption, malpractice and grafting from human misery in our nation today. Every major city in the country, without exception, has been functioning as part of a relentless conspiracy against the poor to keep them in their squalid environment or ship them like so many head of cattle into a new black hole a few miles away or across a river. High sounding phrases like "urban renewal" and "slum rehabilitation" have become the standard mask for dipping into the public trough and have worked ardently to maintain [illegible] segregation and absolute degradation.

To begin with, experience teaches us that no amount of persuasion is going to convince private industry to deal intelligently with urban housing problems. The problem lies squarely in the laps of public officials from the President on down. What is most depressing is that to date civic, state and federal programs have worked in the precisely wrong direction. Urban renewal, for example, has turned out to be a vicious means of tearing down whole sections of slums and replacing them with high-rise dwellings in which the original tenants haven't a prayer of making the rent. The result is the re-creation of the same slum somewhere else where the problem continues to escalate.

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Scandalous practices are normal in urban renewal and rehabilitation programs where, for example, in New York "speculators" in the form of windfall subsidies encourage individuals to purchase slum tenements, clean them up with federal and state money and then skyrocket the rentals. The whole question of [illegible] in turning an admirable [illegible] systematic and not so [illegible]

What [illegible], the needs and [illegible] money is in the [illegible] the faces of the [illegible] figures on [illegible]imately 40,000 [illegible] of the [illegible] some people [illegible] clean up every slum [illegible] billion dollars [illegible] the cost of [illegible] would amount to a [illegible]! And yet the [illegible] of Harlem by saying they will [illegible] in a phoney public relations gesture. And [illegible] circumstances, why we [illegible]- [illegible], why [illegible] sent to city hall to arrest the Mayor. The city of New York and every urban center in this nation is guilty of criminal neglect, is guilty of not contending with the

3-3-3-3-3-3

problems of environmental horror that Negroes in this nation wake up to every morning.

And this is just the beginning--the process of disintegration continues while the city [illegible] the [illegible]. Besides the problems of slum rehabilitation [illegible] with the even larger questions of [illegible], fully integrated (both economically and socially) [illegible]. We live in the [illegible] of Bill Zeckendorf, who [illegible] 10,000 Negroes and Puerto Ricans [illegible] the upper west side of New York City.

Someone's got to tell [illegible] when you come right down to [illegible] we all [illegible] brother!

[illegible]

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Farmer Column

6/30

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, CSA

The significance of the mass arrests in Jackson, Mississippi last week goes even beyond the original issues raised by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party regarding the legality of actions in the Mississipppi Legislature. The arrests, which were random, often unmotivated and brutal were and are a challegnge to our basic and constituted right to peacefully protest in this nation. Incredible as it may seem, in the state of Mississippi picketing in itself is often considered a crime and virtually thousands of unconstitutional arrests accompanied by on-the-street and in-jail brutality have occured in the south for no other reason than people picking up a picket sign.

Few northerners realize the lengths to which the deep southern states are prepared to go to preserve racism....and more often than not, the lengths involve a fundamental challenge to the American way of life for both black and white people.

The stockades outside of Jackson, where nearly a thousand demonstrators were housed, were a jungle of mismanagement and outright police-inspired violence. Prisoners were actually denied medical aid on several occasions and a Medical Committee woman doctor who got arrested in an effort to bring help inside the compounds was actually isolated so as to render her ineffective. There is something horrifying in these facts----an anarchy of law enforcement and a Nazi-like disregard for the simplest needs of human beings.

The real question hinges on how long the federal government intends to stand by and countenance this "government within a government" that willfully violates the words and the intent of our Constitution. How much longer will brutality and apparently-sanctioned homicide be allowed to continue under the cloak ~~gmf~~ of state soveriegnty? (Let us not forget Sheriff Rainey...even for one moment.)

Meanwhile, the original questions raised by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party ~~x~~ stand unanswered. It is perfectly clear to anyone close to the Mississippi scene that the convening of the Mississipppi Legislature is a bold effort to circumvent the upcoming Voters Rights Bill which we hope will soon be enacted in Washington. MFDP put its people on the streets of Jackson to dramatize this segregationist gambit. And further, one cannot ignore the fact that Negroes are systematically disenfranchised in Mississippi----making it ~~is~~ very perfectly clear that acts of that state Legislature do not, in fact, represent even a majority of the people of Mississippi.

For those who raise questions as to the wisdom of the MFDP move in Jackson, I say this---"The black people of Mississippi have no other ballot box than the commitment of their bodies to the streets of their state capital when they witness the violence and hypocrisy ~~x~~ of a bigoted state government. There is no other redress---no vote, little prospect of a vote; so they cast their vote in the wire stockades of Jackson for the nation to see and be ashamed."

And make no mistake, the poeple of Mississippi led these protests and they came from counties whose history of terror and intimidation read like the archives of the Gestapo. Let us put away the nonsense and the misinformation, let us not make our fight on the length of a demonstrator's beard, but at the truth of a terrorized and disenfranchised southern Negro who now speaks with the authority of his own courage.

###################

Farmer

Introduction

No term describes better the daily labor of James Farmer than "Spokesman." Since 1961, when he left the NAACP to become CORE's national director, Farmer has been a spokesman for CORE, the "Movement", the Negro People, and even the conscience of mankind, depending upon the occasion. These occasions arise ten and fifty times a day and night. He is on-stage almost continually, often badly in need of sleep and the memory of some recent quiet. There is always another street corner rally to be cheered on; swarming, ubiquitous reporters demanding quotable comments; a televised news conference, before four inquisitors, each hoping, under the glaring lights, to trap him into the damaging confession, the hidden contradiction, the flicker of uncertainty, which make headlines.

Farmer must be a spokesman in manner as well as word: feet must not ache when he walks on picket lines; dignity must not flee when husky policemen, each tugging one of his brown limbs, drag him off to a paddy wagon; and through he is warned continually by the FBI, state and local police, of plots against his life, and must often remember the time he tells of in this book when he was in such danger that for hours he expected to die, still, fear must not crease the fierce eyes nor halt the flow of astonishingly resonant and superbly articulated speech which is his hallmark. He knows that he must be slightly larger than life, representing in his person some of the spirit and command of the Negro movement. Yet one of the engaging qualities James Farmer reveals in this book is his ability to view the requirements of his job with a sense of humor and proportion.

For better or worse, the rules of what we might term spokesmanship govern the presentation of every cause and organized movement to public view. There is no present exception to the rule nor any in sight, so there is no sense in challenging its sway. As soon expect Farmer to confess on television or to some momentary unworthiness in CORE as to have expected that Adlai Stevenson would confess before the U.N. misgivings over American policy in Viet Nam and the Dominican Republic. The dedicated spokesman knows that the Truth of the cause he serves permits some salesmanship. Second thoughts and first ones are for the tent, not the battlefield where ambivalence is deemed fatal, and the most effective leadership takes place out of public sight, emancipated from the necessity of making a spectacle of itself.

All the more notable, then, is the fact that in this his first book James Farmer permits the reader to eavesdrop on the debate raging within the civil rights revolution today, and to observe the most worthy ambivalence of one of the movement's principal leaders.

Make nommistake. This issa public book and well filled with stirring affirmations as it must be. But significantly the CORE to which Farmer here affirms, or rather, reaffirms his committment, is a CORE very different from that romantic little organization which in 1961 freedom rode through the South and began training new cadres in the techniques of non-violence. Indeed the movement itself, or at least that important part of it which CORE represents, has taken a course of late which few would have predicted or approved of a few years ago. In defending the honor of these developments Farmer enters into a strenuous and most revealing debate with CORE's own traditions and with critics in and out of the movement.

The result, as the reader will find, is,

--A tightfisted, and almost pragmatic statement of the philosophy of non-violence (also a justification for armed self-defense in certain circumstances), which is quite different from the living exhortations Martin Luther King and an older CORE habituated us to.

--A celebration of Negro group pride and group aspiration which, amounts to a virtual transvaluation of the ideal of integration.

--A sharper clash with rival philosophies and philosophers in the movement than we have yet seen, including debates with Roy Wilkins, (whom Farmer chides for being mired in the past); Bayard Rustin, who, he thinks, is mired in the future; and the late Malcolm X who, we learn, was wrong for the right reasons.

--And reflections on the meaning of Freedom which sum up the most valuable experiences and lessons which have been gleaned from this last, tumultuous decade.

From the evidence of this book, Farmer has not discarded his old faith easily. He confesses to some scars of passage and even a hint of nostalgia for simpler days. And this is further evidence that he is not only the first spokesman for a new Negro mood in America, but also a man and leader of depth.

Like Lyndon Baines Johnson, James Leonard Farmer, Jr. is a Texan. Born in Marshall, Texas, January 12,1920, the first son, and second of three children born to the former Pearl Houston and Dr. J. Leonard Farmer, an old Testament scholar, minister of the Gospel, and the first Negro Phd in the state.

Like many Negro fathers, Leonard Farmer had a remarkable family history to bequeath do his children. He was born in Kingstree, South Carolina, to former slaves, and at an early age moved with the family by mule and buggy to Pearson Ga. There his father worked, tapping trees for turpentine in the pine forests, until he went blind. The family story has it that Grandfather's blindness resulted from peering steadily up the trunks of pine trees into the sun searching for suitable spot to sink his tap. Farmer seems taken with the image. /

There was no high school in the state open to Negroes at the time, so when Farmer, Sr. finished his elementary schooling in a rural shack, he walked all the way to the Bethune-Cookman Institute in Daytona Beach, Florida, where he had been awarded a scholarship. Some time later, after achieving an outstanding record at the Institute, he walked, knapsack on back, to Boston where he had been acdepted at Boston University. Again, he achieved a brilliant record, despite the fact that while he attended school he was working part time as a valet and carriage boy for a wealthy woman in order to support himself and his family. He graduated Magna cum Laude and in two years completed work for a Phd from Boston University's School of Theology with a thesis which ventured a redating and re-interpretation of some passages from Deutero-Isaiah.

James Farmer grew up in his father's library, in the protected atmosphere of the Negro colleges where his father taught. First, at Wiley College in Marshall where Farmer was born; then almost immediately at Rust College in Holly Springs, Mississippi; five years later at Samuel Houston, a methodist school in Austin, Texas; and five years after that at the Gammon Theological Seminary in Atlanta for three years; and in 1933 back to Wiley from which Farmer was to graduate in 1938.
While he grew up in the South, Farmer was cut off from the conflict and pain of the general Negro community. He lived in a scholar's house, and like the children of

most scholars, suffered mostly from disquisitions on fine points of scholarly dispute. He cannot recall a time when his father went to the movies. He preferred, Farmer says, to sit under a tree and read a book written in Greek, or Latin, or Aramaic, or German, or French. The only white people Farmer came into contact with were other academics or salesmen who came to the campus wishing to please these austere black scholars.

His early life then was not that chamber of unremitting horrors which other Negro spokesmen assure us in the ordinary nurture of American Negroes.

There were opportunities for genuine achievement: When he was thirteen, Farmer earned a four year shholarship to college by winning a regional ~~national~~ oratorical contest sponsored by the Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks of the World, the Negro Elks. He had survived local, and state~~, and regional~~ contests.

And there were chances for contact with the wider culture: In 1936 Farmer joined the National Council of Methodist youth and was soon elected vice-chairman of the national organization. Like most of the young people in the organization Farmer was hypnotized by the Social Gospel and began dreaming of creating a Kingdom of God on Earth. It was at this time too that he became seriously interested in pacifism. Farmer once described to me his feelings at this time: "It was my first opportunity to rub shoulders with people of all races from all over the country, in a thoroughly interracial setting. And to meet the best young minds in the country from some of the best schools. And I found that while there were gaps in my education, when it came to an intellectual discussion, I could hold my own and I developed more confidence as a result."

Teachers populate his memories more often than policemen. Teachers like Melvin B. Tolson, the celebrated poet, who forced him to think analytically and "feel" in intelligently; and V. F. Calverton, the Marxist literary critic, who came to Wiley as a visiting lectures, befriended Farmer and became a formative influence in his development in the next few years.

And books were as crucial to his development as billy clubs: Books by Gandhi, Shridharani, Rauschenbusch, Weber.

"Discrimination," Farmer once said, "increased my determination to do something about inferiority feelings. I felt handicapped, but I never doubted my abilities."

Of course, there was injustice, too, and even the most fleeting experience of it caused a bitter taste which never quite left the senses. He was 3½, walking home with his mother from shopping, down a dusty red road in Mississippi, holding tight to her finger. They passed a drugstore and he asked if they could stop for a Coke. She said they couldn't. Why, he asked, noting that another little boy had entered the store and was now sipping a Coke. "He can, and we can't," "Why?" again. "Because he's white." "What am I then?" "You're not." Many years later Farmer was not sure if this little scene, which tormented his sleep, had actually happened. His mother confirmed the memory and added straight out that when they got home that day she had thrown herself across the bed and wept.

After graduating from Wiley, Farmer went to Howard to study theology and presumably to enter the ministry. He received his Bachelor of Divinity in 1941, but refused ordination. "I didn't see how I could honestly preach the Gospel of Christ in a church that practised discrimination." In that year he returned to the South, for the first time in three years, and for the first time in his life, really, saw how thoroughly racism blights our land.

It is precisely because his self was not formed by racist segregation that he had the humanity and strength to resent it and the personal resources to fight it. I do not think we do the truth about our racist culture any service by proclaiming that the American Negro is the utter and total victim of racism. Racism can explain the anger, but what can explain the humanity?

What followed next in Farmer's life he himself discusses in Chapter III. To summarize briefly here: From 1941 - 1945 he was race relations secretary of the Pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation, and it was in that capacity that he helped found CORE in 1942, and began to lay the theoretical groundwork for the non-violent, direct-action, mass movement he was to lead. From 1946 he participated in the Southern organizing drive of the Unholsterer's International Union. From 1950-54 he was youth secretary for the League for Industrial Democracy, a democratic-socialist group, and then he returned to union work with the State, County, and Municipal Employees Union, representing that group in 1958 on a five-member union delegation which visited fifteen African countries. Throughout this period he remained active in CORE as a volunteer. In 1959, at Roy Wilkins' invitation, he joined the NAACP staff eventually becoming Program Director. And in 1961 he became CORE's na national director.

Mrs. Farmer is the former Lula Peterson, whom he met at a CORE meeting in ~~1949~~ 1943. They have two young daughters, Tami Lynn, and Abbey Lee. Mrs. Farmer is white and her husband says that that fact doesn't occur to him except when people ask him about it.

TheseTis one other development in James Farmer's life which deserves note. In the past few years, it is difficult to date its beginning precisely, Farmer has noted in himself an enlarging and evermore enriching sense of racial pride. This is a significant turn in the story of a man who once was an aggressively color-blind idealist. But on this further comment is unnecessary for the entire book is itself commentary.

Jacob Cohen
Waltham, Massachusetts
July, 1965

Farmer Amsterdam News

MY WAY TO REMEMBER

This is a week of sober reflection. But one year ago, James Chaney, Micheal Schwerner and Andrew Goodman were brutally slain in the backwoods of Mississippi. Much has and will be said by way of memorial to these young men and most of it fine and fitting. I would like, however, to use this space for some tough and possibly disturbing questions that in my mind, are the questions Jim, Mickey and Andy would be asking.

What, for example, have we really accomplished since June 21, 1964------?

1. We have witnessed four further public murders and countless others, gone unrecorded except in the memory of the bigot who "got himself another nigger."

Police Brutality

2. We haven't got a voting rights bill as yet---and there are questions about the total effectiveness of the one we hope to get.

3. The extremists and the Klansmen are in a homicidal frenzy across the south, and The House Un-American Activities Committee sits on the promised investigation of the Klan.

3. The Mississippi Congressmen still stand an excellent chance of sitting in Congress despite the fact that they do not represent their own people.

4. There has been no substantive change in the way Negroes live in this nation--anywhere, North or South.

5. There has been no substantive change in the employment future for our people. We still are the last hired, first fired and lowest paid.

6. Rats still bite, roaches still spread their filth and buildings still fall down as our tax dollars clutter up the public trough.

7. The Federal Government't s War on Poverty in many places still insults

the intelligence of the poor community by floundering about in patronage and often willful mismanagement.

8. Much of the ~~Th~~[redacted]-liberal community sits on its Civil Rights Bill and won't ante up the wherewithal to bring about a bill with real guts.

9. And our children waste in a broth of bad schools, worse streets and a climate of hatred.

What then can we say to Mickey, to Jim and to Andy---whay beyond pious pronoancemnt, beyond poetry?

I say thiss--"We live in an evil, half-formed society and we have done precious little to change it as was your dream. But I promise you this, I will not rest nor will anyone who listens and believes what I say unitl the changes are profound, not on the surface, untill I and all my brothers can measure their freedom in the fruits of their labor and in the peace of their home."

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

James Farmer
3/25/65

ARTICLE FOR AMSTERDAM NEWS

Selma is more than a small town in the red clay hills of Alabama: it is also a state of mind -- a state of mind that says, "No, never". The "Never" button that Sheriff Jim Clark wears on his shirt is symbolic of the "Never" buttons in the minds of sheriffs in county after county in the Black Belt of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina.

The mounted possemen carrying their clubs that I saw in Selma last week bore the same look of frustration, fear and hatred that the mounted possemen of Plaquemine, Louisiana bore two years ago when they trampled through the Plymouth Rock Baptist Church. The state trapers using their whips and tear gas to turn back the marchers in Selma were blood brothers to the state troopers who twice isolated the Negro community in Jonesboro, Louisiana. There, Negroes were forbidden to enter or leave the Negro section of town for a full day. Only tremendous pressure on and from the FBI and the Department of Justice ended this blockade.

Throughout the South there are small scale Selmas being fought: in some communities we are winning; in others, losing. Thousands of civil rights workers are registering voters, organizing freedom schools and community centers, picketing and marching. The die is cast, and We Shall Overcome in Selma and in Jonesboro.

But the Jim Clarks have cousins in the North as well. They don't say "No, never"; they say "Later". They talk about "other values", about "protection" and "order". Most people think of New York City Police Commissioner Michael Murphy as honest and efficient -- as a "good man".

In some senses he is all of these, but he is nonetheless kin to Sheriff Clark. The slaying of Jimmy Powers, the forced and illegal confessions of George Whitmore, the maiming of Gregory Cruz are not isolated incidents, nor are they typical of the police force. But they must be dealt with, not white washed. The Police Department cannot be permitted to investigate itself and then to congratulate itself. The present system of the police department acting as judge of its own men and its own actions is unfair to those who have been wronged, to those accused, and to the city itself. It must result in cynicism, alienation and the very conditions the police department is designed to prevent. Only the creation of a truly independent Civilian Review Board can give confidence to Negroes and to Puerto Ricans that New York City is "for them as well as of them.

The Weiss Bill to create such a review board is now before the City Council. Those New York City officials who have rushed to Selma to march a few miles to express their solidarity with the embattled Negroes of Alabama might better stay at home and express their solidarity with the embattled Negroes of New York! There are moral problems in New York as well as in Alabama and Louisiana.

3/25/65

D R A F T

Selma is more than a small town in the red clay hills of Alabama: it is also a state of mind -- a state of mind that says, "No, Never". The "Never" button that Sheriff Jim Clark wears on his shirt is symbolic of the "Never" buttons in the minds of sheriffs in county after county in the Black Belt of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina. The mounted possemen carrying their clubs ~~cattle pr~~ods that I saw in Selma last week bore the same look of frustration, fear and hatred that the mounted possemen of Plaquemine, Louisiana bore two years ago when they trampled through the Plymouth Rock Baptist church. The state troopers using their whips ~~cattle prod~~s and tear gas to turn back the marchers in Selma were blood brothers to the state troppers who twice isolated the Negro community in Jonesboro, Louisiana. There, Negroes were forbidden to enter or leave the Negro section of town for a full day. Only tremendous pressure on and from the FBI and the Department of Justice ended this blockade.

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James Farmer

J.L.

March 25, 1965

Mr. James Hicks
Amsterdam News
2340 Eighth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Jimmy:

Here it is!

Cordially,

Marvin Rich, Director
Community Relations

/b

enc.

MA28319
OJ51212

James Farmer — **The Amsterdam News**

POLITICAL POWER AND AMERICAN NEGROES

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622
2

To be candid about political power is to say that the American~~x~~ Negro, north and south is almost, if not wholly disenfranchised. Voting rights bill or no voting rights bill, the Negro electorate is either forcibly kept out of the booth or the impact of our vote is fragmented or diluted by white and black political factionalism. It is only on rare occasions that anything resembling a "Negro vote" can be identified as a political force and on those occasions, Johnson vs. Goldwater for example, the Negro vote is not really addressing itself to a practical redress of Negro greivances.

It is, in this context, that CORE is now deadly serious in its efforts to mount Freedom Democratic Movements throughout the country, movements which will represent black power addressed to ~~xxx~~ black questions, mobilized outside the usual political alignments. The historic pilot for this, of course, is the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which CORE helped to found. The MFDP was mobilized around the moral questions of absolute segregation and near-total disenfranchisement. It became ~~x~~ apparent, however, that functioning outside of the usual political soup was a powerful place for Negroes to be. Witness the muscle MFDP has shown in its current Congressional challenge to the seating of Mississippi white representatives. In this case their energies and their leverage could be addressed pointedly to questions affecting them as Negroes...Negroes whose voice has been historically stilled by the "needs of the nation" or by the fusion of Negro greivances into "larger questions affecting the entire community."

Only the Civil Rights Revolution had made it absolutely clear that Negroes had no mechanism aside from physical protest to change their lot in the American way of life.

In the north, as usual, the problem is much more complex. Here, the moral question of disenfranchisement is replaced by the equally vicious problem of political manipulation. There is virtually no place in the urban north where a fuly registered and voting Negro community has any substantial effect on the political and thereby economic decisions affecting their own lives. In Chicago, for example, an intrenched and predominantly white ward structure controls Negro voters with the ease of a pushbutton. In New York City (where appallingly few Negroes actually register and vote), the Negro mandate is channelled directly into the Democratic Party structure where insensitvity to black problems and black needs is the name of the game. And the story is repeated with local variations on the theme throughout the country

Thus the Freedom Democratic Movement concept.

The first of these is already off and running in Brooklyn with Major Owens, chairman of Brooklyn CORE as its first candidate for city council. The significance of Major's candidacy is that, if elected, Councilman Owens will speak loud and clear for a Negro constituency without the harness of Democratic Party give and Democratic Party take. He will be his own, and his people's man; a strong and singular voice representing real power outside the murky and white-oriented political power structure. Envision this throughout the nation, in city after city, north and south--- a Negro political movement acting in national concert with a voice that cannot be denied.

No one, for a moment suggests that such a political turn in the civil rights movement will ultimately crystallize into a fully competing third party---its power will be the power of an offensive right guard in pro football---charging the linebackers to keep the defense honest. And it may well become the critical factor in realigning the patchwork Democratic Party into a truly liberal striking force for freedom and social change.

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[1965]

James Farmer - public - Am. News **Column**

Community Organization
(Second of two parts)

(Last week I described the motives for, and the early days of the Council for Jobs and Freedom in Harlem early this year. The project was the creation of Blyden Jackson, Don Petty and John Burke.)

....The program broadened almost immediately. Two basketball teams sprouted and somehow they found the dollars for jerseys. Welfare mothers, infuriated by their treatment in the city's welfare department, founded a Welfare Mothers' League, which met twice a week; for the first time, through this unity, they became aware of their rights and available redress. Hungry for skills, the younger girls demanded a typing school that was begun in another building with two shifts of students and a spate of volunteer teachers.... the typewriter rental almost put the Council in receivership. They also began to experiment with remedial reading programs, using the Myron Woolman method from the Institute of Educational Research. It worked. The problem was that no one in Harlem, not even the War on Poverty, had tried it.

All of this and more - with background music supplied by a 45 rpm rock-n-roll record player - was going on around the clock. Most significant of all was the immediate success of the job-placement idea. Here, in three months of operation, several hundreds of people were put to work - not at $12,000 a year, but put to work.

Why not $12,000? Why not at least a "skill-oriented program out of a sociology text"? The answer was transparently clear. Somehow, no one has really understood the dimensions of poverty in Harlem, except Harlem's victims. It was clear that the front line of the war on poverty belonged at the maelstrom of ugliness,-the bottom, cluttered with human rejects and empty muscatel bottles.

And that was the precise setting for the Council for Jobs and Freedom. $12,000? Later, baby, when I whip Dannemora, heroin and the drunk tank at the Tombs.

They grew and they grew - the loft grew a library and broken windows. A strong organizational loyalty spread throughout, particularly with the "charter" members who were finally leaving their pot outside and their arrest records in the files.

In the meantime, they had made an important decision - a good decision despite the fact that it proved fatal to the program. The decision was no publicity, no effort to make an "image" and certainly no overt effort to compete with or upstage existing social-economic programs. On the one hand it meant real and practical independence, the respect of the Harlem community, but it also meant no money. Although they needed no more than $600 a month to keep going at the level they had sustained (there were no salaries), even that became an impossible figure. Givers wanted public evidence of their existence, but they could give evidence only in the form of radically altered lives, employed and functioning former hoodlums; forty women who could type and a basketball team with eleven wins and two losses.

On Friday, May 21, the Council faced the financial reality that they were broke, and closed the doors. It may come as a surprise, but youngsters in Harlem still know how to cry.

The Council was much, much more than a three-and-a-half-month experiment. It was real, it was as surefooted as a 16-year-old escaping felon. It broke all the feeble molds that the "uplift" folks have carefully baked. And it worked... a verb that has eluded everyone who pours tea in Harlem while his people smoke it.

Farmer Column

"The Moynihan Report"

As if living in the sewer, learning in the streets and working in the pantry weren't enough of a burden for millions of American Negroes, I now learn that we've caught "matriarchy," and "the tangle of Negro pathology"...a social plague recently diagnosed by Daniel Moynihan in his celebrated report on "The Negro Family." After tracing the long history of Negro oppression in this country, Moynihan concludes that our current difficulties are rooted in the effects of that oppression dramatized in the shattered Negro family, stripped of its male and going to Hell in a basket. On the surface, this would seem to be a fairminded exercise in the Life Sciences but in fact the Moynihan Report, which seems to have been given a good deal of currency by the present administration, is another one of those academic efforts to get our eyes off the prize.

By laying the primary blame for present-day inequalities on the pathological condition of the Negro family and community, Moynihan has provided a massive academic cop-out for the white conscience and clearly implied that Negroes in this nation will never secure a substantial measure of freedom until we learn to behave ourselves ~~stop sleeping with our wife's sister~~ and stop buying Cadillacs instead of bread. This well-enough intentioned analysis provides the fuel for a new racism...it suceeds in taking the real tragedy of black poverty and serving it up as an essentially salacious "discovery" suggesting that Negro mental health should be the first order of business in a civil rights revolution. Nowhere does Moynihan suggest that there may be something wrong in an "orderly and normal" white family structure that is weaned on race hatred and passes the word "nigger" from generation to generation. Nowhere does Moynihan suggest that the proper answer to a shattered family is an open job market where this "frustrated" male Negro can get an honest day's work. And nowhere does Moynihan suggest that high illegitimacy rates in the black community may be partly explained by the fact that birth control information and covert abortions are by and large the exclusive property of the white man.

I say all this beaause I'm angry...really angry and I intend to spell out this anger in just one more effort to convince somebody, anybody, down in the places of power that the cocktail hour on the "Negro Question" is over and that we are sick unto death of being analyzed, mesmerized, bought, sold and slobbered over while the same evils that are the ingredients of our oppression go unattended. It has been the fatal error of American society for 300 years to ultimately blame the roots of poverty and violence in the Negro community upon Negroes themselves. I honestly felt that the Civil Rights and Voting laws indicated that we were rid of this kind of straw-man logic, but here it is again, in its most vicious form, handing the racists a respectable new weapon and insulting the intelligence of black men and women everywhere.

I intend to devote a good deal of space to this Moynihan Report for a number of reasons. First and most important, it is fast becoming the scriptural basis for several new brands of bigotry, even without the consent of its authors. Secondly, it has been specifically hailed by the American right wing and is currently being used to "explain away" the Negro Revolution as the hysterical outburst of a mentally unbalanced sub-culture. Third, it provides a documented basis for men in elected authority to divert practical anti-discrimination programs into an open season on "pathological" Negroes. And fourth, the report is especially bad in that it contains a great number of statistical facts, misread, misinterpreted and warped into a series of conclusions that could make Robert Shelton into a holy prophet. In many ways, this report, when studied carefully, emerges in my mind as the most serious threat to the ultimate freedom of American Negroes to appear in print in recent memory.

I cannot possibly in the course of this article cover even a small part of the report's analyses and conclusions. I will deal with those in subsequent columns. I must say, however, that I am convinced that the author or authors of this document did not consciously intend to write a racist tract...but the fact that it may be used as such makes their innocence inexcusable. They have forgotten that we are bottled into our ghetto and held down not simply by the restraints of our past, but by the clear and present acts of subtle and unsubtle discrimination that continue to destroy our option for self change and make our life a living Hell. And to forget that while focussing on "the tangle of Negro pathology" is very much like curing Yellow Fever by painting the patient white and ignoring the mosquitoes.

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James Farmer Column

TELEVISION

They say if you're hungry enough, if you've been systematically starved, a teaspoon of cold bean soup can look and even taste like pheasant under glass. With this in mind, I have been concerned recently about the new "Negro image" on television, which consists, as far as I can tell, of seven or eight black laundresses, andoccasional performance by a dozen or so Negro actors, and some hard-won "specials" by Lena Horne and Sammy Davis, Jr. The important thing is that in our anxiety to bust into a public medium several years ago, we've won a token victory, but walked away from the full-scale war still to be fought. I have some tough questions, for example, about whether or not we've been thrown a bone by many TV commercial advertisers who regularly dish up a"house Negro" to background their detergent tests, but rarely depict Negroes as principal consumers and edit out even these scraps of brotherhood when the show is broadcast south of Pennsylvania.

Now you could argue that television is so bad artistically that it is a waste of time and talent to fight for something beyond token integration. But the fact is that TV is a huge industrial employer that discriminates outrageously and for better or worse, TV makes, shills, and disseminates an"American image" which is still largely white, affluent, and as square as the fox-trot.

A thoughtful look at the television integration picture reveals that we've been faked out again. Just enough black faces are displayed to divert criticism, and Negro Americans and Negro culture in America are still treated on television as a documentary oddity, out of the American stream. When the rare instance of a Negro performer doing something other than up-dated "yassuh, boss" occurs - the white producer involved gets named a hero and probably celebrates his victory at the

Twenty-One Club, which is still nervous about the colored folks picking their teeth with the salad fork

Even in those corners of entertainment such as jazz, where we've built the art, and the music's integrity flows right out of the black ghetto, I have recently learned that white musicians are increasingly getting most of the high-paying and visible jobs on television. Nor am I impressed that Negro singers, dancers and comics are having a big year. For centuries white audiences have been crying while we sing and cracking up when Rochester does a pratfall.

Even Bill Cosby's celebrated "breakthrough" on NBC's "I Spy" doesn't particularly impress me when I consider that he is the only American Negro performer with a regular starring role in a TV series, and even there he plays a white man's trainer. What I mean by all of this is that a lot of high powered public relations work on the part of the networks and sponsors has led us to believe that television is an altar of brotherhood and it just isn't true. We are still in the back of that bus; singing, dancing, and washing percale sheets, and once in a long while, acting in a regular dramatic role that normally goes to a white performer.

I am very much afraid that you're not going to be able to shut me up on this subject until I see a new version of some TV nonsense such as "Father Knows Best" filmed on St. Nicholas Avenue, starring a black family and broadcast five days a week in fifty states. Then I can sit back in my old age and worry about bad taste instead of bad people.

Amsterdam Column

Farmer's file

by JAMES FARMER, NAT DIREC

TELEVISION

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AN AMSTERDAM NEWS Feature

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file

Farmer Column

THE SO-CALLED "GYPSY CABS"

Former Mayor Wagner has vetoed the Corso-Curtis Bill which was designed to stall the private car and cab industries flourishing in Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant section. I applaud the Mayor's action and I'm pleased that he has capped his administrative career with a courageous and sensible decision which has the support of Negroes throughout the city. It was a close one...one of those "hidden" pieces of City Council legislation that neatly got a routine approval, and nearly destroyed an industry employing some 9000 New Yorkers. If anything argues for organized Negro political leverage and survelliance of the white folks at city hall...this issue does the job.

Since anyone can remember, one of the facts of New York life says that cab drivers don't pick up Negroes, don't cruise in the ghettoes and go to "lunch" at 10 PM if one of us climbs into his cab at a red light. As a matter of fact, whenever I get to feeling ~~too big for my britches~~ over-optimistic, I try to hail a cab -- the quickest way I know to remind myself that what we've won in the past few years is just about fifty percent of nothing.

Now the folks down in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area, sick of this humiliating, hypocritical nonsense, decided to do something about it. They put together their own cab service, operating with private cars, by telephone and radio, to service their own community and incidentally to provide several thousand jobs in one of our toughest pockets of poverty. Now you'd think that all those white folks who are always telling us to "show a little initiative" and "pull ourselves up by our bootstraps" would applaud our industry and be content to go about their business while we go about ours. But no, The minute they see us putting together a black-run, black-disciplined business, they head for city hall and try to legislate us out of existence. What amuses me is that the people who concieved and drafted the Corso-Curtis Bill are actually more frightened of two organized Negroes than they are of one successful one.

I've always felt that in the back of nearly every white man's head is the fear that Nat Turner is going to rise up out of his grave and lead a rebellion that will pillage the white establishment and sack every store on Fifth Avenue. Put Nat Turner on wheels and you really got trouble.

Witness, for example, the way in which they argued for this bill. They started off by calling the Brooklyn Negro cab operators "gypsies"---implying a roving band of mortorized felons ready to ravish unsuspecting passengers. They also suggested that the Brooklyn drivers were a pack of two-time losers who were carrying a small arsenal in their glove compartments. The fact of the matter is that the so-called "illegal" Brooklyn cabs have travelled over 1,000,000 miles in the past year without a single criminal incident attributable to the drivers. It also developed, during the hearings on the Corso-Curtis Bill, that both the Taxi owners and the Taxi unions were line up against us...seeking, in effect, to throw 9,000 Negroes out of work to maintain their total jurisdiction. Here again, the self-interest of whole sectors of the white establishment went into high gear to close up a significant breakthrough in the drive to end Negro unemployment and rebuild Negro dignity. The Mayor, after listening to the impassioned voices of CORE's Dr. George Wiley and other Negro leaders, throughout the city, had the good sense to block these guys with his veto.

I think it must be added this whole matter is complicated beyond belief. The issuing of more cab medallions, for example, solves nothing because it doesn't bring cab service into the ghetto. Certain legislation regarding the cab industry is necessary, however. Legislation covering driver qualification, metering and confirming the rights of private car rental services is overdue. The important thing is that laws should not be drawn that turn back the clock of freedom and legitimate industries such as Brooklyn's private cabs must be publically encouraged by everyone of good will.

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Farmer Column

AMERICA AND THE RHODESIAN CRISIS

As a man who tries hard not to judge American political history in the light of conspiracy, I find it hard to understand our lack of policy and lack of spine in the Rhodesian crisis. We style ourselves as guardians of freedom and have a hair-trigger sensitivity to the spread of Communism...indeed we expend lives with terrible abandon in our "preventive" wars. But here, in the most outrageous public act of tyranny since Hitler grabbed the Sudetenland, we've backed and filled, talked and temporized and done virtually nothing to redress this travesty of freedom.

In a recent talk with George Houser, the militant Executive Director of the American Committee on Africa, I was struck by the chapter and verse of the problem, and the feebleness of our position. First off, Americans simply aren't informed about what's going on inside Ian Smith's Rhodesia. I am talking about a nation in which 220,000 whites have absolute control of the lives, fortunes and sacred honor of 4,000,000 blacks. The average annual industrial income for Rhodesian whites is $2894.00 compared to $190.60 for blacks. This figure does not compute the 2,000,000 blacks who live in rural Rhodesia with an average yearly income of $5.60. In Rhodesia there are two kinds of voters, called "A Roll Voters" and "B Roll Voters". The "A Roll Voters" elect 50 of the 65 members of the Rhodesian Parliment and exactly 3% of these voters are black. The apartheid web is so tightly woven that Ian Smith can run his country as a private economic feif in which he is literally able to control not only the degree of freedom, but the degree of literacy and the legnth of his subject's life. The best possible way to dramatize the tragedy of our policy of inaction in Rhodesia is to compare Rhodesia with the American south and envision Ross Barnett as the King of Mississippi with his forearm locked around the neck of every Negro in his jurisdiction.

Now, in view of all this, American indecision just doesn't make sense, even if we grant the most cynical posture. Why aren't we willing to enter the ring against a four-star fascist, a consumate villain whose only hope lies in the neutrality of the major powers? Why do we rattle around with "selective economic sanctions" when we are in a unique position to champion full scale economic isolation or even military intervention through the UN Charter? Certainly, we don't have Britain's Prime Minister Wilson's problem of a one-vote Parlimentary majority and we are actually risking a terrible crisis in our relations with the African states. Why? I could hazard that we don't wish to risk unsettling the British Labor government but that is bad reasoning...I suspect even the Tory British would welcome our shouldering a piece of their colonial political burden. Is it because we covet the mineral imports we get from Rhodesia or the income from our machine exports? Again, I doubt that the figures involved are substantial enough to twist us into a policy that effectively comforts white racism in Africa. I am very much afraid that our inaction must be traced to our fear of African nationalism, our age-old paranoia about the rising tide of independence and socialism throughout the world and particularly in Africa. We have yet to practice what we at least profess... that the most important bulwark against any tyranny whether it be of the right or left, comes from an active support of those who seek to bury the 19th Century and replace the colonial axe with even the clumsy self-determination of free men.

There is another matter that needs a dose of candor and that is the decision of some dozen African nations to sever diplomatic relations with Britain in protest over her timidity in Rhodesia. These actions have been characterized as intemperate in the American press--they are not. Consider if you will, the implications of the Smith regime to the African nations. First of all, it is a dangerous reversal of the thrust of freedom and nationalism. With any success (which can come with our silence) Rhodesia will become a second South Africa and the horrors of apartheid and indiscriminate white repression will invade whole new sections of the continent. Secondly, this timid Britain is the same Britain that lashed out like a wounded lion in Kenya during the Mau Mau crisis, which suggests that Britain's stiff upper lip turns to butter when the color of rebel turns to white. These young African nations are convinced that Britain is turning back the clock and in doing so, has become a direct threat to their political integrity. Without standing armies and with fragile economies, they must act with their sharpest weapon...diplomatic censure.

To add it up, I now contend that there is still time for nations of goodwill and power to act decisively...it is my prayer that my own nation will now choose that course.

Farmer   Column

Nancy - file

More on The Moynihan Report

Contrary to most folks, I relish a good fight...particularly when the stakes are high enough to materially affect my life. [redacted] And that's exactly what's involved in the current scramble around Daniel Moynihan's report on the Negro family. Last week, I took considerable time to classify the report as a tactical blunder, a post-facto "discovery" of Negro pathology that could easily be fashioned into a weapon of the racists. This week, I intend to challenge its accuracy and raise questions, serious questions as to the responsibility of its "proofs" and the wisdom of its authors.

Before doing that, however, I would like to discuss two points that have surfaced ~~the~~ in the past few days of debate. First off, Daniel Moynihan did not invent candor and most certainly did not courageously "talk truth" for the first time about the American Negro family. Even beyond E. Franklin Frazier's first rate studies of the Negro community written in 1937 and 1948, the Civil Rights movement has for nearly a decade been demanding that the plight of American Negroes be viewed as a hard fact of life rather than a political push-up for American reformers. The concept of preferential hiring, for example, came directly from the movement's candid assessment of ~~the~~ a depressed Negro community, despite Mr. Moynihan's implication that we have been burying our heads in the sands of romantic protest. We know how tough it is to be black, but more important we know what continues to fence us into a circle of emotional and economic depression. In a word, we don't suffer and die by choice, we suffer and die from lack of choice. Secondly, I am pleased to report that Mr. Moynihan has broadened the conclusions of his report. In his recent public statements he ~~has acknowledged the role of Job, Housing and Educational discrimination in eroding the Negro community. These late~~ has agreed with our contention that improved jobs, housing and educational options are essential in the fight to stop community erosion. These late →

refinements, however welcome, serve to confirm the haphazard judgement at work when the unqualified report was originally issued.

Now as to matters of "proof." In dramatizing the "tangle of Negro pathology" Moynihan relies heavily upon illegitimacy statistics from the U.S.Census, which indicates a rate of 3% illegitimacy in the white community and 22% in the black. On the face of it, this would be a sobering revelation, indicating that black folks are, among other things, a pretty promiscuous lot. But it just isn't true. And, as usual the numbers are misleading. When you begin to compute the hidden factors: the availability of contraception, divorce, abortion, and adoption advice, you suddenly discover that illegitimacy in the Negro community is not eight times as much as among whites, it simply is recorded eight times more often. White folks have accesss to a whole fabric of social machinery to prevent or hide the illegitimate child that is simply not widely available in the Negro community. In fact, a more complete reading would show that whites have closer to half as many illegitimate children as Negroes rather than an eighth. And that's about what any sociologist would expect in a 300-year-old pocket of American poverty.

The same sloppy reaearch applies to Moynihans statistics on criminal behavior and welfare dependency. There is no question that disproportionate bastardy, felony and poverty exist in America's Negro community, but it exists because of systematic and discrimination, and any analysis that doesn't compute the effects of discrimination in reporting Negro social statistics is irresponsible, dangerous and just plain wrong.

continued

Further, the Moynihan report has moee than its share of errors, framed as statemenss of fact. Two examples will suffice; "Conditions in Harlem

are not worse, they are probably better than in most Negro ghettoes," and "It is probable that, at present, a majority of the drimes against the person such as rape, murder and aggravated assault, are committed by Negroes." [redacted] To put it bluntly, the first statement is not true [redacted] and the [redacted] second [redacted] is a vicious assumption [redacted] unsupported by any careful reading of the facts.

What I mean by all of this is that the Moynihan Report as a serious effort to explore Negro pathology is inexcusably inept. But it is much more important that this bad scholarship has been used to bear out a patholgoical reading of the Negro community, a reading that in my judgement will serve only to prolong the fight for civil freedom.

[redacted]

[redacted]

file
J. F. public

Mr. James Freeman
United Features Syndicate
[illegible] East [illegible]
New York, NY

Dear Mrs. Freeman,

I am enclosing several of Mr. James Farmer's recent columns in THE AMSTERDAM NEWS AS you advised.

I would like to stress that the column, if syndicated nationally would be developed around issues and individuals of national intent and scope. Further, we are prepared to deliver one or more columns per week if needed.

The current title "The CORE OF It" is by no means final---- a better one can easily be found.

My Kindest Regards,

Val Coleman
Public Relations
National CORE

THE CORE OF IT!

JAMES FAR[illegible]

Bogalusa

The significance of Bogalusa, Louisiana to the entire civil rights revolution is no longer a matter for conjecture.

Encased in this small southeastern Louisiana city are the ingredients for either violence or amity, outright racial warfare or constructive settlement.

The town is polarized and the [illegible] line has been drawn between the opposing sides — but behind this well-publicized shield of violence lies a hidden history of squalor and homicide, politics and bad faith; a history of a city administration shattered and subsequently controlled by the Ku Klux Klan, and a defiant Negro community totally mobilized and committed to victory.

Negro Bogalusa

The Negro Community in Bogalusa lives (as in most all of rural Louisiana) in a turgid ghetto, laced with decay and poverty. Sewers, underground in the white sections of town, open into ditches at the ghetto border; indoor plumbing is an exception; streets, when paved, are rarely lighted and the entire Negro sector is shot through with the forays of frenzied night riders from the Klan.

Negroes in Bogalusa are subjected to an economic "fief" system, in which men, by and large, are employed only in menial positions and women are entirely excluded from outside work—in order to keep them working as domestics and human slop jars for the white community. It is not a pretty city — it is an American tragedy.

The Negroes in Bogalusa, Louisiana are not a docile lot—and their courage is now a matter of public record.

On the white side of the ledger there is a three-edged sword; the city administration, the Crown-Zellerbach Corporation and the [illegible] Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

The administration, headed by Mayor Jesse Cutrer vacillates and dissembles, bending to the current tide of pressure, apparently spineless and demonstrably bigoted.

The Crown-Zellerbach paper mill is a San Francisco-based combine with major investments in racist South Africa. It holds [illegible] economic power in the Bogalusa community. Crown, which runs a ruthlessly [illegible] plant employing a majority of the town's citizens has done precisely nothing to mitigate the community's crisis.

Employing huge numbers of avowed Klansmen, Crown is the company that stands primarily guilty of the practice of keeping Negro employees in menial jobs and the Negro women in the white man's pantry.

The Klan, as murderous as any branch in the nation, not only sends its terrorists against Bogalusa Negroes and CORE workers but has successfully infiltrated the city administration, reversing every negotiated settlement reached over the past six months.

There is a fourth entity — hardly worth mentioning — the white "moderate." Peering out from behind his blind, he shakes his head slowly from side to side.

Negro Community

The Negro community has, in the past six months, mobilized, despite intense pressure, behind the militant Bogalusa Civic and Voters League. The League, headed by Mr. A. Z. Young and Mr. Robert Hacks, has done what few local Negro organizations have been able to do in the South: represent the total black community and stand fast in the face of murder, assault and political maneuvering from the State Capitol. It was the BVL that invited CORE to come to Bogalusa to bring its tactical experience and to teach nonviolence.

A Short And Violent History

In capsule, the Bogalusa Voters League made clear its intention to test the enforcement of the Civil Rights Bill in the fall of 1964. The Mayor assured assistance, but the first tests met total resistance and police complicity with the bigots. In response, the BVL invited CORE into Bogalusa in January of 1965. CORE workers arrived on January 5, and the lines of conflict were sharply drawn.

By late April, CORE and the BVL recorded countless incidents of violence ranging from a fusillade of bullets into Mr. Robert Hick's home to the near-fatal beating of CORE field secretary Bill Yates. The decision had been taken to present the city with a broad set of demands, addressing itself to a wide range of grievances, much beyond the questions of voting and public accommodations. Marches began in earnest and were met with further violence, including an assault attempt on myself. Finally, the demands were placed before a three-man conciliation board formed by Governor McKeithen, agreements were reached, and BVL and CORE were soon hailing a major victory — a stride had been taken and peace returned to Bogalusa.

In a very few weeks, however, it was apparent that the Klan had gained the ascendancy in the city administration. The murder of Deputy Sheriff O'Neal Moore, a Negro lawman, signalled the Klan's intention to repudiate every agreement reached — one of which was the hiring of Negro policemen. In short order it was crystal clear — the Bogalusa administration did not intend to live up to any of its agreements — and BVL, supported by CORE, mapped a new drive.

Bloody Road

This current fight, instituted on July 8, has been a bloody road. On Friday, July 16, CORE and BVL pickets were assaulted and badly beaten seven times before state troopers, standing nearby and watching, would intervene. There have been few results thus far.

A single negotiation session was finally wrested from Crown Zellerbach; the results were: nothing.

Governor McKeithen's role has been illusory and politically cynical. Well-timed visits of the Governor have stopped constructive action; the recent withdrawal of state troopers in effect handed the town to the Klan; and the request for a 30-day cooling off period, rejected by the BVL, was a public relations parlay—he offered nothing in return.

The fat [illegible] squarely in the fire.

The Demands

It is important to remember that, for the first time in the struggle for Negro rights in the southern United States, a black community has asked, in Bogalusa, for a *full* redress of Negro grievances. These demands, which are a pathetic roster of the plight of the southern Negro, follow:

1. Equal economic opportunity in public and private employment and in city licensing practices.
2. Equal educational opportunities in integrated school facilities.
3. Desegregation of all public accommodations and facilities.
4. Extension to all of the community of underground piped sewers, paved roads, bright street lighting and an adequately enforced housing code.
5. Inclusion of Negroes at decision-making levels on city and parish and industrial planning boards.
6. Removal of all unconstitutional and discriminatory laws from the city ordinances.
7. Employment of Negro policemen with all proper police powers.
8. Measures to insure the free registration of voters and the right to vote.

[illegible], then, are the "impossible" demands [illegible] a war.

[illegible] — what does it all mean? What can [illegible] this terrible time in this terrible place. In [illegible] ways, Bogalusa teaches us how little our [illegible] has actually done in terms of the human [illegible] well-being of Negro Americans. It teaches us [illegible] is racial hatred in this nation. It [illegible] us in cynicism and courage, hope and homicide.

—The streets of Negro Bogalusa remain unpaved.

—And the Negro women of Bogalusa continue to swab the white woman's floors.

—And the crack of the Klansman's rifle is still as common as the chop of the cotton hoe.

Communities Join

However, from this pocket of violence the wisdom of combat has forged the Negro community into an unalterable force. From Bogalusa has come a further searing of the nation's conscience, and the meager promise of change. From this city, the seed of resistance mates with its brothers — Selma, Birmingham, Greensboro — and the gates of freedom inch open again.

But we have not forgotten what has happened and we now INDICT.

We indict Jesse Cutrer as a total administrative failure, a vacillating and ineffectual man who has allowed his city to be shattered and wasted by lawlessness and oppression.

We indict the Crown Zellerbach Corporation, a corporation that has systemically bumbled and contained the Bogalusa Negro community to increase its profit margin.

We indict the Ku Klux Klan, the inspirators of hatred and facism; a murderous band of fanatics.

Increased Violence

We indict Governor McKeithen, brought into office on the racist tide, whose political manipulations and unwillingness to act decisively here insulted all black Americans and have left the door open for increasing violence.

We indict our own nation, complacent and cowed, despite murder, despite violence and despite the true facts of life for Bogalusa Negroes.

Let there be no mistake. We are prepared to talk at any time, at any place, to resolve this terrible and criminal conflict. But *any agreement* will be an agreement that will make vast changes in the life of the Negro of Bogalusa. Until that time comes. . . . our indictments stand, and our marches will go forward.

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file
JF public -

Amsterdam News

THE CORE OF IT!

by JAMES FARMER

Deacons For Defense

Let's get two things straight regarding the Deacons for Defense and Justice down in Louisiana. Yes, they tote guns and no, they don't shoot first. A good deal of nonsense has been alked about the Deacons, most of it coming from the Southern press — in an effort to discredit CORE, the Deacons, and even to justify violent reprisals and assaults from the Klan.

First, a little history — the Deacons were originally formed in Jonesboro, Louisiana as a strict and disciplined defense organization. They did not and do not seek violence. But an embattled Negro community decided it needed to defend itself from the homicidal frenzy of the Klan and others in that state.

Some of the bad people like to compare the Deacons with the Klan and that's stupid. The Deacons don't lynch, burn, or assault. The Deacons don't ride shotgun in the enemy camp.

Understand, the Deacons don't replace legal law enforcement — there is no such thing as legal law enforcement in much of the South that will protect a Negro citizen.

In fact, there is considerable amount of police complicity with the Klan assaults — enough so, that alarmed Negroes, fearful for the lives of their families armed, organized and walked a beat.

And I can't blame them. I can't find fault with a man for exercising his constitutional right to protect his home, with weapons if necessary. Period.

Relationship

CORE's relationship with the Deacons is a more complicated story that also, has been distorted through the southern white press. CORE is and will remain a non-violent organization. And that is an on-going fact in our lives.

We believe non-violence still has much tactical validity in the Civil Rights Revolution and many of us are philosophically committed to non-violence as a way of life. . .But this movement is about people, not philosophies and it is people that we must move, ally ourselves with and ultimately sway.

And the kind of people who would prefer to die than to see their families outraged are the kind of people we mean to live and work with until we turn this thing around. And that means poor people and that means Deacons.

Our so-called "alliance" with the Deacons is a partnership of brothers, not a tactical alliance of two armies. They don't tell us how to conduct a march, run a voter-registration campaign . . . and we don't teach them how to zero in on a moving target.

One thing is apparent in this year of our Lord 1965 — Negroes in this nation are down to about their last ounce of patience. For all the hoopla and the speechmaking and legislation, very little has changed in the reality of Negro life in this country . . . rats still bite kids and citizens of Bogalusa still don't have the vote.

Now if you accept that as fact — then it's clear that violence may be on the horizon. And if violence is on the horizon. I would certainly prefer to see it channeled into a defense discipline rather than the random homicide and suicide of rioting.

Or, in another light, I firmly believe that in the search for political, social and human rights, non-violence is the only practical mechanism at this moment in history. But I believe that when threatened, any man has the right to protect his life . . . retaining of course, the non-violent injunction inside a non-violent demonstration.

CORE is in the rights business and the Deacons are in the protecting business. I don't believe in electric chairs, because that is the society retaliating violently, but I do believe in the personal right to selfdefense and can only work and hope that that right is rigidly disciplined through organizations such as the Deacons.

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JAMES FARMER **COLUMN**

BOGALUSA
(Second of three parts)

(Last week I outlined the conditions under which Negroes in Bogalusa are forced to live, the emergence of the Bogalusa Voters League and the invitation of CORE into the struggle.)

A SHORT AND VIOLENT HISTORY

In capsule, the Bogalusa Voters League made clear its intention to test the enforcement of the Civil Rights Bill in the fall of 1964. The Mayor assured assistance, but the first tests met total resistance and police complicity with the bigots. In response, the BVL invited CORE into Bogalusa in January of 1965. CORE workers arrived on January 5, and the lines of conflict were sharply drawn.

By late April, CORE and the BVL recorded countless incidents of violence ranging from a fusillade of bullets into Mr. Robert Hick's home to the near-fatal beating of CORE field secretary Bill Yates. The decision had been taken to present the city with a broad set of demands, addressing itself to a wide range of grievances, much beyond the questions of voting and public accommodations. Marches began in earnest and were met with further violence, including an assault attempt on myself. Finally, the demands were placed before a three-man conciliation board formed by Governor McKeithen, agreements were reached, and BVL and CORE were soon hailing a major victory - a stride had been taken and peace returned to Bogalusa.

In a very few weeks, however, it was apparent that the Klan had gained the ascendancy in the city administration. The murder of Deputy Sheriff O'Neal Moore, a Negro lawman, signalled the Klan's intention to repudiate every agreement reached - one of which was the hiring of Negro policemen. In short order it was crystal clear - the Bogalusa administration did not intend to live up to any of its agreements - and BVL, supported by CORE, mapped a new drive.

The current fight, instituted on July 8th, has been a bloody road. On Friday, July 16, CORE and BVL pickets were assaulted and badly beaten seven times before state troopers, standing nearby and watching, would intervene. There have been few results thus far.

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7. Employment of Negro policemen with all proper police powers.

8. Measures to insure the free registration of voters and the right to vote.

These, then, are the "impossible" demands that have provoked a war.

CONTINUED

N. Y. AMSTERDAM NEWS, Sat., June 5, 1965

THE CORE OF IT!

by JAMES FARMER NATIONAL DIRECTOR

America is a funny country. Our Supreme Court, the highest judicial body we have, has handed down a series of major decisions which, in effect, have made our Constitution an honest, working instrument and restored at least the concept of freedom to our laws. And yet, the yowls of the bigots and the Birchites, and the foot-stamping of the states righters are heard across the land calling for the impeachment of Earl Warren and the muzzling of major decisions.

A most important case in point is the Court's "one man, one vote" edict. It may seem simple-minded, but I fail to see how anyone who honors a democratic society can complain when these nine men say "when you vote, your vote should count, fully and without reservation."

And yet this restatement of a plain moral and political commandment was made necessary by the outrageous efforts of many Americans to wholly or partially disenfranchise their fellow citizens — and you and I know that means they're trying to steal or minimize the Negro and the Puerto Rican and the Mexican-American and the Indian and the you-name-it vote.

Decision

In its decision, the Court said, in effect, that wherever a man lives, his vote should count equally, which sounds reasonable enough. But in point of fact in Georgia, for example, the number of people represented by one person in the State Senate varies from the thousands to the tens of thousands. That means a farmer's vote (a white farmer at that) can count as much as ten times that of a black citizen of Atlanta.

And it is precisely this inequity, in which rural areas throughout the nation control legislature after legislature without a majority or even a substantial minority, that the Court is trying to whip.

Now there's a man in Washington named Everett McKinley Dirksen who, together with his states rights pals, is trying to turn that decision around.

Their plan is embodied in a Constitutional amendment introduced in the Congress which will reverse the Court's decision. Some of his other operatives are racing around the country calling for a National Constitutional Convention to amend the Constitution to insure permanent control of legislatures by the rural, conservative areas.

In New York

New York State, where the problem is as acute as anyplace else, would be thrown back into the dark ages of conservative upstate control which simply means that Harlem stays filthy and our votes in the city of New York are worth measurably less than anywhere else.

On the one hand they keep talking about giving us the right to vote and on the other they're trying to take away its value.

You know, its always strange how all this kind of business comes down on the black man first. And these men always have some kind of "high moral purpose" out in front of their prejudicial trickery. But I say we've got some things going for us that can stop this nonsense in its tracks.

First of all, we know what they're doing—they can't hide it under some legal umbrella. And we have our voices and our bodies to prove that we mean it when we say that the three centuries of "steppin" and "fetchin" and getting conned are over. The Dirksen move must be stopped and stopped instantly. Now that means we can't go to sleep.

Are we going to take it? Not bloody likely . . . and its time we started moving. Not just talking to and writing Congressmen on both the state and Federal levels . . . but vocal and visible protest which seems, as usual to be where it's at.

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE
38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK

Nancy - the column this week
if the News call for it - Val.

James Farmer **The Amsterdam News**

file -
JF public.

ONE MAN, ONE VOTE

Amsterdam News

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A most important case in point is the Court's "one man, one vote" edict. It may seem simple-minded, but I fail to see how anyone who honors a democratic society can complain when these nine men say "when you vote, your vote should count, fully and without reservation." And yet this restatement of a plain moral and political commandment was made necessary by the outrageous efforts of many Americans to wholly or partially disenfranchise their fellow citizens----and you and I know that means they're trying to steal or minimize the Negro and the Puerto Rican and the Mexican-American and the Indian and the you-name-it vote.

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JAMES FARMER COLUMN

BOGALUSA
(Third of three parts)

(In two prior articles, I've named
the reasons for and the antagonists
in the Bogalusa struggle.)

with editors recourse

So then --- what does it all mean? What can be born from this terrible time in this terrible place. In many ways, Bogalusa teaches us how little our movement has actually done in terms of the human health and well-being of Negro Americans. It teaches us how relentless is racial hatred in this nation. It schools us in cynicism and courage, hope and homicide.

*** The streets of Negro Bogalusa remain unpaved.

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However, from this pocket of violence the wisdom of combat has forged the Negro community into an unalterable force. From Bogalusa has come a further searing of the nation's conscience, and the meager promise of change. From this city, the seed of resistance mates with its brothers --- Selma, Birmingham, Greensboro --- and the gates of freedom inch open again.

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We indict Jesse Cutrer as a total administrative failure, a vacillating and ineffectual man who has allowed his cityto be shattered and wasted by lawlessness and oppression.

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We indict our own nation, complacent and cowed, despite murder, despite violence and despite the true facts of life for Bogalusa Negroes.

Let there be no mistake. We are prepared to talk at any time, at any place, to resolve this terrible and criminal conflict. But any agreement will be an agreement that will make vast changes in the life of the Negro of Bogalusa. Until that time comes.... our indictments stand, and our marches will go forward.

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James Farmer - public Amsterdam News

NEW YORK'S "FINEST"

; The New York City Police Force is a para-military organization of 28,000 heavily armed men who killed 95 people last year.

That sentence is the plain, flat-out truth. Maybe if it gets repeated often enough, the public will begin to take a hard look at the root causes that make it true.

First, "para-military" means combat, warfare, weaponery, Generals and the lot. These "armies" are the only armies in our constitutional democracy that aren't ultimately disciplined by civilian control. Why? President Truman fired General MacArthur in the name of this principle, but Mayor Wagner stands haplessly by while Commissioner Murphy applauds and decorates men like Thomas Gilligan who shoot and kill Negro children.

"Heavily armed" is a second piece of truth. On duty or off, the New York cop is required to be heavily armed. That's right, department regulations insist that he pack his thirty eight even when he's off duty. But no regulations can or should prevent him from being an ordinary human being off duty. Regulations can't and shouldn't preventing him from heisting a few at the corner saloon when he's off duty. So he may, from time to time be an ordinary man few a few drinks under his belt and that thirty eight under his armpit. Also, regulations can't make him a recognizable police officer when he's off duty. How many times have you seen or read of the specatcle of an off-duty cop wading into a situation yelling halt to a man or boy who sees nothing but a stranger in civvys pointing a gun, a gun that kills.

Let's think about it in another way---what kind of a man is the man with the thirty eight? What kind of a man becomes a cop when he could be making a good living selling ball bearings or driving a truck? I don't know, a fact that won't change the course of history, perhaps, but the Police Commissioner doesn't know either and that's important. He ought to. But there are not adequate psychological tests and screening procedures to determine whether a man applying for work in the Police Department is emotionally fit or whether, to use the old-fashioned, unclinical word, he may be a sadist. For that matter, in 1962, while four cops were being killed by criminals, fourteen killed themselves; a statistic that weems to indicate that the officer himself stands to gain as much from the decision as to whether or not he ought to have that thirty eight as the public.

To get back to that number; 95 police killings in one year. Put that number next to the total humber of homicides in New York City, around 600 a year. In other words, the police are responsible for roughly one sixth of the violent deaths in this city every year. This has got to be stopped and ought to be stopped by those of us who are being "protected" by the departmental policies that created the statistic. We must ask a hard "why?" and insist on across-the-board changes.

Try these for starters:

1. Fire Commissioner Murphy
2. Immediately install an objective civilien review board with disciplinary teeth.
3. Tighten hiring standards to eliminate misfits.
4. Stop the carrying of guns by off-duty policemen.
5. End the policy of "whooting to kill" escaping prisoners.
6. GET A NEW MAYOR!

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Farmers' File

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THE CORE OF IT!

by JAMES FARMER

POLITICAL POWER AND AMERICAN NEGROES

To be candid about political power is to say that the American Negro, north and south is almost, if not wholly disenfranchised. Voting rights bill or no voting rights bill, the Negro electorate is either forcibly kept out of the booth or the impact of our vote is fragmented or diluted by white and black political factionalism.

It is only on rare occasions that anything resembling a "Negro vote" can be identified as a political force and on those occasions, Johnson vs. Goldwater for example, the Negro vote is not really addressing itself to a practical redress of Negro greivances.

It is, in this context, that CORE is now deadly serious in its efforts to mount Freedom Democratic Movements throughout the country, movements which will represent black power addressed to black questions, mobilized outside the usual political alignments.

The historic pilot for this, of course, is the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which CORE helped to found.

The MFDP was mobilized around the moral questions of absolute segregation and near-total disenfranchisement. It became apparent, however, that functioning outside of the usual political soup was a powerful place for Negroes to be. Witness the muscle MFDP has shown in its current Congressional challenge to the seating of Mississippi white representatives.

In this case their energies and their leverage could be addressed pointedly to questions affecting them as Negroes . . . Negroes whose voice has been istorically stilled by the "needs of the nation" or by e fusion of Negro grievances into "larger questions ffecting the entire community."

No Mechanism

Only the Civil Rights Revolution had made it absolutely clear that Negroes had no mechanism aside from physical protest to change their lot in the American way of life.

In the north, as usual, the problem is much more complex. Here, the moral question of disenfranchisement is replaced by the equally vicious problem of political manipulation.

There is virtually no place in the urban north where a fully registered and voting Negro community has any substantial effect on the political and thereby economic decisions affecting their own lives.

In Chicago, for example, an intrenched and predominantly white ward structure controls Negro votes with the ease of a pushbutton. In New York City (where appallingly few Negroes actually register and vote), the Negro mandate is channelled directly into the Democratic Party structure where insensitivity to black problems and black needs is the name of the game.

And the story is repeated with local variations on the theme throughout the country.

Thus the Freedom Democratic Movement concept.

First Candidate

The first of these is already off and running in Brooklyn with Major Owens, chairman of Brooklyn CORE as its first candidate for city council. The significance of Major's candidacy is that, if elected, Councilman Owens will speak loud and clear for a Negro constituency without the harness of Democratic Party give and Democratic Party take.

He will be his own, and his people's man; a strong and singular voice representing real power outside the murky and white-oriented political power structure.

Envision this throughout the nation, in city after city, north and south — a Negro political movement acting in national concert with a voice that cannot be denied.

No one, for a moment suggests that such a political turn in the civil rights movement will ultimately crystallize into a fully competing third party — its power will be the power of an offensive right guard in pro football — charging the linebackers to keep the defense honest.

And it may well become the critical factor in realigning the patchwork Democratic Party into a truly liberal striking force for freedom and social change.

4 file
public

James Farmer → Amsterdam News

FOR THE PEOPLE

In Rankin County, Mississippi, the people who spearhead the movement use blue-bright photoflood lamps to light up a full half-acre in front of their homes. The local bigots have an "eye for an eye" policy---we stage a march, they burn a church; we register a voter, they kill a Negro. The rattle of gunfire is as common as the chop of the cotton hoe. But in this atmosphere of violence and apprehension, Rankin County symbolizes a significant and historic departure in the civil rights revolution.

Throughout the South, the awakening pride of the Negro is making strides far beyond the immediate questions of voter registration and public accomodations. A truly personal and political awareness is emerging in the minds and hearts of people who are beginning to see that only with a solid base of political power can they reasonably hope to make those basic, shattering changes in the society that will bring their mothers and sisters in from the cotton fields and put money for a productive life in their pockets. And this is a people decision---a strident outgrowth of the commitment and agony of the past several years. It is for this reason that CORE has radically altered its policy throughout the South, where our role is now clearly defined as a search for people, a search for the natural leadership in a given community--- to support, to advise, not to polish or to lead.

In Rankin County, for example, CORE task force workers moved into the area several months age and were able to piece together a "Rankin County Movement" led entirely by local Negroes who began to meet regularly to spell out their greivances and consider alternative actions to solve them. The county's sector of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party gained considerable stregnth from this dialogue and the 300-year-old questions of identity and freedom began to emerge as practical crises, not unsolvable facts of life. No longer was the Rankin County Negro privately stamping hisfeet in frustration--- he was doing something, and doing it from his own base of power. The results to date have been extraordinary.

Three months ago, the Mount Pisgah Church, one of the oldest Negro churches in the nation was burned to the ground by the bigot's arsonists. The church was truly venerated by the citizens in Rankin County---they had made it their meeting place for the Rankin County Movement, thus creating a target for the racists. Within two days, another tiny structure had been built on the site and the meetings intensified with calls for action coming from an infuriated and new united Negro community. They began to come to the meetings in large numbers and, under the guidance of CORE field secretary George Raymond, a plan began to crystallize.

The decision was made to march --- 22 incredibly dangerous miles from the site of the church burning to the county seat of Brandon, Mississippi where they would attempt to register to vote in large numbers. I was very moved by the raw courage of these people who would risk a near-suicidal walk through the heart of Klan country to seek their right to vote. The Klan was ready---leaflets were issued along the line of march calling upon white citizens to shoot any marcher that stepped on private property. George Raymond worked out a tough, tactical set of security procedures and, astonishingly, they worked...the march went unmolested. But even more significant, "Mr. Charlie" behaved at the courthouse and four Negroes (a soaring number for Rankin County) were immediately registered by a polite registrar. Organization had given birth to courage which in turn gave birth to power and the white man knew it.

And this is only the beginning, in Rankin County and throughout the South/ Voter registration drives are turning into locally led and motivated "full citizenship"

drives which focus on the needs of the people, not necessarily the needs of history and the television networks. This will not only be the year of the vote but also the year of better roads, the year that Negroes will get mail service in the South, the year that the open sewer ditches will be covered, the year of pride and the year of a new kind of movement---deep in the heart of the problem.   Less dramatic, perhaps, but with a ring of truth and a deeper, sustaining kind of change.

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JF public - Amsterdam News

THE CORE OF IT!

by JAMES FARMER NATIONAL DIRECTOR

There has been a lot of speculation about America's image around the world in terms of the civil rights revolution. This "concern" has provided a convenient axe handle for the local bigots and moderates to flay away at demonstrations, "agitators" and the invisible legions of communist agents that have theoretically run off with the revolution..

I think its time for someone to put this nonsense where it belongs — in the same file with the barrels of muck and crankery now cluttering up the government's archives.

First, let's look at this image business. As a federal press agent once told me, America prides itself on being a free and open society. If there's any truth in that statement, it's pretty clear that real freedom depends upon open dialogue and open confrontation which is precisely what the civil rights movement is all about.

No nation can hide its ugliness for long and remain even a partial democracy.

Only by mass genocide and facist repression was Hitler able to obscure his real intentions with the German Jew.

And when we start dressing up and ignoring the fact that many millions of American Negroes live in some form of racist Hell, we will be on that same suicidal path.

Bad Press

For all the bad press America gets in the Paris newspapers, we gain much more in being seen as a nation willing to come to grips with its diseases and unafraid to solve them in the bold light of day. And, more important, if the future of the American Negro depended upon a press agent's projection of America's image, we can all forget it and go back to "Yassa boss" and no life expectancy.

Equally stupid and shortsighted are the cries of the neo-McCarthyists who find a communist behind every picket sign. I've said before that it's tough enough being black without being black and red at the same time.

The real grievance of the black American is way down in the soul questions: where we eat, where we work, where we live and most of all where we stand as a man, not cringe as a boy.

You're right if you think Negroes in this country are searching for political alternatives — the present set-up has been little more than a screen for the hardening of white assets, including entire sections of the nation where we don't even participate as voting citizens.

But this doesn't mean Negroes have to buy a new facist package that simply shifts the "man" from the 125th Street haberdashery owner to some sort of repressive "people's government."

Our Destiny

Our destiny is bound intimately to the nation's destiny, and more particularly to the destiny of the needful, both black and white. And the political alternatives that interest us will be alternatives that use as their staging ground the needs of our nation's poor and the restoration of full equality and citizenship to those who are deprived.

Let's face it. Anti-American sentiment throughout the world is based almost entirely upon our insensitivity to the need and pride of others. The belligerence of many Africans, for example, it traceable to our wrong-headed and habitual ties to colonial logic and our unwillingness to really believe that the African can sanely govern himself.

This international attitude is just as true inside the country where many politicians think of the civil rights movement as an embarrassing and pesky bunch of troublemakers that they wish would just go away.

Well, we're not about to go away, because what is happening is an angry American reality that will only be solved when we look in the mirror and discover that Miss Liberty needs to have both heart and her face lifted once again.

file JF public

THE CHANGING MOOD OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE, AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

By James Farmer

The mood and the tempo of the entire civil rights movement has been radically changed vih for some time and this change is now felt by every Negro in America, not only those who have physically participated in the struggle. It is a revolutionary spirit which has caught up even those who not long ago were apathetic and uninvolved in the movement. The philosophy of non-violence and the tough discipline which a few starry-eyed youths imposed upon themselves when CORE was begun in 1942 has now spread and encompasses hundreds of thousands.

The masses of Negroes who are thus involved have thereby achieved a measure of [illegible] emancipation with which Lincoln's Proclamation could not possibly have endowed them. The segregation barriers erected in America have, for them, ceased to be an extension of their minds. They are not longer chained to the ancient stereotypes. They do not feel inferior and do not believe that they are, and are no longer comfortable in the confines of the caste. In a word, they have found an imposing dignity.

As one student in Atlanta put it: "I, myself, desegregated that lunch counter on Peachtree Street. Nobody else. Little me. I did it by sitting-in, by walking the picket line, by marching. I didn't have to wait for any big shots to do it for me. I did it myself! Never will that youth and the many like him see themselves as unimportant again.

Yet, spiritual emancipation, important as it is, is only one small step. Economic, social, political emancipation are the longer steps to come. Jobs, housing, schools, and enfranchisement have largely replaced public places as the main focus of the struggle. A man may feel equal and free within the private chamber of his own heart, but if his job is limited by color instead of ability, if he is not free to live where he chooses, if his children cannot be equally educated, then his freedom is a myth and his equality an illusion.

What is needed, therefore, is compensatory action to wipe out the deprivations of the past. The rear wheels of an automobile cannot catch up with the front wheels while they are traveling at the same speed.

The responsibility of accelerating the Negro's march to equality does not rest with the Negro alone. This cannot be a sheer bootstrap operation. When a society has crippled some of its people, it has an obligation to provide requisite crutches. Industry has an obligation not merely to employ the best qualified person who happens to apply, but to seek qualified Negroes for nontraditional jobs, and if none can be found, to help train them. If two or more applicants with substantially equal qualifications should present themselves, and one of them is a Negro, then he should be given a measure of preference to compensate for the discrimination of centuries.

Beyond that, a remedial education and training program of massive proportions needs to be launched. To accomplish more than a gesture, such a program will require billions of dollars - perhaps three billion a year for a five-year period. Anything less will be tokenism. The only source for funds in such amount is the Federal government.

But whether or not the Federal government acts, the freedom fighters will continue their revolutionary thrust. To paraphrase a beaten white Freedom Rider: "We'll take beating. We'll take kicking. We'll take even death. And we'lllkeep coming till we can ride, work, live, study, and play anywhere in this country -without anyone saying anything, but just as American citizens."

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THE FOLLOWING IS EMBARGOED MATERIAL FOR RELEASE NOT EARLIER THAN
6 A.M. E.S.T., THURSDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1965, OBSERVE EMBARGO.

The following is the full-text of column appearing in the New York Amsterdam News:

"The Moynihan Report"

By James Farmer
National Director, CORE

As if living in the sewer, learning in the street and working in the pantry weren't enough of a burden for millions of American Negroes, I now learn that we've caught "matriarchy," and "the tangle of Negro pathology" ...a social plague recently diagnosed by Daniel Moynihan in his celebrated report on "The Negro Family." After tracing the long history of Negro oppression in this country, Moynihan concludes that our current difficulties are rooted in the effects of that oppression dramatized in the shattered Negro family, stripped of its male and going to Hell in a basket. On the surface, this would seem to be a fairminded exercise in the Life Sciences but in fact the Moynihan Report, which seems to have been given a good deal of currency by the present administration, is another one of those academic efforts to get our eyes off the prize.

By laying the primary blame for present-day inequalities on the pathological condition of the Negro family and community, Moynihan has provided a massive academic cop-out for the white conscience and clearly implied that Negroes in this nation will never secure a substantial measure of freedom until we stop sleeping with our wife's sister and buying Cadillacs instead of bread. This well-enough intentioned analysis provides the fuel for a new racism...it suceeds in taking the real tragedy of black poverty and serving it up as an essentially salacious "discovery" suggesting that Negro mental health should be the first order of business in a civil rights revolution.

Nowhere does Moynihan suggest that there may be something wrong in an "orderly and normal" white family structure that is weaned on race hatred and passes the word "nigger" from generation to generation. Nowhere does Moynihan suggest that the proper answer to a shattered family is an open job market where this "frustrated" male Negro can get an honest day's work. And nowhere does Moynihan suggest that high illegitimacy rates in the black community may be partly explained by the fact that birth control information and covert abortions are by and large the exclusive property of the white man.

I say all this because I'm angry... really angry and I intend to spell out this anger in just one more effort to convince somebody, anybody, down in the places of power that the cocktail hour on the "Negro Question" is over and that we are sick unto death of being analyzed, mesmerized, bought, sold and slobbered over while the same evils that are the ingredients of our oppression go unattended. It has been the fatal error of American society for 300 years to ultimately blame the roots of poverty and violence in the Negro community upon Negroes themselves. I honestly felt that the Civil Rights and Voting laws indicated that we were rid of this kind of straw-man logic, but here it is again, in its most vicious form, handing the racists a respectable new weapon and insulting the intelligence of black men and women everywhere.

I intend to devote a good deal of space to this Moynihan Report for a number of reasons. First and most important, it is fast becoming the scriptural basis for several new brands of bigotry, even without the consent of its authors. Secondly, it has been specifically hailed by the American right wing and is currently being used to "explain away" the Negro Revolution as the hysterical outburst of a mentally unbalanced sub-culture. Third, it provides a documented basis for men in elected authority to divert practical anti-discrimination programs into an open season on "pathological" Negroes. And fourth, the report is especially bad in that it contains a great number of statistical facts, misread, misinterpreted and warped into a series of conclusions that could make Robert Shelton into a holy prophet.

In many ways, this report, when studied carefully, emerges in my mind as the most serious threat to the ultimate freedom of American Negroes to appear in print in recent memory.

I cannot possibly in the course of this article cover even a small part of the report's analyses and conclusions. I will deal with those in subsequent columns. I must say, however, that I am convinced that the author or authors of this document did not consciously intend to write a racist tract...but the fact that it may be used as such makes their innocence inexcusable. They have forgotten that we are bottled into our ghetto and held down not simply by the restraints of our past, but by the clear and present acts of subtle and unsubtle discrimination that continue to destroy our option for self change and make our life a living Hell. And to forget that while focussing on "the tangle of Negro pathology" is very much like curing Yellow Fever by painting the patient white and ignoring the mosquitoes.

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Annual Report to the National CORE Convention

James Farmer, National Director
Durham, N. C., July 1, 1965

As CORE meets at its 23rd Annual Convention, we have behind us many successes achieved and victories won. But this report will not be a recounting of past successes; to rest on one's laurels is to petrify and die. Past victories--in public accommodations, in voting rights, in the support of law and public policy--have been in battles preceeding the major encounter.

The major war now confronting us is aimed at harnessing the awesome political potential of the black community in order to effect basic social and economic changes for all Americans, to alter meaningfully the lives of the Black Americans (our plight has not been and will not be changed by past victories), and to bring about a real equality of free men.

This job cannot be done for us by the Government. In the first place, the establishments--Federal, State, and Local--have too much built-in resistence to fundamental change. Any establishment by definition seeks its own perpetuation and rejects that which threatens it. For example, politicians take over and seek to make the anti-poverty programs an adjunct of their political aspirations. They attack community action programs of the anti-poverty war as being anti-city hall. School Boards, which have already lost the drop-outs and other under-privileged youth, reach out greedily to control community education programs and see that they do not shake up the school systems.

Powerful lobbies, such as the financial and the real estate interests, exert tremendous pressure to see that programs to relieve poverty do not threaten their interests.

Further, it is impossible for the Government to mount a decisive war against poverty and bigotry in the United States while it is pouring billions down the drain in a war against people in Viet Nam. The billion dollars available to fight poverty is puny compared with the need and insignificant compared with the resources expended in wars.

Thus, we must be constructive critics of the anti-poverty program, using its resources for our fight where we can, insisting that local anti-poverty boards be truly representatives of the deprived communities and the minorities which they are supposed to help, and attacking waste and pork-barreling wherever it occurs.

Yet it would be fatal to think that the anti-poverty program alone can make the necessary changes in the social and economic life of Black Americans. It can be no more a solution to our problems than were the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, 1964 were, or the Voter Rights Act of 1965 will be. Like those laws, the anti-poverty program has to be seen as no more than a tool, useful at times but inadequate at best to do the job.

We can rely upon none but ourselves as a catalyst in the development of the potential power of the black community in its own behalf and in behalf of the nation. CORE alone has the nationwide network of militant chapters required, unshackled by compromising entanglements, political commitments and alliances. CORE alone has the flexibility to move in the new directions demanded by this phase of the war, while it fulfills its commitments to the unfinished tasks of the last phase.

In this new phase of our war to change the life of the Negro in a changed America, there are two aspects: Community organization and Political organization. It must be clearly seen that neither aspect is an end in itself. Community organization, including social services, for its own sake is mere social uplift and has no basic importance in changing the life role of the Negro. Political organization for its own sake is sheer opportunism. While both aspects must be undertaken simultaneously, the first, community organization, may be seen as a step to increase the effectiveness of the second, political organization. Or another way of viewing it, is to see community organization as a tool--a tool to build a vehicle. Political organization, then, is the vehicle to take us to the desired objective. That objective is an open society free of race discrimination and forced segregation, shorn of poverty and unemployment, with decent housing and high quality education for all. The objective, in a word, is a new society, a free and open society.

Community Organization

The term, community organization, has become almost a cliche. The need now is to put content into that cliche. For two years, community organization has been widely discussed within CORE.

For many, the discussion of it has been a substitute for taking concrete steps to achieve it. Many CORE Chapters, however, have moved their offices into the heart of the black ghetto and have made a serious attempt at ghetto involvement and community organization. If we are honest we will admit that most have failed, though a few have had small successes at organizing their community. Thus the impact of some of our chapters has dwindled.

So now, here we stand, faltering for a necessary transition. If the need for community organization has been great in the past, it is now, I believe, desperate. It is now or never. CORE's survival as a valuable and relevant organization depends upon it.

Memoranda and papers have been written and disseminated and discussed. The National Director prepared a paper suggesting certain guidelines for the purpose of internal discussion on these matters. It is now time to act! Many chapters are calling upon their National Organization to provide direction in this new phase of struggle. This we intend to do.

Before a community can be organized in a way that is meaningful to the community, we must engage in a dialogue with that community. The indigenous people of a community know their hurts, their needs and their problems far better than we. We must encourage the community to speak, for it has much to say. And we must be prepared to listen. Yet we must not be afraid to talk to the community, for we, too, have something of importance to say growing out of our experience in the movement.

The decisions, however, must rest with the people of a community or a neighborhood, for it is their lives to be fulfilled, their dreams to be realized.

When, through the direction of CORE and a neighborhood, it becomes clear what the neighborhood desires, what services it wishes, CORE must be prepared to help the community to get them and to organize around them. If the need is for social and recreational activities, for conventional social services, or for block associations or women's clubs or youth clubs, we must see that the neighborhood gets them. Usually such services are best provided in a central place, so if a center is desired it should be set up--not in the CORE office for it must belong to the community, not to CORE. It should be set up in a loft or store front within the neighborhood itself.

Some chapters will find that their shortage of personnel and the requirements of their day to day operation prevent their effective action along these lines. In such cases the National organization must be prepared to provide subsistence for task force workers within that community to do the job. Such a plan can work only if there is close cooperation and collaboration between the chapter and the center, with the center maintaining its autonomy and making its own decisions.

Obviously any decision in this regard will be meaningless unless there is the money to carry it through. We have now received funds to reopen one center which has had three months experience in operation. I would estimate that each center will cost a minimum of ten thousand dollars a year to operate, keeping expenses to a bare minimum, and achieving an acceptable measure of effectiveness. This plan can only be executed, then, if there is a crash fund raising campaign jointly conducted by the national office and all of the local chapters. This is unprecedented for CORE, but it is now a necessity. In the past we have sought to avoid making CORE chapters fund raising agencies, but in this new era, if we lack funds, we lack muscle.

If the plan is approved by this convention, we will have one center opening up immediately. I would suggest that we plan to open three centers, one in each of the northern regions, by the end of the summer. This means, I repeat, raising money. At a time when funds are desperately needed, for a new thrust to keep the civil rights resolution from faltering, we find ourselves strapped with a quarter of a million dollar debt and insufficient funds in sight to cover current operating expenses. I have every confidence that CORE members and CORE chapters will not want us to curtail activities further but will want us to advance into the new phase of our war. To do this we must raise much, much more money than we have in the past.

I would estimate that it would take 9 to 12 months of national direction of each center before it will be well enough organized for the chapter to pay for its operations without adversely affecting its other program.

Unlike other civil rights organizations which have centers, and unlike most other community organizing efforts, ours must be seen as a means to an end and not as an end in itself. The central objective of the chapter--center cooperation and the community base which the center must provide for the chapter activities is political organization and action in the ghetto community.

Political Organization and Action

It is clear that the objectives we seek in the wiping out of poverty and unemployment, elimination of bad housing, city planning for integration in housing and schools, quality education--are political objectives depending upon responses we can exact from political machinery. We can no longer rely on pressuring and cajoling political units toward desired actions. We must be in a position of power, a position to change those political units when they are not responsive.

The only way to achieve political objectives is through power, political power. Only diminishing returns can be achieved through the pressure of demonstrations not backed up by political muscle.

We have won amazing successes without political muscle. The New York City CORE chapters came out against Wagner, and the National Director backed them up, and we toppled a Police Commissioner and a Mayor. Now, everyone is a candidate for Mayor and bidding for CORE support. This does not indicate strength. It merely shows what CORE can accomplish in spite of weakness, and thus how much more could be done if we had the political power which can derive from community organization and political organization.

What a shrewd politician asks when he views our demonstrations is not, "How many people are there?", but "Are they voters?", and "Are they organized voters."

As as we organize the community through directed centers, so we must seek to organize the community politically--or, more accurately, to reorganize it politically. For the bosses and the machines have already organized it after a fashion with their ward heelers and their petty precinct captains. The greatest tragedy of all would be for the existing black vote to remain in, and the new black vote to be dumped into the general political soup now brewed by the machine bosses--black or white.

What is needed, I believe, is independent political action through indigenous political organizations. This is the Freedom Democratic Party in Mississippi and CORE is supporting it fully, including its challenge. After the Summer CORE Project in Louisiana, if activated communities articulate the desire we will help them organize a Louisiana Freedom Democratic Party.

In the North, independent political voices are needed too. When the black ghetto communities with which CORE chapters have dialogued articulate the desire, we must take the lead in helping them develop Freedom Democratic Movements to serve as a political voice for their awakening self-expression.

Only through such independent action can the growing black vote achieve maximum effectiveness in moving toward the goals we seek. Freedom Democratic Movements must not be racist and should not exclude whites. But their base must be in the black ghetto, else they will be merely another exercise in liberal futility!

We must be prepared to put up candidates for nomination, when necessary, through such political vehicles, and to endorse or oppose candidates for election. A few of our chapters, Brooklyn, for example, are already doing this. Brooklyn CORE took the initiative in helping people in the Bedford-Stuyvesant ghetto in setting up the Brooklyn Freedom Democratic Movement. The CORE Chairman, Major Owens, is a candidate for nomination to the City Council under the BFDM banner (with the backing of the national organization)--challenging an incumbent machine politician. And Owens has a fighting chance to win the nomination.

This is, of course, a new departure in CORE policy. But the old policy is no longer applicable to the needs of the movement. We may as well admit that old policy is dead, and move boldly on with the new.

Such ghetto-oriented political movements must avoid, at a all costs, becoming an adjunct to, or a tool of any political party, bloc, or machine. They must be controlled by the interests of the black ghetto alone. They must be in a position to make alliances when called for, and break them when necessary. There should be no binding Grand Alliances where the black ghetto becomes a tail to some other kite, or a dancer to some other political fiddler's tune!

Now, it will be a disservice to the ghetto community if we seek to be its manipulators, to substitute CORE as the boss of a political machine which will, in the very nature of the case, become corrupt and oppressive, as boss-ridden machines always are. CORE bossism may be benevolent despotism, but it would be despotism nonetheless, and essentially no different from any other.

What is called for, instead, is dialogue and interaction between CORE and the community to determine goals. We must listen to them, and have the machinery for doing so, and hope that they will listen to us. But the community must be the boss, not we!

* *

This obviously is not a detailed program. It is not intended to be so. It is simply my view of what should be our essential direction.

Detailed program can come only from this convention's dialogue with itself, after which we must stop talking to ourselves and speak to, and be spoken to by, the black ghetto. And through the ghetto's emerging voice we must speak to the nation--and to the world.

Such new directions are developing in the South and being groped for in the North. In North and South, now, we must get moving with no further delay if the civil rights revolution is to succeed in this enormously difficult and highly complex new phase into which our past successes have thrust us.

In the North our chapters must make quick transitions from the old phase to the new if we are to remain relevant to the needs of the struggle. In the South, except for Klanism and massive police violence, our problems are not vastly different from the North. The South is becoming, and will become, increasingly like the North with de facto segregation substituted for de jure with the black man confined to a status of built in low-man on the economic, social and political totem pole--able to eat a hamburger, but not to have a rewarding life.

Our direction in the South, therefore, is essentially the same as it should be in the North. And in the South, CORE is doing community organization on a significant scale. In Bogalusa, for example, we do not attempt to be the leaders of the black community. CORE staff members interact with the Bogalusa Voters League, build up its leaders and have their expression through the indigenous voice of the community. It is A. Z. Young and Robert Hicks who speak for Bogalusa, and we are their consultants and advisors.

Yet, the Bogalusa Voters League, an indigenous, CORE-oriented local movement, has no voice in our present organizational structure. It is as important to the movement and to CORE as any chapter. It is unjust and wrong for its members, so vital in our new thrust, to be disenfranchised in our decision-making councils like the National Action Council and the National Convention. I think that we should proceed with dispatch at this convention to alter our structure so as to give CORE-oriented and CORE-supported local movements related to our new direction a voice in our organizational decision-making. We must, in other words, broaden our structure to give relevant non-chapters a voice along with chapters in our organization. We must let the community speak not only to the nation, but also to us.

* *

This convention, then, has one over-riding purpose: to re-tool our organization to meet the changed requirements of the new phase of the war. Any organization which cannot do it does not deserve to survive. We can do it. CORE, the cutting edge of the old battles, will now become the sword's point of the new thrust!

File - Anti-CORE
Worlds Fair

April 28, 1965

Sirs:

I'm behind most of your efforts on behalf of Negro rights. However, I believe your picketing the Worlds' Fair is hurting your cause.

Josephine O'Rourke

File- "Anti-CORE"

Gentlemen,

Please, stop any demonstrations at the Worlds' Fair. I personally object to this means of attacking Mayor Wagner. Besides, it will do your vital movement harm. Avoid being dragged into a supremacy struggle with other Civil Rights organizations

Get him at the mansion!

James Prunier
116 Remsen St
Brooklyn, NY
11201

April 30th 1965

To Whom it May Concern:

Wish to protest the picketing your organization did at the World's Fair. Picket City Hall if you have to, but certainly not the Fair.

Thank you!
Gene Gauthiers

April 30, 1964
24 Stephenville Pkwy
Metuchen, N J

Mr James Farmer,

Your group have become a real mess — How did you manage to collect so many ill-bred, ill-mannered, ignorant people in your organization?

Picketting the White House indeed!! Also that nonsense at the Fair! You are out of line — way out!

L. MacMillan

FRANK AIONA
53 SECOND AVE., 1-D
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003

30 april

Dear Sirs:

Picketing the World's Fair for some grievance against Mayor Wagner is morally wrong, and unlawful, as held by the District Court of Appeals of the National Maritime Union's picketing of a ship in alabama over a dispute in Philadelphia. (article in april 28 NY Times)

The public has been solidly behind CORE in the past.

Tactics like your World's

Fair picketing will do you more harm than Good. all it takes is one such incident to turn public opinion.

Sincerely,
Frank Ciora

W. B. Lewis
145-27 - 11 ave
Jamaica, N.Y.
5/1/65

To core:

As a good citizen, a business Negro woman and a believer in the cause you are fighting.

I think your picketing the world Fair was (Wrong)

Anti-CORE

Mrs N. Weens
163 Ocean Ave
Bklyn

CORE.

You are doing your Civil Rigts Cause a great injustice by picketing the Worlds Fair.

I have worked for Civil Rights my friends are ardent workers

THE NEW YORK | HILTON
at | Rockefeller Center

P.S. I am at a
convention and I have
spoken to many of the
people here and they
feeling is mutual

and this is not
the way to show
grievances against
Mayor Wagner.
There are people from
all over the world
visiting our city
and state and I
disapprove of this
demonstration.

Yours truly
Mrs N. Weiner

File Anti: CORE

5/3/65

DAVID C. BAIN

11 Orchard Farm Road Port Washington, N. Y.

Congress of Racial Equality
48 West 125th St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sirs:

It is a terrible wrong for you to permit your people to picket at the World's Fair. People come from all over the world to taste American hospitality and see a once in 20 years exhibit. and they see your people parading signs, and creating disturbances at admission booths, etc. etc.

Do you actually think this will help?? It wont!! It will just make foreigners not like the U.S., the white man pay even less attention, and the black man will turn to the Muslims. Reverend King has the right idea. Make disturbances outside of an international showplace-- but dont give America a bad name!!

Very Truly Yours,

David Bain

I Anti-CORE 5/3/65

DEAR SIRS:

IF YOU HAVE ANY GRIEVANCE WITH THE MAYOR, WHY NOT PICKET HIS HOUSE OR OFFICE INSTEAD OF HURTING OTHER PEOPLES' CHANCES OF HAVING A NICE TIME AT THE WORLDS' FAIR. I WAS ON YOUR SIDE FOR A LOT OF TIMES IN THE PAST BUT I

II:

DEFINITELY THINK YOU'RE WRONG NOW.

PLEASE PULL OUT OF THE FAIR AND KEEP MY FAITH IN YOU.

SINCERELY,

STEVE ROXAS

MCR
Bordentown NJ

Dear sir,

We didn't go to the
the fair last year with our five children
with all the nuts picketing
it. Its disgraceful. I know
it serves some purpose,
nusiance value. I work
on the turnpike and many
visitors agree, and wonder
about whether its worth visiting
the fair if there's trouble!

Mrs D. Szek

File: Anti-CORE

4 - MAY - 65

Congress of Racial Equality

Dear Sirs:

While listening to the radio, I heard the manager of a station protest against your picket lines at the World's Fair. I am very glad that someone has given me the opportunity to advise you of a civil wrong that you are perpertrating. I agree wholly with this stations opinion on every point of Civil Rights. I am a white, and of voting age and therefore I have joined those who are responsible for our nation. I agree that if you wish to defeat Mr. Wagner next election the picketing of the World's Fair is the wrong way of going about it. I am one vote you can count on for the ousting of Mr. Wagner, but only because of my dissatisfaction with his administration and its polocies, and I am only one of many who believes this way; many of my friends also feel the same. I write this to let you know that there are many whites who see, much wrong in our city, and its discrimination. But I am sure I speak for a majority when I say that two wrongs still and never will make one right, Civil or otherwise. I hope that in some small way my letter will reach someone, and show that while we agree on the ends, we do not necessarily agree on the means.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours.

James P Butler

This is to ask your
Groups Please no
picketing the Fair
this year - too much
damage was done
1964 even to displaying
the worst manners,
during the Presidents
speech - Every cent is
needed toward keeping
thousands of Negroes on
Welfare - We are not a
sustaining race of People
& have to depend on
White People to exist -
They are disgusted with
high taxes - whatever You
do try to do it in good
taste. a Senior citizen
colored - born in Ky. -
Thanks

File World's Fair Anti-CORE

11 Cypress St.
Floral Park, L.I.
New York

C.O.R.E.
48 W. 125th Street
New York City

Dear Sir,

I am a college sophomore who is fervently in accord with the Civil Rights movement in our Country.

Please accept my suggestion to refrain from picketing our World's Fair. I really consider that poor taste and degrading to such a dignified movement. Let us not cheapen ourselves and especially not so conspicuously in the World's full view. Thank you.

Most Sincerely,
Miss S. B.

File - Anti-CORE

James Farmer

I agree with W.A.B.C most of your actions and talks are just plain stupid lately.

P.S. an observer

a colored woman was not good enough for you to marry

May 5, 1965

File Anti: CORE

Dear Gentlemen,

I believe that "Core" has been doing a marvelous job + so far has acted with thought. But I was very sorry to see their last demonstration at the "World's Fair." That was in poor taste. I wish "Core" future success, but that they choose the places with discretion here after...

Yours Truly,

Mrs. Jones

File- Anti COKE

48 WEST-125-THST.
N.Y.C. 1007

COKE

IT- IS-SAD-THAT, NEGROS; THAT HAVE NOT FINISHED COLLEGE, ARE LEADERS- OF COKE.

WHEN THEY GET A LOT OF SHINY BLACK, PEOPLE, OUT- IN-THE, SUN TO KEEP PEOPLE-AND CHILDREN FROM ALL, OVER, THE- COUNTRY-FROM ENJOYING, THE WORLDS-FAIR-IT IS- TO BAD, TO- HAVE-THOSE-KIND OF LEADERS THERE-IS-A-TIME-FOR-EVERY-THING- AND-THE- WISE-MAN-KNOWS-WHEN AND- WHERE= IN-ORDER-TO-HELP HIMSELF-AND-OTHERS-

LOCAL
802
A F of M
Chartered August 27th, 1921

AFFILIATED WITH A.F.L.-C.I.O.
Associated Musicians of Greater New York
261 WEST 52nd STREET, NEW YORK 19, N.Y.
PLaza 7-7722

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Delegate to
United Hebrew Trades
WILLIAM WOHLMAN

115

August 24, 1964

James Farmer
165 Park Row
New York, N. Y. 10038

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Some time ago as I watched you on a TV discussion show (the one with the Southern rep of NAACP, Malcolm X, and others) I became absorbed and impressed. Quite frankly, I was moved.

After the historic Washington march followed by a host of dramatic events, my feeling began to take shape. I knew I had to express what I felt in the medium I know best ... MUSIC.

I called in Ted Raph, a well-known musician and my long-time friend, and within a few short weeks we worked out the enclosed composition "There'll Be Good Times Comin'."

Our aim was to set forth in song the moral value of brotherhood, the patriotic loyalty of minority groups while in the midst of a determined struggle, and the firm conviction that man's decency to man is finally gaining solid ground.

The resulting song has stature and dignity. It is bright and inspirational. We feel the song is right for CORE.

I do hope you and your colleagues will like our song well enough to encourage its use at meetings, outdoor assemblies, on the picket lines, and everywhere that people gather for this resolute purpose.

Ted Raph has offered to arrange the song for group singers, and to coach and rehearse them at no charge. He may be be reached at MOnument 6-4404.

I would appreciate knowing your reaction.

Sincerely yours,

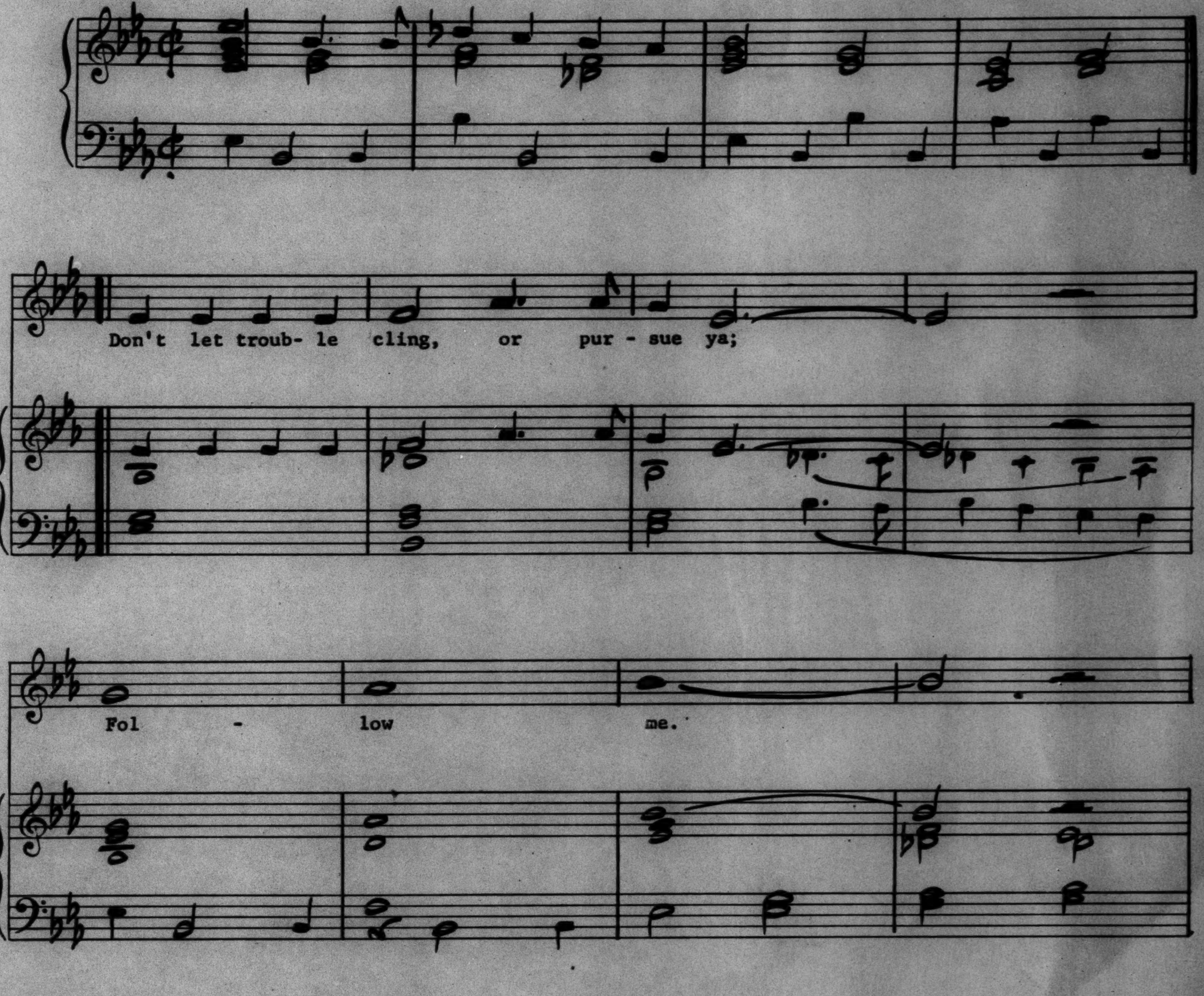
Bob Effros

MEMBER: EXECUTIVE BOARD

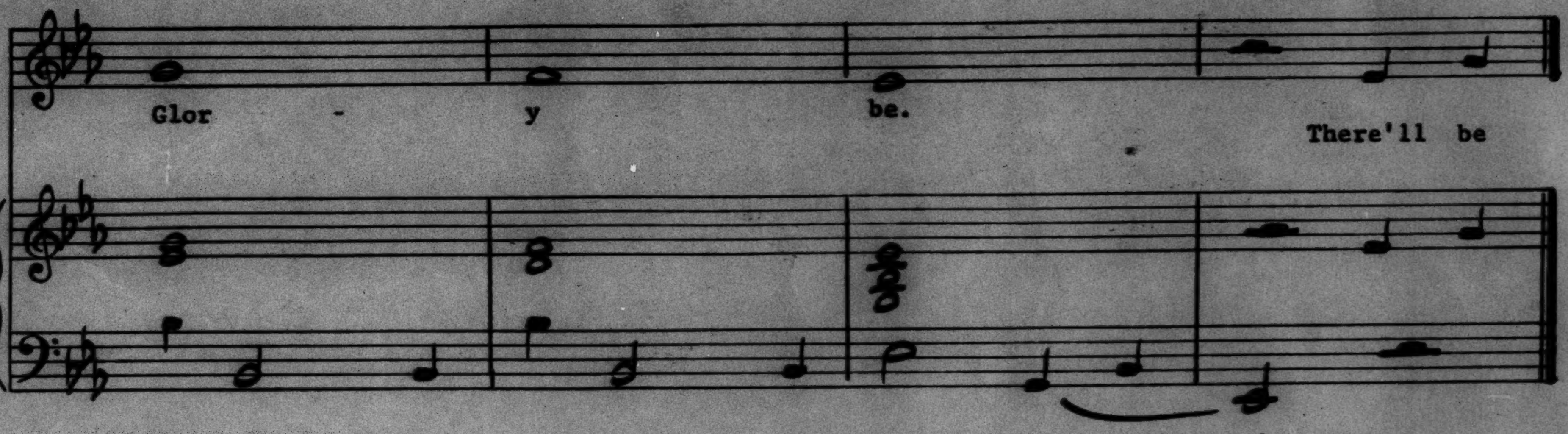
Patronize Live Music

THERE'LL BE GOOD TIMES COMIN'

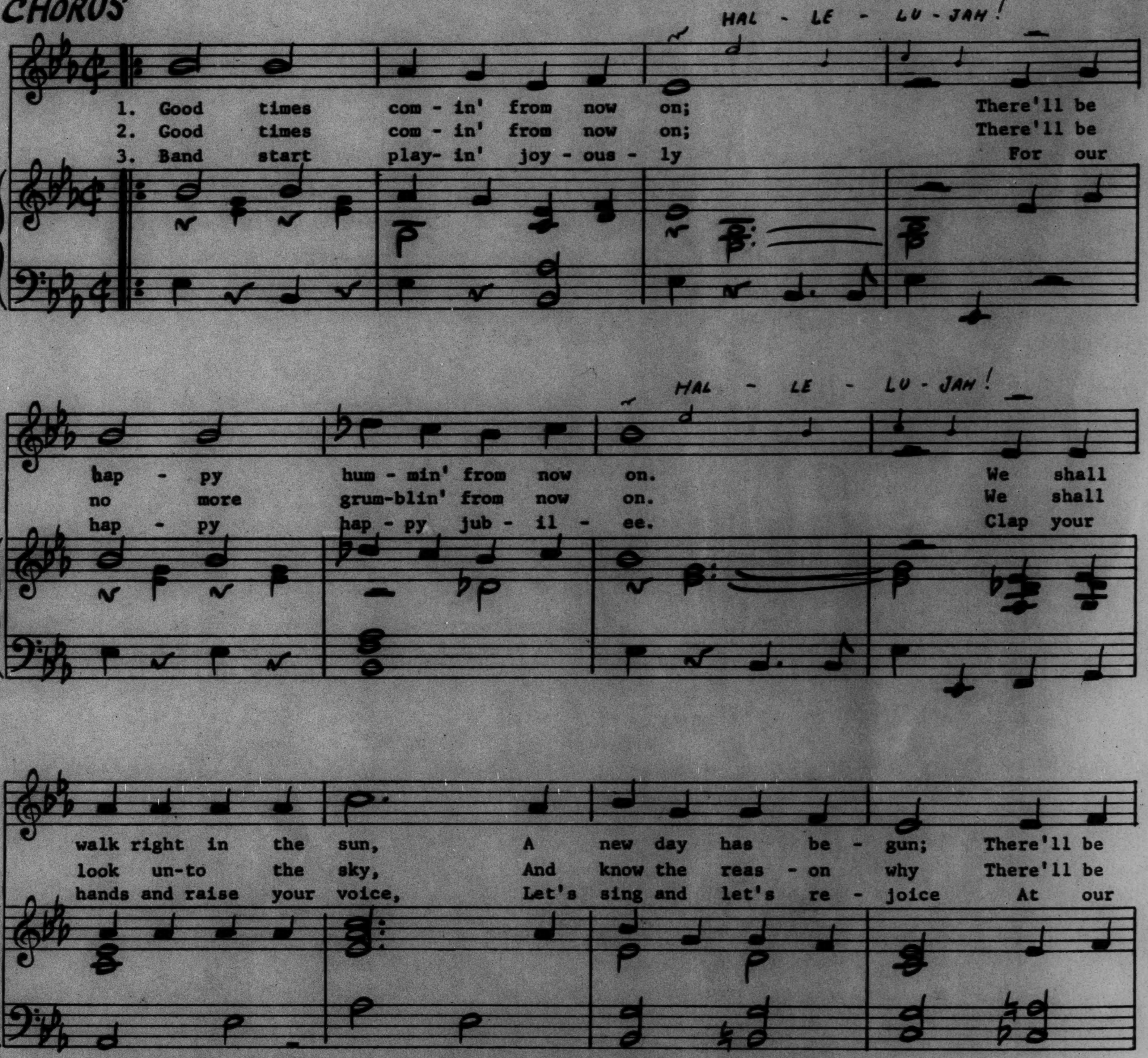
WORDS AND MUSIC BY
TED RAPH AND BOB EFFROS

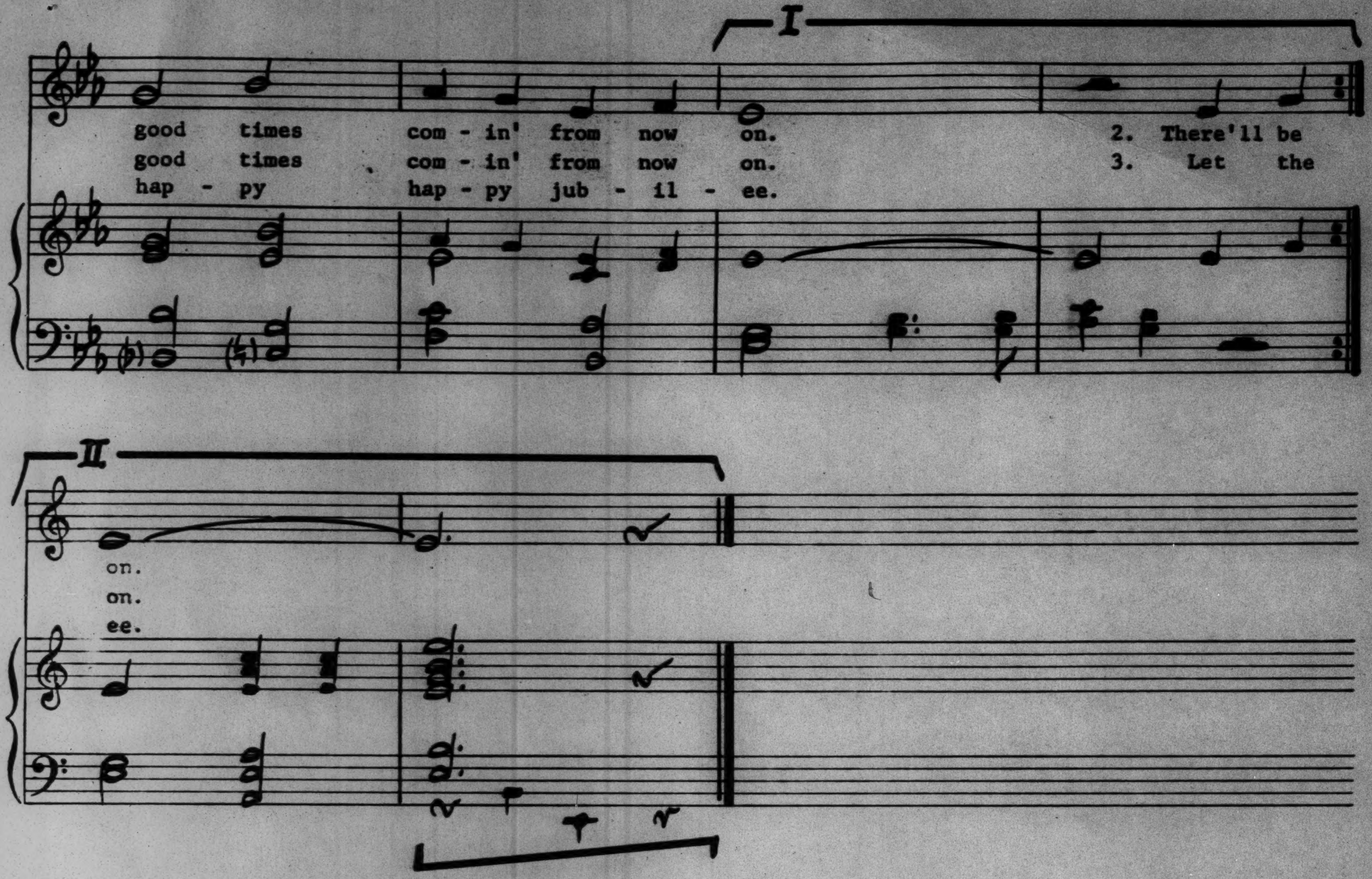

Don't let troub- le cling, or pur- sue ya;
Fol - low me.
Lift your head and sing "Hal - le - lu - jah,

KING BRAND MUSIC PAPERS CO. 1595 Broadway N. Y., N. Y.


Glor - y be.
There'll be

CHORUS


HAL - LE - LU - JAH!
1. Good times com - in' from now on; There'll be
2. Good times com - in' from now on; There'll be
3. Band start play- in' joy - ous - ly For our
HAL - LE - LU - JAH!
hap - py hum - min' from now on. We shall
no more grum- blin' from now on. We shall
hap - py hap - py jub - il - ee. Clap your
walk right in the sun, A new day has be - gun; There'll be
look un- to the sky, And know the reas - on why There'll be
hands and raise your voice, Let's sing and let's re - joice At our


I
good times com - in' from now on. 2. There'll be
good times com - in' from now on. 3. Let the
hap - py hap - py jub - il - ee.
II
on.
on.
ee.

INTEGRATION VERSION:

VERSE - We go forward with dedication
To be free.
We are loyal sons of the nation;
Glory be.

CHORUS: There'll be good times comin' from now on;
We are overcomin' what is wrong.
We shall live in brotherhood;
The Lord, he meant we should
There'll be good times comin' from now on.

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NEW MILFORD N.J.

KING BRAND MUSIC PAPERS CO. 1595 Broadway N. Y., N. Y.

2

~~Rochlin~~

File: Bond

April 22, 1964

Mr. F. B. McKissick, National Chairman
Mr. James B. Farmer, National Director
Mr. John Dunne, Field Representative
Congress on Racial Equality

Gentlemen:

At our recent Executive Committee Meeting held on April 17, 1964, management was requested to report on the status of bail bonds executed by this company for demonstrators participating in protest activities originating in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. This report was indeed alarming and created considerable concern among members of the Committee upon their finding of the large number of bonds executed with no small amount of direct liability involved and several judgments absolute rendered for failure to appear requiring payment by us of $325.00, together with the fact that proper attention has not been given your account regarding payment of the premium charges in connection therewith after many requests and promises by your local representatives to comply. Actually, payment received totals only $1500 on a gross account of $5700, including the last group of bonds executed March 18, 1964.

At each instance of rendering this service, detail statement of bonds executed by name of defendant was submitted with request for payment but same was not forthcoming. A copy of our statement showing all of the bonds signed and payments made is enclosed with a balance due the company of $4,200 as of April 12, 1964.

There are still pending in Orange County Superior Court many cases and upon trial may require additional appeal bonds which would then increase your obligation to us.

While our attitude is one of willingness to make available to your organization our service, we are also obligated as administrators of a state supervised insurance company to conduct our business on a sound financial basis for the protection of all of our policyholders. We cannot under the circumstances here reviewed consider the present status of our relationship in keeping with this obligation and must

COPY

insist that you give immediate attention to the matters here discussed.

Management was instructed by the Executive Committee to advise you of their concern in the hope that you would recognize the seriousness of the matter and possibly prevent a situation under which we would be forced to decline the further execution of bonds under new arrests or give additional bond in cases now pending disposition by the courts. It is our wish that this difficulty can be resolved as early as possible and not create additional problems in the prosecution of your program.

Very sincerely yours,

BANKERS FIRE & CASUALTY INSURANCE COMPANY

Wm. Jay Walker, Jr.
Secretary

WJW:eak

COPY

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030
(212) 281-9650

The following list of books was compiled by the Education Department in the National Office of the Congress of Racial Equality on the basis of importance to Black people in a world dominated by western racism. It includes cultural, political, economic, social and historical materials necessary to the development of consistent revolutionary Black consciousness, and an understanding of where we are and where we must go.

The list is arbitarily selected to provide a basic framework of information. It is a part of a more inclusive list currently being drawn up, which will be made available to chapters. The selections that are starred are considered vital.

Aptheker, Herbert	American Negro Slave Revolts Soul of the Republic: The Negro Today
Baldwin, James	The Fire Next Time Nobody Knows My Name Article: "Of Princes and Power"
Barbour, Floyd B.	The Black Power Revolt (Available in March)
Breitman, George	The Last Year of Malcolm X
Broderick, Francis L.	W. E. B. DuBois Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis
Carmichael and Hamilton	Black Power Politics and the Liberation Struggle
Cronon, Edmund D.	Black Moses
Cruse, Harold	*Crisis of the Negro Intellectual
Davidson, Basil	Black Mother Lost Cities of Africa
Debray, Regis	Revolution Within a Revolution
Douglas, Frederick	Autobiography; The Life and Times of Frederick Douglas
DuBois, W.E.B.	Autobiography of W.E.B. DuBois (1967) *Souls of Black Folk Black Reconstruction in America

CORE BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ellison, Ralph	Invisible Man
Fanon, Franz	Toward the African Revolution Dying Colonialism Black Skin, White Masks *Wretched of the Earth
Franklin, John Hope	From Slavery to Freedom
Frazier, E. Franklin	Black Bourgeousie
Garvey, Marcus	*Opinions and Philosophies
Gerassi, John	Great Fear in Latin America
Gossett, Thomas F.	Race, the History of an Idea in America
Guevara, Che	Guevara Speaks On Guerilla Warfare
Jahn, Janheinz	*Muntu: The New African Culture
James, C. L. R.	Black Jacobins
Johnson, James Weldon	Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man
Jones, LeRoi	Black Music Blues People Home
Keil, Charles	Urban Blues
Kenyatta, Jomo	Facing Mt. Kenya
Killens, John O.	Black Man's Burden And Then We Heard the Thunder
Killian and Grieg	Racial Crisis in America
Mao Tse Tsung.	Selected Writings of Mao Tse Tsung
McKay, Claude	Harlem, Negro Metropolis
Myrdal, Gunnar	The American Dilemma
Nkrumah, Kwame	Darkest Days in Ghana *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stages of Imperialism Challenge in the Congo

CORE BIBLIOGRAPHY

Padmore, George	Pan-Africanism and Communism
Rogers, J. A.	Sex and Race Africa's Gift to America The World's Great Men of Color
Shabazz, El Hajj Malik	*Autobiography of Malcolm X
Silverman, Charles	Crisis in Black and White
Tannenbaum, Frank	Slave and Citizen
Turner, Nat	The Confessions (1831)
Udom, Essien El	Black Nationalism
Walker, David	*David Walkers Appeal (1829)
Washington, Booker T.	Up from Slavery
Weidner	History of Africa (South of the Sahara)
Williams, Eric	Capitalism and Slavery
Williams, John A.	*The Man Who Cried I Am
Williams, Robert	Negroes With Guns
Woodson, Carter G.	The Negro in Our History Negro Orators and Their Orations
Wright, Richard	Black Boy 12 Million Black Voices

Periodicals and Papers carrying relevant materials:

Negro Digest
Soul Book
Liberator
*Muhammad Speaks
The New African
Presence Africaine
Jeune L'Afrique
Tri-Continental(via France)
Ramparts
Monthly Review
National Guardian
Trans-Action

CORE Materials
Genocide
Black Manifesto
Constructive Militancy

1/10/68

September 15, 1960

JOSEPH P. PERKINS, JR.

Born, Owensboro, Kentucky, September 5, 1933, first of six children.

Graduated from Western High School, Owensboro, Kentucky in June 1949.

Entered Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Kentucky, September, 1949 where he majored in biology and chemistry.

Graduated from Kentucky State College receiving B.S. degree in June 1953.

Honors:
- President, Kentana Senior Men's Honorary Society
- President, Biology Club
- President, Junior Class
- Treasurer, Y.M.C.A.
- Chaplain, Omega Psi Phi Fraternity
- Captain, Tennis Team

Served two years in the United States Army as a medical technician, February 1954 - February 1956.

Enrolled at Howard University as a music education major in September 1956 where he received the following honors:

- President Freshman Class
- President Kappa Delta Pi, Honorary Society in Education
- Member Pi Kappa Lambda, National Music Honorary Society.

Employed as chemist at Miles Laboratories, Elkhart, Indiana. First Negro chemist to work in Control Laboratory, February, 1959.

Began regular picketing in support of southern sit-ins (Woolworth and Kresge) April, 1960. Helped plan and carry out stand-in at Newport Beach with local picket group, June - August.

Trainee at the 1960 CORE Interracial Action Institute, Miami, Florida, August 14 to September 5, 1960. He is now a CORE field secretary.

He served ten days in jail when he refused to accept bail in Miami after a sit-in arrest.

September 15, 1960

THOMAS GAITHER

Born at Great Falls, South Carolina, November 12, 1938. The first of five children; attended Pleasant Grove School near Great Fall for seven years. Attended Elizabeth Heights High School located at Great Falls and graduated from High School with first honors.

Also, as a High School student was president of the Great Falls NAACP Youth Chapter and a leader in church and school activities.

College work was done at Claflin University, Orangeburg, South Carolina where Gaither was a member of the following organizations:

Alpha Kappa Mu National Honor Society
Student National Education Association, (President 1957-58)
President and charter member of campus NAACP Chapter
Co-Chairman of the Orangeburg Student Movement Association.

Gaither was a leader and organizer in the lunch counter sit-ins in Orangeburg.

He graduated from college Magna Cum Laude; received the school national American Legion Award 1959-60. Listed in WHO'S WHO AMONG STUDENTS IN AMERICAN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, 1957-58, 1959-60. B.S. Degree in Biology and Chemistry.

Organizer of Chaflin College CORE Chapter at Orangeburg, South Carolina. He is now a field secretary of the Congress of Racial Equality.
He served ten days in jail when he refused to accept bail in Miami after a sit-in arrest.

October 6, 1960

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

RICHARD HALEY

My experience with segregation has been long and, until recently, uneventful. I was born in it, in a small town in southern Ohio (Portsmouth, June 1916). With the exception of four years in the local integrated high school, this pattern was unbroken through experience in a CCC work-camp, traveling through the South as a trombonist with itinerant dance bands and attendance at Alabama State Teachers' College in Montgomery (1936-39). Living in Columbus, Ohio in the early 40's eased the problem somewhat, but two years in the Navy in World War II restored it to original perspective. Teaching at Central State College in Ohio again eased the problem. In 1955 I went to Tallahassee, Florida to work at Florida A & M University for Negroes.

During my stay there the Negro community initiated a boycott against the local bus line because of the latter's discrimination; I was among the many who supported this, but was not among its leaders. In 1959 I helped organize the local CORE group, and was sufficiently active and open in my enthusiasm for CORE that I was dropped from the faculty of the University - the week after being voted "teacher of the year."

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

Richard Haley

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I spent several months in Haywood County, Tennessee during the early months of the voter registration crisis in this area. I was stationed in Jackson, Mississippi during much of the Freedom Ride activity and subsequently went to prison in that city.

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF
CORE
RACIAL EQUALITY

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-0408

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executive secretary

CLORA-- Last time I spoke to Marvin, he said it would be handy to have a brief biographical sketch of me in the office. Hence, I am mailing you this carbon of my letter to Rabbi Berman.
Aside from this, would you please see that Gordon gets the enclosed memo. Jim

COPY

Sept. 6, 1961

Rabbi Myron Berman
Temple Beth El
Cedarhurst, LI, N.Y.

Dear Rabbi Berman,

Clora Coleman informs me that you would like a brief biographical sketch for your Oct. 10 meeting.

My 1961 Freedom Ride was not my first. Fourteen years ago, I participated in a similar interracial, southern bus trip known as the Journey of Reconciliation. That "Freedom Ride" was also sponsored by CORE and was the first major nonviolent action against racial discrimininination in which I took part. I have been working for CORE ever since. Starting in 1949, I have edited the CORElator, CORE's official publication. I have also written articles on race relations for a number of other publications.
My beating in Birmingham on May 14 was not my first encounter with violence. During the summer of 1947, for example, in the course of CORE's successful drive to end discrimination at Palisades Amusement Park's swimming pool, I and others involved were beaten on numerous occasions by Park guards as we stood peacefully at the ticket booth.

I hope the above information is sufficient for you. Should you want additional details, I shall gladly supply them.

Sincerely,

Jim Peck

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7 - 6270
February, 1962

Biographical data on Gordon R. Carey, Program Director

Born in Grand Rapids, Michigan, January, 1932; raised in Nevada and Southern California. Attended Los Angeles City College and Chaffey College in Ontario, California. Lived in Mexico one year. In 1950 traveled to Okinawa and remained for one month on a relief project. Worked with numerous workcamps and projects with Quaker groups. Formerly active in Methodist Youth work. He was imprisoned as a conscientious objector during the Korean War. Married August, 1959 to Betye Boyd of Pasadena, California. Became active in Pasadena CORE in 1950; chairman of local group in 1954. National Vice Chairman of CORE 1956-57.

Joined the CORE staff in August, 1958, and has worked throughout the country ever since. On January 1, 1959, he was coordinator of the Pilgrimage of Prayer for Public Schools in Richmond, Virginia with the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker. This Pilgrimage was the first such mass demonstration for civil rights in the South. It was credited by some as being instrumental in breaking "Massive Resistance" in Virginia. He has directed CORE's Interracial Action Institutes in Florida and Virginia in September 1959, '60 and '61. The Institutes give intensive training in philosophy and techniques of nonviolence. During 1960 he worked with the student sit-in movement in North Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky and West Virginia; and in New York as coordinator of the Woolworth boycott. In 1961 he coordinated CORE's Freedom Rides. He has served on CORE staff as Field Secretary, Field Director and currently as Program Director.

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
March 1962

Genevieve Hughes

Born, Washington, D. C., July 14, 1932, second of four children.

Attended Convent of the Sacred Heart, Washington, D. C. and graduated in 1950, first in class, valedictorian and class president.

Attended Trinity College, 1950-51, Washington, D. C., Newton College, 1951-52, Newton, Mass., Cornell University, 1952-54. Graduated June 1954 with A.B. in English.

Attended Georgetown University, School of Foreign Service and George Washington University Jan.-June 1956, and 1956-57. Passed Foreign Service written examination for Foreign Service Officers. Academic honors and positions include: $500 Scholarship to Newton College; President, George Washington University Foreign Service Club, member of German Honor Society.

Employed 1954-56 as librarian at Operations Research Office of Johns Hopkins Universtiy, Sept. 1957 - Sept. 1960 as editorial assistant and later as municipal bond analyst at Dun & Bradstreet, N. Y.

Began picketing in February, 1960 in support of Woolworth boycott in New York City. Joined N.Y. CORE shortly thereafter and was active in CORE through Sept. 1960. Chairman of Boycott Committee in N.Y. CORE, Captain of picket line, active in housing program, in campaign to send aid to Negroes at Fayette and Haywood counties, Tenn., member of Membership Committee. Attended CORE convention in July, 1960 as delegate of N.Y. CORE.

Became Field Secretary for CORE in October of 1960. Organized CORE groups in Rochester, N.Y., Cincinnati, Columbus, Ohio, Alexandria, Va., Philadelphia, San Diego, and Denver. Participant on first Freedom Ride, and was hospitalized for smoke inhalation for two weeks after burning of bus in Anniston.

She was appointed Western Regional Secretary in February, 1962 and will set up a regional office in San Francisco to serve the West Coast and Rocky Mountain States.

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7 6270 Oct. 1963

BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF NORMAN HILL

30 years old - Born April 22, 1933

Graduated Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. with a sociology degree in 1956

Executive Secretary of Chicago Socialist Party - Spring 1959 - October 1961

Chicago Youth Coordinator - 2nd Youth March for Integrated Schools - April 1959

Staff Chairman - March on Conventions Movement - Chicago - 1960
(resulted in one of the largest marches in Chicago's history - 10,000 people)

Secretary of Chicago Chapter NALC (Negro American Labor Council) 1960-61

Led Chicago Wade-Ins - 1961

East Coast Field Secretary - CORE - October, 1961

Arrested and jailed in Englewood school struggle in New Jersey - 1961

Assistant to the Program Director of CORE

Staff Coordinator of March on Washington - August 1963

Program Director - October 3, 1963

CORE (Congress of Racial Equality)
38 Park Row, New York 38, N.Y.

JAMES FARMER
National Director

Mr. Farmer has been one of the pioneers in developing nonviolent, direct action methods for race relations problems. He was one of the founders of CORE in 1942 and served as the first National Chairman. Farmer also served as Race Relations Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation from 1941 to 1945.

In the labor movement, he served in the southern organizing drive of the Upholsterers' International Union from 1946-1948. More recently he was International Representative of the State, County and Municipal Employees. In 1958 he was designated as one of a five-man delegation from the ICFTU (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions) to 15 African countries. In 1956 he served as a commentator on radio and television programs sponsored by the United Auto Workers in Detroit.

Mr. Farmer, a former program director of the NAACP, has lectured extensively and written for numerous publications including the Crisis, Fellowship, World Frontiers, Hadassah News and others.

He was born in Texas in 1920 and was graduated from Wiley College in 1938 and from Howard University in 1941. In his student days he was active in the Christian Youth Movement, serving as vice-chairman of the National Council of Methodist Youth and the Christian Youth Council of North America.

Mr. Farmer led the original CORE Freedom Ride, beginning on May 4, 1961 in Washington, D. C. and was arrested on May 24th in Jackson, Mississippi. He spent 40 days in various Mississippi jails and penitentiaries.

ROBERT BROOKINS GORE

Assistant Community Relations Director
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

Born in Hickory, North Carolina, January 8, 1932, Gore was educated in the public school system in Pittsubrgh, Pennsylvania. His high school education was obtained at Mary Potter Academy, Oxford, North Carolina where he was graduated in 1949. After spending 3 semesters at Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, North Carolina, he entered the U.S. Army for a three-year period. During that time he spent two years in England working for the Public Relations Office with the top U. S. Army unit, most of which time was spent in London.

After service with the army, Gore was an insurance accountant with the Veterans Administration in Philadelphia. He studied at the University of Pennsylvania there with major emphasis on publicity, promotion and newswriting. In 1956 he returned to Johnson C. Smith University and completed requirements for major study in English, philosophy and religious education. Intermittently, he interrupted his studies, some of which time was spent as a musician travelling throughout the country.

As a senior at Johnson C. Smith University in 1960, Gore became involved in the sit-in movement and was one of the leaders who saw the sit-ins come to a successful conclusion in July, 1960, in Charlotte, North Carolina. In September of 1960 he went to work with the Fellowship of Reconciliation with headquarters in Nyack, New York and left there in March, 1962, as administrative assistant to the executive secretary.

In April, 1962, he was the coordinator of the Nashville to Washington Walk for Peace sponsored by the Committee for Nonviolent Action, a group of which he is an Executive Committee member. Following this two-months trip Gore was appointed Assistant Community Relations Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

Gore has had essays published in the *Village Voice*, in a book, *The Angry Black South*, and in magazines abroad. He has also written for the *Quarterly Review of Higher Education Among Negroes*, *Fellowship* magazine and two new magazines, *Umbra* and *Incident*, both of which are applicants for Whitney Foundation grants. He is also an accredited correspondent for the Religious News Service.

← You have my permission to laugh!!

GLADYS HARRINGTON

Born Gainesville, Florida December 10, 1928. Attended southern schools, except for a brief three years in Detroit, Michigan. Received B. S. Florida A & M University 1951, further study Florida A & M and Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

Worked as Administrative Assistant, Florida A & M 1951 - 1956. Served as Administrative Secretary, Inter-Civic Council, Tallahassee Florida, the organization that spearheaded the bus protest movement in Florida.

Administrative Assistant Department of Social Progress American Baptist Convention.

Administrative Secretary Committee on Civil Rights in Manhattan

Presently a Social Case Worker for City of New York.

OWN two children

Presently serving as Chairman, New York CORE - and Regional Representative

AT THIS POINT I AM STARVING ALSO LOOKING FOR MONEY TO PAY MY INCOME TAXES.

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York
COrtlandt 7-0035

Biographical data on Gordon R. Carey

Born in Grand Rapids, Michigan, January, 1932; raised in Nevada and Southern California. Attended Los Angeles City College and Chaffey College in Ontario, California. Lived in Mexico for a year and speaks Spanish. In 1950 traveled to Okinawa and remained for one month on a relief project. Worked with numerous workcamps and projects with Quaker groups. Formerly active in Methodist Youth work. He was a conscientous objector during the Korean War. Married August, 1959 to Betye Boyd of Pasadena, California. Became active in Pasadena CORE in 1950; chairman of local group in 1954. National Vice Chairman of CORE 1956-7. Joined the CORE staff in August, 1958, and has worked throughout the country ever since. On January 1, 1959, he was coordinator ofthe Pilgrimage of Prayer for Public Schools in Richmond, Virginia with the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker. This pilgrimage was the first such mass demonstration for civil rights in the South. It was credited by some as being instrumental in breaking "Massive Resistance" in Virginia. He was director of the Miami Interracial Action Institute in Florida, September 1959. The Institute gives intensive training in philosophy and techniques of nonviolence. Since February he has worked with the student sit-in movement in North Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky, and West Virginia; and in New York as coordinator of the Woolworth boycott. Presently he is serving as CORE Field Director, and joined the Freedom Riders in Birmingham, Alabama the week of May 21, 1961.

DR. ROBERT PALMER: Chairman of Brooklyn CORE

A native of Southport, Indiana (suburb of Indianapolis). Attended University of Indiana.

Member of: Youth Board (helps coordinate Youth Councils in Bedford - Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn), Block Association, Neighborhood Planning Association, Advisor to 80th Precinct, Urban League's Inter-Group Planning Association.

Mrs. Evelyn Rich is the wife of CORE's Community Relations Director, Marvin Rich. She has long been active with CORE, and until late last year was one of its Regional Representative. Mrs. Rich has also acted as a Vice Chairman of the Organization of Non-Governmental Observers of UNICEF. She traveled to Paris as one of the youth representatives of the State Department, and to Berlin and New Delhi as an American Youth Representative.

Marvin Rich, Community Relations Director of CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) was born in St. Louis, Missouri, December 22, 1929. He attended public schools in St. Louis, ~~Missouri~~ and was graduated with an A.B. Degree from Washington University in ~~St. Louis~~ that city in 1950.

He served as a research analyst, organizer and administrator for trade unions on local, regional and national levels from 1950-1956, and as script chief in the only operational psychological warfare section in the United States.

Marvin Rich was a founder of St. Louis CORE in 1948, and since that time has been active in CORE groups in Washington, D. C. and New York City. Since 1959 he has been a member of CORE's National Action Committee and ~~is~~ Community Relations Director of National CORE. He is married to the former Evelyn Jones and is the father of a son.

MARVIN RICH:

Born: Date Dec 22, 1929 Place St. Louis

Education: A.B. Washington University, St. Louis 1950

Experience (jobs) Research analyst, organizer & administrator for trade unions on local, regional & national levels (1950-1956) Script chief, only operational psychological warfare section in U.S.

Affiliation with CORE: Date CORE Personal/experiences

founder of St. Louis CORE, 1948; Nat'l vice chairman 1950 ? active in St. Louis, Washington & N.Y. CORE groups. Member Nat'l Action Committee. Community Relations Director since 1959.

Give a lead paragraph based on your proposed lecture before this group.

CORE Speakers' Rostrum

BOYD, Jocelyn (Haywood and Fayette Counties)

CAREY, Gordon (Primarily emergencies)

FARMER, James (To be determined after consultatinn with him)

HARRINGTON, Gladys (Chairman New York CORE; active in Tallahassee, Florida bus boycott 1956. Good for student groups, etc.) RA 9-4912
Home: HA 4-5212

KING, Martin Luther (Special)

RACHLIN, Carl (About once month - give notice) WO 2-5105

RANDOLPH, A. Philip (Special)

RICH, Evelyn (Regional Rep. Traveled as youth rep. State Department to Paris. Representative of American youth in Berlin and New Delhi. Vice Chairman of Non-Governmental Observers of UNICEF. Traveled in South.) AS 4-8230 Not available Tues. + Thurs. Evening

RICH, Marvin (To be determined by him)

ROBINSON, Jackie (Special - once or twice a year. Good to ask to do two things at once for possible acceptance of one.) Chock Full O'Nuts -
MU 2-0500

Possibility: PALMER, Dr. Robert (Chairman Brooklyn CORE) PR 3-0128

FIELD SECRETARIES (When in area)

- GAITHER, Thomas
- HALEY, Richard
- HUGHES, Genevieve
- McCAIN, JAMES T.
- PERKINS, Joseph Jr.

HENRY THOMAS

Hank Thomas was born Henry James Thomas on August 29, 1941 in Jacksonville, Florida. Hank spent most of his childhood in Georgia and Florida. In September, 1959 he entered Howard University in Washington, D.C.

Hank's participation in the Civil Rights movement started while he was still a Freshman at Howard. In March of 1960 he joined with other Howard students in sympathy demonstrations for Southern sit-ins. Thomas and the Howard students also picketed the White House on a number of occasions urging executive action for Civil Rights.

In July of 1960 Thomas was arrested for vagrancy as he sat waiting for service at a McCrory's lunch counter in his home town of St. Augustine. This was the first of Thomas' ten arrests. Later that summer he helped to organize the Nonviolent Action Group in Washington, D.C. Thomas was later chairman of that group.

In May of 1961 Thomas joined 15 other CORE members as they began the now famous "Freedom Ride." Thomas was aboard the bus that was burned in Anniston, Alabama. After partially recovering from some of the injuries sustained aboard the burning bus and at the hands of the racist mob, Thomas returned to Alabama in time to take his place among those who rode into Jackson, Mississippi.

After spending 45 days in the Mississippi jail, Thomas was hired by CORE as a Field Secretary. He has since worked on CORE's Route 40 project and in Alabama.

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

BIOGRAPHY OF DONALD MCCLAIN WENDELL

REGIONAL FIELD SECRETARY

Mr. Wendell, a former candidate for the N. Y. State Assembly, has had considerable experience in community and civic organizations. He became active in CORE in 1951 at the College of the City of New York.

Prior to his association with CORE as a staff member, Mr. Wendell was a union representative; and executive co-ordinator of Chicago CORE.

F/U

~~3/17~~
~~3/22~~
~~3/25~~
4/29

CORE Routing Memo

To: Ed Day
From: M. Rich
Date: 3/12/65

Action Required:

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☐ **Comment** ☐ **For your information and possible use**

☐ **Initial, date and return by** ______________.

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☐ **Report any action taken to** ______________.

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March 9, 196[illegible]

Mr. Marvin Rich
Community Relations Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Rich:

Thank you for your letter of March 3rd. I have been attempting to reach you by telephone to say immediately that we would indeed be interested in the organizational papers of CORE as well as James Farmer's papers. We would be honored and proud to have these files here.

I agree that to separate the papers of CORE from those of Mr. Farmer would do violence to both. We are able to index, catalogue, and administer the future scholarly use of these materials, and are willing to receive, care for, preserve, and handle archivally these papers as soon as you yourself wish to turn them over to our keeping.

Upon your suggestion I shall be in touch with George Houser and with Bernice Fisher requesting that they allow us to have their own materials in order to supplement those of Mr. Farmer and of CORE.

We are delighted with the prospect of receiving the CORE papers and those of Mr. Farmer for the period prior to 1960. It is our hope that each year additional papers, when no longer required on hand by the organization, will supplement the Collection.

I look forward to hearing from you. If I can be of any service, please do not hesitate to call upon me.

Sincerely yours,

Howard B. Gotlieb
Chief of Reference and
Special Collections,
Boston University Libraries

HBG:aw

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

3/24

March 3, 1965

Mr. Howard B. Gotlieb
Chief of Reference and Special Collections
Boston University Libraries
705 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston 15, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Gotlieb:

I have been considering your letter about the James Farmer Collection for some time. I wonder if you would also be interested in the organizational papers of CORE as well. Since the relationship of the organization and of James Farmer has been so close, we might well be doing violence to the papers to separate them.

On the other hand, I don't know your ability to handle these papers and to index them and make them generally available to future historians. Also there are a number of other individuals who are active in CORE in the early years such as George Houser, (currently of the American Committee on Africa) and Bernice Fisher,(now with the American Federation of Teachers,) whose papers might supplement those of the organization and of Mr. Farmer.

We would be willing to turn over all of our papers prior to 1960 (except those which we are required to maintain by law) if you were willing to receive them and to give them proper care.

Sincerely yours,

MARVIN RICH
Community Relations Director

MR:YS

JAN 13 1965

Boston University

CHARLES RIVER CAMPUS • 705 COMMONWEALTH AVENUE • BOSTON 15, MASSACHUSETTS

UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES

Personal
Organizational
willing to take future transfers of CORE — George Houser
Berenice Fisher

January 8, 1965

Mr. Marvin Rich
Community Relations Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Rich:

Thank you for your letter of January 5. We are delighted and honored that this University will become the repository of Mr. James Farmer's papers.

Most assuredly the transfer of the papers may occur at any time CORE feels that it is able to relinquish these files. The James Farmer Collection will be available for research by historians, social scientists, and scholars generally.

It is our intention to index and catalogue the papers as they arrive here. We would hope someday to publish an index to the James Farmer Collection. If, once the materials are at the University, Mr. Farmer or CORE requires any letters or documents, we would certainly be pleased to return the originals or provide copies for you. Our indexing of the Collection will enable us to at all times put our hands on specific items.

We strongly believe that Mr. Farmer's life and career and his association with CORE will be studied avidly by future generations. We would hope that Mr. Farmer's papers would be as complete as possible and that a future biographer would find among them all those materials which cover his distinguished work.

There is the matter of a tax deduction, (of which I am sure you are familiar) for which Mr. Farmer would be eligible upon the transfer of his papers. As the materials would arrive here, the University's official appraiser would place a tax evaluation upon the papers and Mr. Farmer in turn would then be able to deduct this amount from his income tax in one year or over a period of years as he might choose.

May I perhaps suggest an arrangement similar to that which we have devised with Dr. Martin Luther King. Dr. King has turned over to us all of his papers and files other than those which he considers of "current use." In other words we have here already all King materials through the year 1960. At the beginning of each year Dr. King intends turning over an additional year's materials. The bulk of the materials are thus receiving archival care, safety, and preservation, and available for purposes of scholarly research. The materials of the past few years remain in Atlanta.

Perhaps you would be good enough to consider such an arrangement. This University would of course be most amenable to your own wishes in this matter, and abide by any stipulations which you might care to impose. If I can be of any help with further information, please do not hesitate to be in touch with me.

We are honored indeed to associate Mr. Farmer and CORE with Boston University.

Sincerely yours,

Howard B. Gotlieb

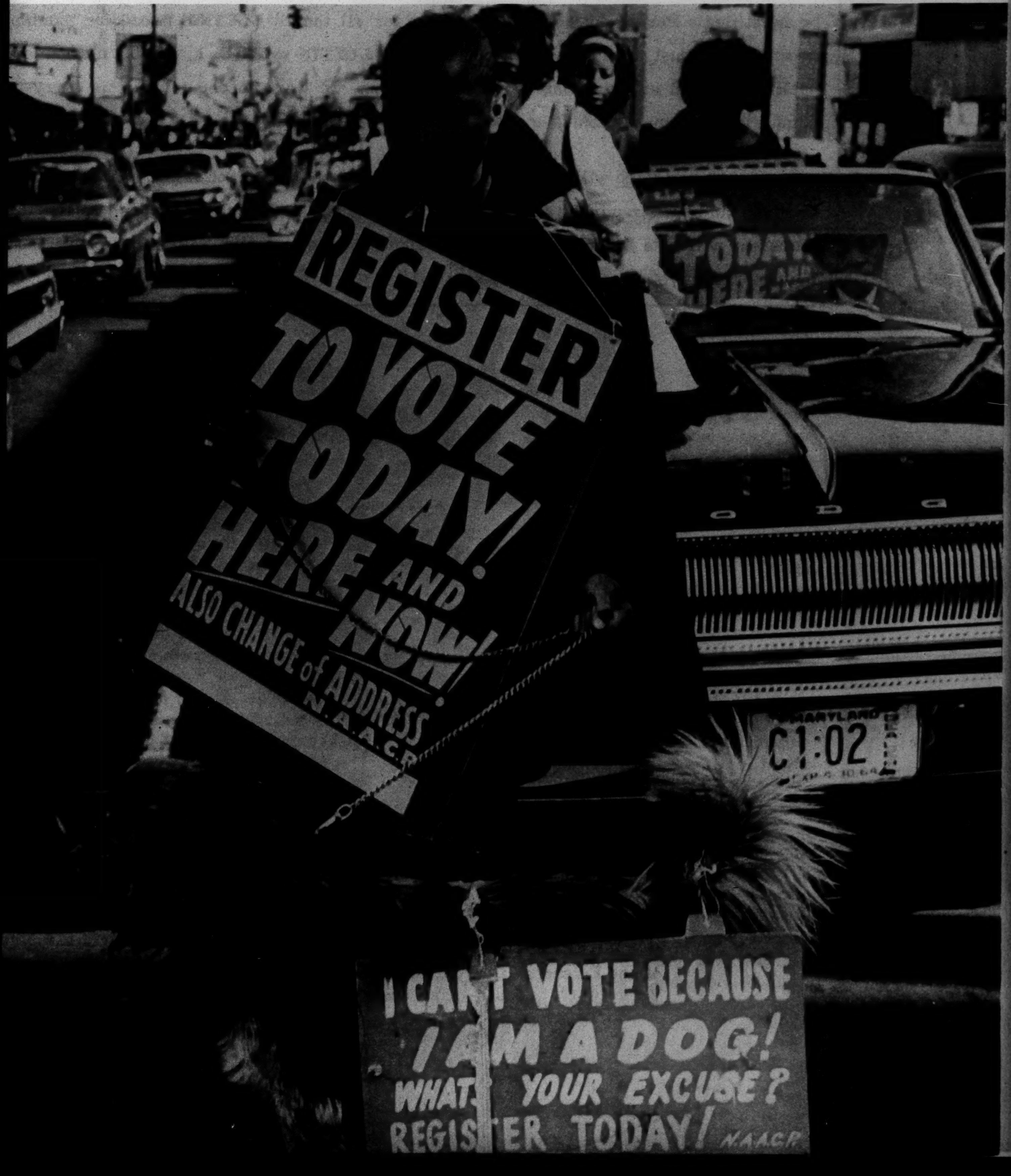
Howard B. Gotlieb
Chief of Reference and
Special Collections.
Boston University Libraries

HBG: AW

Monthly bulletin issued by the Department of Christian Social Relations
Episcopal Church Center / 815 Second Avenue / New York N.Y. 10017

June, 1965 Volume 2 · Number 7

CHURCH AND RACE


REGISTER
TO VOTE
TODAY!
HERE AND
NOW!
ALSO CHANGE of ADDRESS
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MARYLAND
C1·02
I CAN'T VOTE BECAUSE
I AM A DOG!
WHAT'S YOUR EXCUSE?
REGISTER TODAY! N.A.A.C.P.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

Perhaps you have noticed that this month's CSR BULLETIN Church and Race is numbered Volume 2, Number 7. If you began receiving the new CSR BULLETIN last month, you may be mystified. Please don't write us asking for all the BULLETINS preceding Number 6, because there just aren't any. When the new BULLETIN evolved, it was the merger of two publications and so, to satisfy postal regulations, we were forced to use this carry-over numbering system. It confuses us, too!

Church and Race will now appear on a quarterly basis. Each issue, rather than being an effort at broad reporting of news about aspects of the Church's response to the racial situation, will be a "depth" issue on some aspect of that situation. This issue will look at the question of voting rights and registration.

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RACE AND VOTING RIGHTS

by James Farmer. Mr. Farmer is national director of Congress of Racial Equality. This is the fourth in a series of articles by national civil rights leaders.

We have all long recognized the central importance of the right to vote. Indeed, one of the nascent political slogans of our nation -- "taxation without representation is tyranny" -- is fundamentally about the franchise. Tragically, that slogan applies today to many parts of this country.

The importance of the right to vote is so deeply ingrained in the spirit of American civilization and democratic government that comments in support of this right are in the nature of cliches. Nonetheless, denial of this right to millions of our fellow citizens makes imperative the enactment of the current Voting Rights Bill in the Congress. President Johnson is to be honored for his presentation of this bill and the eloquence of his support.

Negroes are denied the right to vote not only by the registrar's office, not only at the polls, but in the stores where they are refused credit, in the fields where they are thrown out of work, in the churches where the arsonist does his evil work, and on the highways and streets where violence is done. In the past month, three persons have been cruelly murdered, and I was attacked myself in a recent march in Bogalusa, Louisiana. While none of us was directly engaged in the process of voting, all of us were acting so as to make that right possible. Last year in Mississippi, thirty-eight churches were bombed or burned. Who will deny that these acts were designed to intimidate those who might seek to register and vote?

A sense of the current problem and climate can be gleaned from a recent story by Claude Sitton in The New York Times about the efforts of Negroes to register in Canton, Mississippi, the county seat of Madison County where Congress of Racial Equality workers have been conducting voter registration drives for over three years.

> "Yesterday and again today long lines of Negroes, some wrinkled and bent with age, waited patiently before the white-columned entrance of the century-old brick building for their turn to apply for registration.
>
> Some were afraid that this challenge to white political supremacy might cost them their jobs or worse. All knew it would likely prove futile.
>
> Only one Negro applicant at a time is permitted in the registrar's office. Of the more than 260 who waited outside Friday and the more than fifty there Saturday, only seven finally got inside to take the test.
>
> Those seven must have sensed the futility anew as they passed through the office door of L. F. Campbell, the circuit clerk and voter registrar. On its glass window is a red, blue and gray sticker bearing a Confederate battle flag and the message Support Your Citizens' Council, a militantly segregationist organization."

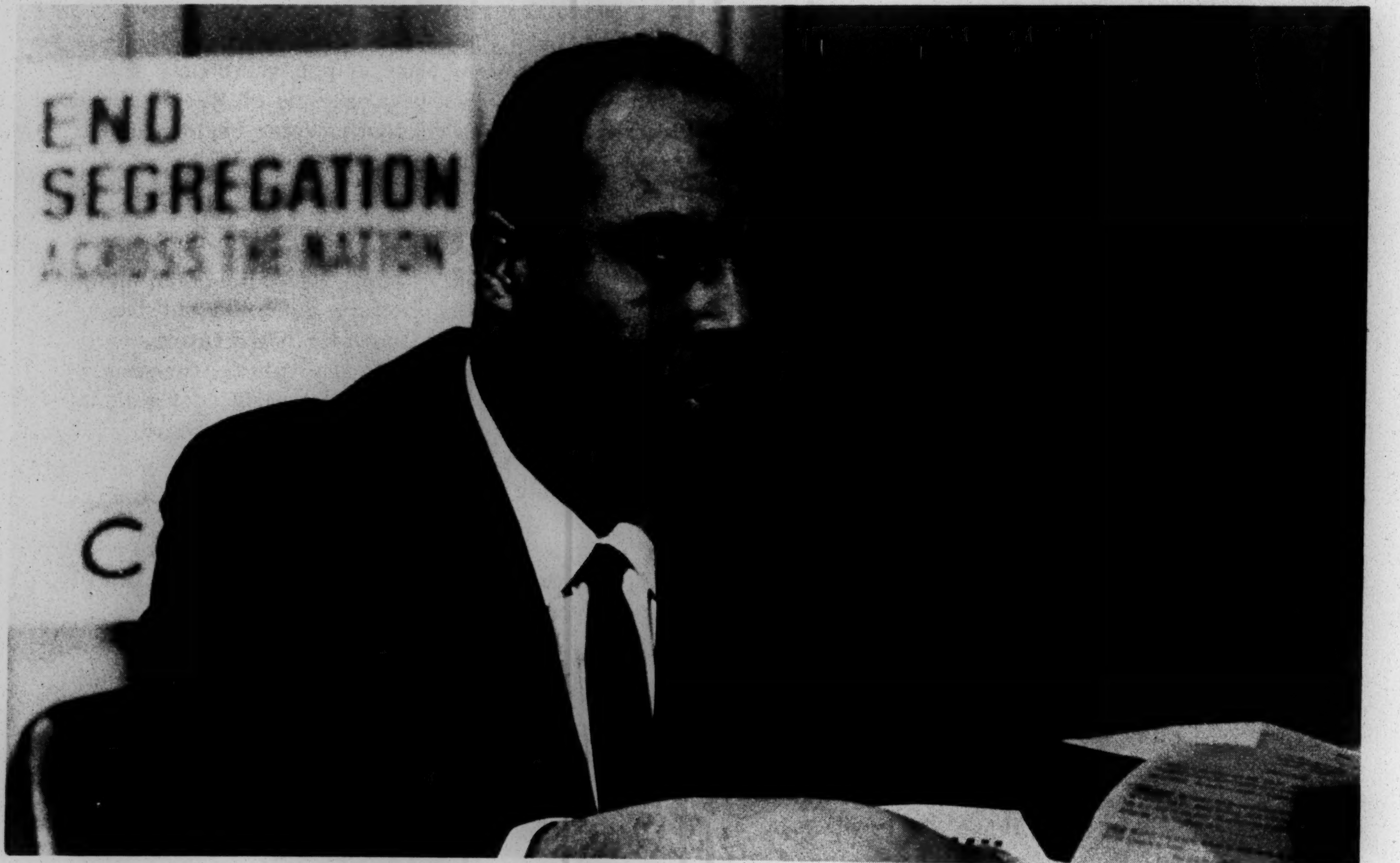
BIZARRE CLIMATE

In this bizarre climate, all manifestations of common decency and the ministrations of law have all but disappeared. The Negro, trying to vote in the South, finds himself not only confronted with the axe handle of the racist but the billy club and the pistol and the tear gas of duly constituted authority. Deep in the white southerner's psyche is the sound conviction that the Negro vote represents the final shattering blow to his ante-bellum world. He is right, and the quick political sophistication of the southern Negro --- his power to use his vote effectively --- is being demonstrated daily. Utterly disenfranchised for all practical purposes, the Mississippi Negro has founded the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) which has already startled the entire nation with political good sense and its dramatic presence. Throughout the black belt, similar developments are heard. There is planning afoot in Alabama, Louisiana, South Carolina, and other states to emulate MFDP tactics.

CORE is committing itself to voter drives in four southern states, Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina and northern Florida. And for those who think these CORE drives are not politically effective some statistics might help. In the 1963-64 period, CORE placed a total of 51,753 new Negro voters on the roles in four states. It is generally conceded that the Florida figure, (16,504) made the difference in Florida staying in the Democratic column in the presidential election. And these figures do not include the "freedom registrations" where intimidation, murder, and arson forced Mississippi Negroes to establish their own registration, party, and elections.

South Carolina presents an even more interesting challenge. In that state alone, in 1963-64 CORE workers helped to register over 30,000 Negroes. There will be three statewide races in November of 1966, a gubernatorial election and two Senate races (the full term for the seat of Strom Thurmond and a special election for the unexpired term of Olin Johnston). Negroes comprise nearly 40 per cent of the potential electorate in South Carolina. A substantial increase in Negro voting in the state could result in a markedly different political and socio-economic climate after November.

And so, the inexorable drive for freedom continues, opening the floodgates of personal and political citizenship to millions. And at the same time, the racist opposition contracts but hardens and the shrouds of the Klan continue to move through the covert, cowardly night. But, in the freedom houses, throughout the South, the third verse of "We Shall Overcome" reverberates: "God is on our Side."■



WHY VOTE?

Two Americans, both Negro, one a lay woman, the other an Episcopal priest, discuss the importance of the ballot for Negro citizens in their respective parts of the nation. The first article, "Why Vote in the South?" is by Mrs. Septima Clark, a southerner. She is director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Citizenship Education Program and co-authored the book "Echo in My Soul" with Le Gette Blythe (Dutton, 1962). The second article, "Why Vote in the North?" was authored by the Rev. Canon James Breeden, a northerner. Assistant director of the Commission on Religion and Race, National Council of Churches, Canon Breeden has special responsibility for the northern urban areas.

IN THE SOUTH. . . . Septima Clark

As an American Negro, I have always been concerned about the "why" of injustices, poverty, wars, and inadequate schooling for the underprivileged.

Walking along the streets of Charleston, South Carolina, my hometown from 1910-1945, I saw men cleaning parks and streets with big balls of iron chained to their ankles. They were prisoners. These heavy iron balls had to be picked up and carried everytime the prisoner needed to move from one section of the park or street. Most of these men were Negroes. They were guarded by a white man. He had a gun, either standing over them or sitting with the gun pointed in the direction of the prisoner. I kept wondering why these men didn't try to work for themselves instead of the city. One Sunday, while visiting with a minister at the jail, I found that many were incarcerated for vagrancy when there were no jobs available. I wondered if the white community did not realize the concentration-camp type nature of so much of Negro existence in America - closed job opportunities, closed unions, closed factories, closed facilities, closed neighborhoods and closed schools - all these situations built caged-in-lives.

Not once at that age did I think of the cruel system under which these black men lived.

Now I know that to be black in America is unfortunate. To be black in the South is a crime. The penalty for this crime is certain and severe - life imprisonment in a gigantic cell. Outside the cell, white people go to school and college, run the government that decides our fate, and make enough money so that their children can follow in their footsteps. Inside the cell, Negroes watch, and having no vote, no school, and no money, do the best they can, and wait. They wait and hope someone will help them break down the wall.

My second concern had to do with the kinds of people arrested or put to death. They were, and are now, mostly those who suffer from the most degrading experiences during their lifetime -- like the pangs of hunger, inadequate or no schooling and lopsided shacks in designated ghettoes.

In more than one hundred counties in the black belt of the South, Negroes comprise over fifty per cent of the population, yet less than ten per cent of the electorate. No real solution to the problems of the South is possible until all its citizens share equally in its government.

In Georgia alone, half of the adult Negroes are illiterate. In Selma, Alabama, fifty nine per cent of the Negroes eligible for voting do not have reading and writing skills. This can be duplicated in every Negro community of the black belt.

INCOME LOW

In over one hundred counties in the South the median individual income for Negroes is less than 800 dollars a year. In far too many counties, the average Negro income is less than 300 dollars per year.

Due to the recalcitrance of the local white power structure, the "War on Poverty" will never touch these people unless they receive outside assistance.

In an effort to combat these tremendous problems - political disfranchisement, educational deprivation and poverty, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, in cooperation with the Board of Homeland Ministries of the American Missionary Society has set up a Citizenship Education Program which is now active in eleven southern states. The Citizenship Education Program is an adult education project that teaches basic politics, English, arithmetic and other "academic" subjects as well as more practical things such as, writing checks, applying for social security and filling out voter registration forms.

In addition, and perhaps most important - classes in Negro history and heritage lift the great weight of forced humiliation, allowing a new sense of dignity and identification.

The right of the ballot is basic to the exercise of full citizenship rights. All across the South, subtle and flagrant obstacles confront the Negro when he seeks to register and vote. Poll taxes, long form questionnaires, harassment, economic reprisal, and sometimes death, meet those who dare to seek this exercise of the ballot. In areas where there is little or no attempt to block the voting attempts of the Negro, apathy generally is deeply etched upon the habits of the community. Southern Christian Leadership Conference, with its specialized staff, works on both fronts aiding local communities through every means available to secure the right to vote (filing complaints with the Civil Rights Commission) and arousing interest through voter-registration workshops to point up the importance of the ballot. One of the tasks of SCLC is to translate the grass roots community of the Negro church into a powerful political force in America.

WORKS ON TWO FRONTS

The Conference works basically on two fronts: On one hand, it resists continuously the system of segregation which is the basic cause of lagging standards; on the other hand, it works constructively to improve the standards themselves. We seek a balance between attacking the causes and healing the effects of segregation.

It is toward this end that our Leadership Training Program and the Citizenship School Project are directed. The citizenship school is the direct result of one phase of the Leadership Training Program. Interested persons who have a general knowledge of reading and writing are trained intensively in the skills of adult education using subject matter relevant to the social struggle. They return to their individual communities as instructors and set up a citizenship school that the "grass-roots" people may be trained for full participation in civic life. Periodically, the instructors return to the training center for refresher courses to keep them abreast of significant changes and to further develop their skills. To be sure, the revolt has not fully grown to a revolution, but the South has become a major battleground for the struggle.

To show you how the South has matured just read the statistics of eleven southern states in non-white registration in twenty-one months.

Alabama had a voting age population among non-whites of 481,320. Of that number 77,000 were registered in 1962, and 11,000 in January 1965. Thus, twenty-three per cent of the non-white population is now registered, but this is only 10.4 per cent of the total registration of Alabama. The state required an applicant for registration to fill in a very difficult questionnaire of twenty-one questions, to have a sworn witness to establish the residence requirements and identification of one's self, to know what moral turpitude means and to swear to uphold the Constitution of Alabama which issues an engraved ballot and poll tax of $1.50 a year. In spite of all these barriers, Negroes are gaining courage enough to go to the whipping-post (county courthouse and register).

The picture in Arkansas is not quite as grim, but the non-white voting population is not as large. There are approximately 193,000 non-whites of voting age. 64,023 of these were registered in 1962, and today there are 105,000 which is 54.4 per cent of the non-white voting population and 14.6 per cent of the total registration. The restrictions and difficulties are much less than those of the deep south states.

Florida has 470,306 non-whites of voting age with 144,810 registered in 1962 and 300,000 registered today - 63.7 per cent of its non-white voting population and twelve-per cent of the total registration.

Louisiana has 514,589 non-whites of voting age with 151,700 registered in 1962 and 164,700 in 1965 which is thirty-two per cent of the non-white voting population and 13.7 per cent of the total voting population.

Georgia has 612,910 non-whites of voting age with 175,500 registered in 1962 and today 270,000 which is forty-four per cent of non-whites of voting age and 16.8 per cent of the total registration.

Mississippi has 422,256 non-whites of voting age. In 1962, 20,000 were registered. Today, there are 28,500 which is 6.7 per cent of the non-whites of voting age, and 5.2 per cent of the total registration.

North Carolina has approximately 551,000 non-whites of voting age. 210,500 were registrered in 1962 and 258,000 in 1963 which is 46.8 per cent of the non-white voting population and 11.7 per cent of the total registration.

South Carolina has 371,104 non-whites of voting age. 90,900 were registered in 1962 and 144,000 to date. 38.8 per cent of the non-white voting population and seventeen per cent of the total population.

Tennessee has approximately 314,000 non-whites of voting age. 150,900 were registered in 1962 and 218,000 today. 69.4 per cent of the non-white voting population and 14.4 per cent of the total registration.

Texas has 649,412 non-whites of voting age. 226,773 were registered in 1962, and 375,000 today. 57.7 per cent of the non-white voting population and 12.5 per cent of the total registration.

Virginia has approximately 437,000 non-whites of voting age. 92,172 registered in 1962 and 200,000 today which is 45.7 per cent of the non-white voting population and sixteen per cent of the total population.

STILL PICK UP RAGS

Yes, in 1965 old men are still picking up rags and bottles to buy their next meal. Elderly women are searching dump heaps for scrap lumber to heat their shacks and children are going barefoot in thirty degree weather. But today, 2,174,200 non-whites are registered in the eleven southern states, an increase of 698,000 since 1962 which is 43.3 per cent of the eligible non-whites of voting age. This is thirteen per cent of the total registration in these states.

This important gain was stimulated by the heroic struggles in Birmingham, Alabama, and St. Augustine, Florida. These direct-action programs sparked the entire nation and were bulwarked by planned campaigns of the various organizations.

This vote has four significant values:

1. It has curbed the resort to violence of many segregationist leaders in elected posts.
2. Shifted the balance of power in many regions to a Negro - white coalition which accomplished systematic genuine changes.
3. Opened opportunities for creative Negro participation in political life.
4. Facilitated the beginnings of a true democratic process by undermining the oligarchical rule in the South which has hindered the progress of the whole nation.

It is the Negro's belief that in concert with all other human relations forces, we can help our nation lay hold upon the spiritual and moral resources so sorely needed to actualize the democracy our forefathers envisioned.

We believe that the day is near when people of every color and hue, Protestant, Catholic, Jew, Gentile, White, Negro, rich, and poor can recite in sincere unison: "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all!" ■

IN THE NORTH. . . .James Breeden

The events of "Selma Sunday" and its aftermath have set America on the path toward the completion of the task begun nearly a century ago with the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution. It now appears politically possible that with continued pressure from the public, Congress will pass a strong measure enabling adequate enforcement of the right to vote for citizens long excluded from political processes on the ground of their minority status.

Northern experience clearly demonstrates that the right to vote, however well enforced, does not in itself insure full participation in political processes. And it is by no means safe to conclude that enforcement will be vigorously pursued even after necessary legislation is passed.

Political realities for Negro Americans bind North and South inextricably together. The long history of denial of access to any meaningful political participation of Negro citizens in the South has meant that "in-imigrants" to northern ghettoes arrive without previous political experience. They are not prepared or predisposed to enter into the political life of their new communities.

The political realities of the northern ghetto, until very recently, have followed patterns determined by the second class status of the Negro in all of American society. The white dominated political power order maintained rigid control over the participation of Negro politicians in the affairs of the city--usually only after the pressure of sheer numbers made total exclusion through gerrymandering no longer viable. Limited patronage handed out from "downtown" depended upon the ability of the ghetto political establishment to permit only the amount of political organization necessary to maintain itself in power.

The much discussed and little understood "apathy" of the northern ghetto dweller is a function of southern political repression and northern political control.

The move of Negroes to the urban centers of the North has increased objective political power. The votes of Negroes were decisive in the 1960 presidential election. Even in the South, votes of Negroes decided the political fate of President Johnson in several states! Negroes have entered city councils in a number of northern cities--nowhere yet in proportion to their percentage in the population. Negro mayors and governors are likely to take office in the not too distant future.

NEED MORE THAN NUMBERS

But simple increase in numbers of voters and even representation in high political office does not necessarily make for full political participation. Political power is exercised consistently only through developed local organization which is capable of functioning all year around. Crash programs of voter registration do not answer the basic questions.

The development of indigenous political organizations capable of being responsive to the needs of the people and of calling their political representatives to task is the next item on the agenda of the civil rights movement. With the prospect of dramatically increased numbers of Negro voters in the South and with real alternatives placed on the political agenda through action in the North, the question is: what direction will political organization take?

In cities across the country several options present themselves. Each is now on the scene and each has its advocates among politicians and in the movement.

The most obvious alternative is the entry of large numbers of new Negro voters into existing party structures--Democrat or Republican. This option runs the risk of simply more deeply entrenching the establishment patterns especially on the local level. But the sheer increase of political power could induce greater responsiveness to issues on the par of the political power order and a greater independence on the part of the representatives of the ghetto.

A second option requires organization along reform lines. New organizations of independent political coalitions are emerging in some cities with a strong voice given to the issues of the poor and the black of the ghettoes. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, on the other hand, is a reform group within the Democratic Party, and combines political organization with legal challenge in a manner that has inspired response in some northern urban centers. It represents the most significant new political move to come out of the civil rights struggle thus far.

NEGRO PARTIES ORGANIZE

Finally, in several cities, Negro parties have started organizing exlusively around issues directly affecting Negroes and not dealt with by other political groupings. These parties follow an American tradition of ethnic politics and raise a moral repudiation of the second class character of most of Negro participation in American political life.

Each of these options has its strengths and weaknesses. Each is beginning to test its viability in the contemporary scene. And, most importantly, each drives home the need for political leadership and organization directed toward major change in the political power relationships between the people of the ghetto and their elected representatives, on the one hand, and within the political power order on the other.

The goal of full political participation for all citizens is one of the pillars of just relationships in American society. The Church is faced with the question of how its concern for a just society can manifest itself in the political arena. It is clear that the Church can and must encourage political participation through registration and voting. It must insist upon adequate measures to protect those who seek to vote and organize politically. But it is also called upon to do more than this.

The Church is responsible for the clarification of political issues. Where the issue appears clear on the basis of information and study, partisan action to achieve goals may be required. The task cannot be avoided on the basis of some vague concepts of separation between Church and State or "religion" and "politics." Profound changes are upon us in the political life of the nation. The Church must be prepared to influence these changes toward a greater measure of justice for all. ■

publication

With a mandate from the 1964 General Convention, the Executive Council's Joint Urban Program has embarked upon experimental pilot projects in seven dioceses in an attempt to uncover models for Church relevance and renewal in today's metropolitan world. Through the pages of the program's quarterly publication, Church in Metropolis, the problems facing Churchmen in an increasingly urbanized society are analyzed and the programs, services, and materials developed to aid in solving them are discussed.

For free subscription, write to the managing editor, Church in Metropolis, 815 Second Avenue, New York 10017.

STORM OVER THE PARISH

(Memoir of Lucifer, the Parish Cat)

by the Rev. Malcolm Boyd. Father Boyd, a well-known writer, critic, and playwright, is an assistant at the Church of the Atonement, Washington, D. C. He also serves as field representative of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity (ESCRU).

I could sense trouble brewing.

When I tried to sit on Father Holton's lap, he was very impatient and shoved me on the floor. When he acts like this, I know something is seriously wrong. Not only was he not his usual more affable self, but he went so far as to shut me outside his office.

Well, I may be just a middle-aged, somewhat-worse-for-wear black cat, and I frankly admit I may feel more at home in the alley behind the rectory than in the drawing room, but I demand to be treated as an authentically feline being. Nobody, not even Father Holton, is going to play around loosely with my affections.

So I simply disappeared for a few days. At least Father Holton and the parishioners thought I did. (I could watch their reactions from my different hiding places around the church and the rectory.) They were frantic, looking everywhere for me.

LUCIFER RETURNS

The next Thursday I came back. I didn't just charge back in suddenly, but put on my best sad, mixed-up look. Very, very quietly (and quite humbly) I slipped into the church office. You would have thought the sanctuary roof had caved in! They all coddled me. I looked thoughtfully at Father Holton, and he looked most penitently at me, so I decided to forgive everything.

But he was still having his troubles. Tension was in the very air. As a matter of fact, I went out of my way to be nice to him. I purred a good deal more than I felt like doing when I sat on his desk and sort of hovered solicitously around the office even when I wanted to go outside.

I remember clearly the morning when things seemed to come to a head in the parish. I was resting on the rug in the office, stretching myself and thinking about taking a bath, when Mrs. Phoenix walked in.

No, she didn't really. She stormed in.

She walked right up to Father Holton's desk.

"I want a showdown about that colored family who've been coming to church here," she said. "Seven of us had a meeting about it last night. Either they go, right away now, or we're going to cancel our pledges!

I stopped stretching.

SERIOUS SITUATION

I hadn't had any idea how serious things had become. If she didn't like the colored family... Mr. and Mrs. Johnson, Robert, Carol, and little Ann... they're about a Swiss-chocolate brown, what about me?

If Mrs. Phoenix was against them, I wouldn't stand a chance in the parish. I'm black!

But then I noticed the most amazing thing. Mrs. Phoenix, standing over Father Holton's desk, was wearing a black suit. And she carried a black bag and wore black shoes. I'd swear she liked black sometimes but not at other times. I sensed sharply once again that humans are beyond my feline imagination.

Cautiously, I got up and edged my way over to her. I brushed ever so lightly against her legs. I might as well find out right now if she was going to cancel her pledge over me, too.

"Why, Lucifer," she smiled down at me.

I took it all with a grain of salt, and didn't really smile back but just looked at her.

"What are you thinking about, Lucifer? Hmm?"

She was using that ridiculous baby talk on me again. But I stood my ground and tried to be nice. I even smiled at her.

"That cat! I don't know what we'd do without Lucifer!"

CHANGES HER MIND

She was still smiling, but then suddenly she changed her mind again. She was as changeable as the weather, only her temperature seemed to drop even faster on bad days.

"They must go," she said to Father Holton.

"This must remain a white parish. I want to avoid an open scandal about it if at all possible. You should really call on them and let them know they should be attending a Negro church."

"There isn't a Negro church," Father Holton said, very quietly.

"Why, there certainly is a Negro church and it's only about two miles down Placidia Road," Mrs. Phoenix told him. "I can't understand how you can sit there and try to tell me that..."

"There isn't a Negro church and there isn't a white church," Father Holton broke in. He was speaking with great restraint but with great conviction. "There is only one Church which knows no color or race or class barriers because it is the mystical Body of Christ."

You could have heard a pin drop. I didn't even dare purr.

Then she came back at him again, and she seemed angrier.

"I'm not up on my theology in the way you are," she replied. My, my, I could scarcely believe it. "But Harry and I will cancel our pledge if the colored family stays. It's that simple. And you may find yourself without any church one of these days if you try to force peole against their wills."

JOHNSONS ARE PEOPLE

"The Johnsons are people too." His words came very quickly. "And if I can't follow the Gospel, how can I go on trying to preach it?"

Father Holton was looking down at his hands. Mrs. Phoenix didn't say anything now. She had opened her handbag.

I leaped up onto the desk, looked at them and then I yawned. I started moving my tail. Father Holton would know immediately that I was angry, because I always move my tail when I'm angry. I twisted it, then I brought it up into the air, made it move in a kind of circle, and finally I pulled it up against my body.

"The cat's black," Father Holton said.

I stopped moving my tail.

Mrs. Phoenix stopped moving her hand around in her bag. She just looked at him.

"Lucifer is black. The cat's black," he repeated. "Aren't you conscious of color in anything but people? Or does color prejudice just affect human beings?"

Mrs. Phoenix gazed down at me.

I know the moment would not come again and that I had a role to play in it. Nonchalantly, without flicking my eye, I moved closer to her. Then I purred, ever so softly at first, and brushed against her hand which had come toward me.

NO LOGIC!

"Why, there's no logic..." Her voice died out. There was a long silence. "I don't see how you can say such a thing. It makes no sense whatsoever, and besides..." She stopped speaking again.

I purred up a storm.

Mrs. Phoenix took out her handkerchief from her handbag and blew her nose. Golly, everybody seemed to have a cold that month. I thought she did, too, until I noticed the tears in her eyes. And then, before I could smile at her again, she was gone.

Father Holton looked at me. It was that happy look I like so well on him. ■

New Publication

The Church Speaks, published after the 1964 General Convention, includes resolutions, position papers, excerpts from the Pastoral Letter, and resolutions from the Triennial Meeting of the Women. It is available for 50 cents from The Seabury Bookstore, 815 Second Avenue, New York 10017.

The 1955, 1958 (both 15 cents) and 1961 (25 cents) editions are also available.

BARRIERS TO NEGRO VOTING

by John McKee Pratt, an Episcopal layman and attorney who serves as general counsel to the Commission on Religion and Race, National Council of Churches.

In Lowndes County, Alabama, the county where Mrs. Viola Liuzzo was murdered the night the Selma-to-Montgomery March ended, there are 7,022 adults of voting age in the population. Of this number 1,900 are whites and 5,122 are Negroes. According to figures released by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 2,314 whites, or 122 per cent of the eligible whites, are registered voters, while no Negro is registered. In Dallas County, the principle city of which is Selma, two-thirds of the 14,400 white adults are registered voters while three per cent of the 15,115 Negro adults have the franchise.

These are but two of the more than 100 hard-core southern counties where Negroes have been systematically excluded from gaining the right to vote. The plight of the potential Negro voter in the South, which has been a national scandal for the past seventy-five years, has finally achieved national recognition because of recent events in Selma, and the proposed Voting Rights Bill of 1965 is the result. The question which white Americans should be asking themselves as the bill moves toward passage is how have the whites been able to keep Negroes off the voting rolls and how effectively will the new bill remedy the situation?

THE LITERACY TEST

The first roadblock to registration is the literacy test. There is a double way in which literacy test are used by southern registrars to keep Negroes from the rolls: first by requiring Negroes to follow strictly the letter of the law while giving white applicants the benefit of the doubt. Thus, Negroes who don't spell out their middle names are rejected as applicants while whites who make the same mistake become registered. Second, and more significant, is the constitutional interpretation question on the literacy test. An applicant is asked to copy a section of the state constitution and interpret it. Negroes are given exceedingly difficult sections to interpret; whites are given relatively simple sections. More than that, the registrar is the sole judge of deciding whether the interpretation is sufficient.

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT BRINGS SUITS

Under powers given it in the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Acts, the Justice Department has brought more than fifty suits seeking to require registrars to apply the tests nondiscriminately. In a recent book, Burke Marshall, former Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Civil Rights Division, confessed that the suits had done pathetically little to stop the practice.

The new Voting Rights Bill attempts to overcome the literacy test barrier in two ways: first by eliminating the literacy test altogether whenever certain criteria (such as less than fifty per cent of registered voters voting in the last general election) are met, and secondly by giving the Attorney General power to call for the appointment of federal registrars to supercede the local registrars whenever the Attorney General determines that Negro applicants are being discriminated against. While certain geographical areas of the South may be omitted from coverage in the bill's final version, the bill is a giant step forward in overcoming the power of local registrars to use literacy tests to deny voting rights to Negroes.

THE POLL TAX

The second barrier to Negro voting is the poll tax which still exists in Mississippi, Alabama, Virginia and Texas. A recent amendment to the United States Constitution prohibits the requirement of a poll tax as a prerequisite to voting in any federal election. The Voting Rights Bill as proposed by the President did not eliminate state poll tax requirements. An amendment eliminating the poll tax in all state and local elections was added to the bill in both the Senate and House committees which considered the measure. Continued opposition to this amendment by the administration, however, on the grounds that it may well be unconstitutional, makes it uncertain whether the final bill will strike down this barrier.

PHYSICAL INTIMIDATION

A third method of preventing Negroes from voting is the use of physical intimidation against those Negroes who either attempt to register or, if voters, attempt to exercise their franchise. The new bill would allow federal officials, U. S. Marshalls and F. B. I. agents, to act as observers at polling places and creates strong criminal penalties for anyone who threatens or intimidates registrants or voters. As of this writing, it is unclear whether the bill will also provide protection for those such as the student volunteers in Mississippi last summer who are assisting Negroes in their efforts to register and vote.

ECONOMIC INTIMIDATION

Economic intimidation has been the fourth weapon in the arsenal of the southern power structure. Negroes who attempted to register found their names printed in the local press and lost their jobs shortly thereafter, with little chance of getting another one from a white employer in the town. Maids were fired, janitors released, leases cancelled, mortgages foreclosed. This is an area untouched by the present legislation--unless a very broad reading is given to the language establishing criminal penalties for "Intimidating."

WILL THE NEW BILL DO THE JOB?

Will the new bill do the job? It is always dangerous to predict that a barrier which has lasted for three-quarters of a century--and particularly a barrier which has been maintained by the wiley resourcefulness of the southern white establishments so successfully that it has withstood the three assaults of the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, and 1964--is now about to crumble, but I personally believe that the legislation now before Congress will do exactly that. Unless, of course, the bill is emasculated on the floor of the Congress. Just as there are still a few Lester Maddox's around to stand against the tide of the public accomodations laws, so there will be those die-hards who will try to prevent the operation of the new law. But they will be in a decided minority, I believe, and will not be able to hold back the registration of the millions of Negroes which this bill will facilitate. As Mrs. Malcolm Peabody said to a mass rally in St. Agustine the night of her release from jail there: "I am more and more certain that the walls are tumbling down."

One final thought--which was best expressed by President Johnson in his historic address to a special Joint Session of the Congress:

> "But even if we pass this bill, the battle will not be over. What happened in Selma is part of a far larger movement which reaches into every section and state of America. It is the effort of American Negroes to secure for themselves the full blessings of American life. Their cause must be our cause, too." ■

New Publication

For every young man preparing to register with the Selective Service, the booklet Choosing Your Draft Classification is important reading. Options for military service are presented and specific ways of meeting the obligation discussed. It contains special facts about classification as a conscientious objector: what the law says, what the Church says; what procedure to follow to meet both Church and state requirements. All eighteen draft classifications are listed with helpful explanations.

Choosing Your Draft Classification may be obtained from Seabury Bookstore, 815 Second Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017.

GREAT DAY!

Reflections on the Montgomery March

by Charles R. Lawrence. Dr. Lawrence, a professor of sociology, Brooklyn College, is a consultant to the Department of Christian Social Relations.

Whether the line of march included 25,000 participants, as estimated by the press, the 50,000 claimed by the master of ceremonies, or somewhere in between, it was a mighty procession. Across the sound of paraphrased spirituals and gospel songs, the words of an old Negro jubilee kept coming to mind:

Great day!
Great day and the righteous marchin'.
Great day.
God's gonna buil' up Zion's wall.

This is the day of jubilee:
God's gonna buil' up Zion's wall
God's gonna set his people free....

March 25 - the day of the final march to the capitol from which the only flags visible are those of the state and the late Confederacy - was a great day; though the marchers were only relatively righteous.

DAY OF WITNESS

It was a day of spiritual witness. There was an obvious presence of our major religious traditions in the hundreds of ministers, priests, rabbis, and nuns, and by the fact that the vast majority of the marchers were religious believers. Agnostics and secular humanists and persons of no articulated faith were also there, and they were very much a part of this spiritual witness and experience. As a friend remarked recently in another connection, we were bound together by the highest common factor, rather than the lowest common denominator. Nonviolent veterans of the struggle from Montgomery-to-Selma were profoundly united with those of us who had come to make common cause on this high day of triumph (and, incidentally, to enjoy an unearned increment of relatively vicarious involvement).

POLITICAL SYMBOLISM

It was a day pregnant with political symbolism. Montgomery had cradled not only the Confederacy, but the first largescale manifestation of nonviolent direct action in the struggle for Negro rights, the bus protest. Mrs. Rosa Parks, whose quiet and simple act of refusing to be segregated had precipitated that protest, was there. This pilgrimage on behalf of a fuller emancipation of Negroes came, moreover, only a few days before the centennial of the fall of the Confederacy, a fact commemorated by the presence in the line of march of some of America's most distinguished historians. The active intervention of the federal judiciary and the strongest speech ever made by an American president on civil rights seemed to presage the final demise of the compromise of 1876 and to be an earnest enforcement of the Fifteenth Amendment yet to come.

Members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and younger SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) workers were very much in evidence; and they were very impressive. These highly idealistic young people have been tempered in the furnace of a hard and dangerous struggle. Some of them have left college or graduate school and others have gone directly from high school to work at voter registration and freedom schools. Many have found self-fulfillment; and, together, they have founded one of America's few indigenous radical movements. It was they who insisted that the voter registration campaigns be taken into the rural black belt counties of Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi, areas which they considered the pus pockets of a sick society and the most blatant manifestations of an evil system in which we are all implicated. The entire country, they reasoned, would see itself mirrored in the injustice and violence of Greenwood, Albany, and Selma, repent, and seek to be made whole. Thanks to the callousness of Sheriff Clark, the unanticipated courage of black belt Negroes, and the martyrdom of Jimmie Lee Jackson and James Reeb, the strategy of going to "the sickest part of society" seemed to be bearing fruit.

COVER ALL BASES

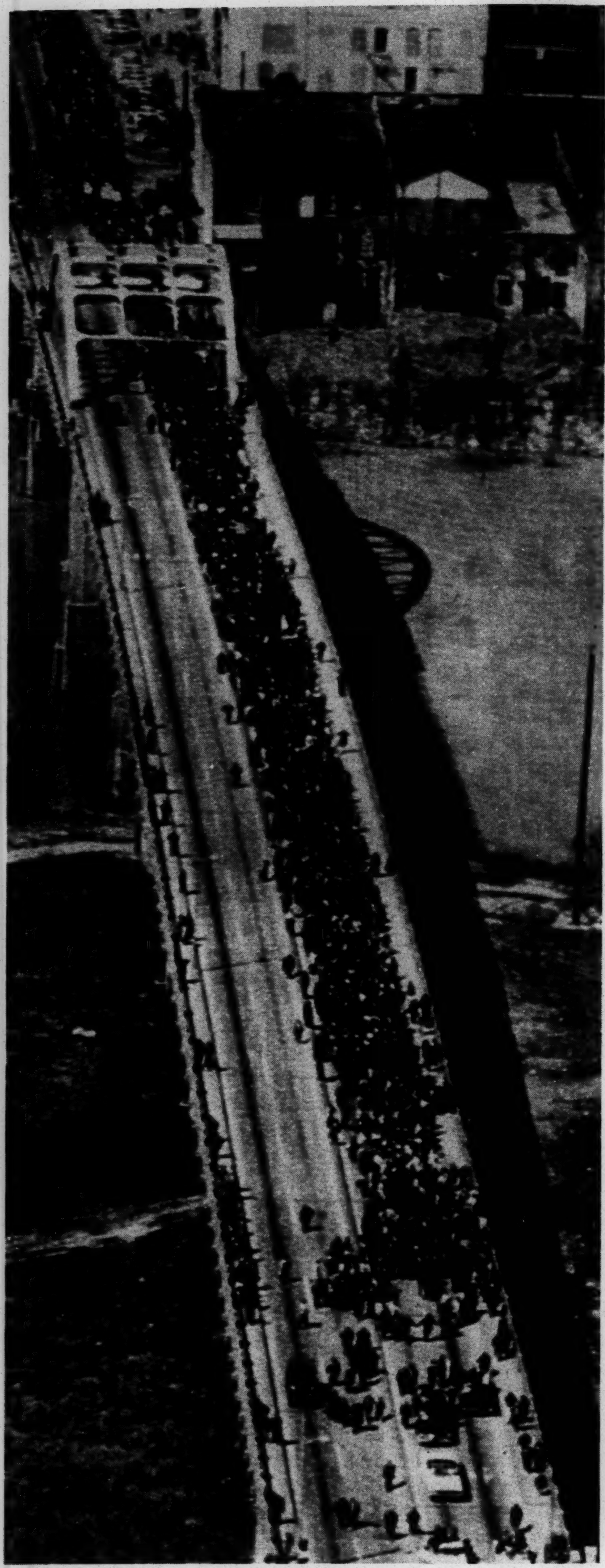
The sheer demands of survival have taught these young people the necessity of having all bases covered. They had, therefore, achieved a discipline and sense of responsibility about mundane things that would surprise their former teachers, not to speak of their parents. They did admirable work on Hosea Williams' Logistics Committee, coordinating the transportation of thousands, maintaining walkie-talkie communication, and not infrequently reminding their elders of real dangers so easily forgotten in a festive atmosphere.

Despite the euphoria of the Great Day, there were things to give one pause:

For entirely understandable reasons, references to Jim Clark and George Wallace were not always within the bounds of the strict canons of nonviolence; and it wasn't easy to remember that they, like ourselves, are victims as well as perpetuators of injustice.

While the federal government had no alternative but to supply the only kind of police protection at its disposal - federalized National Guard and military police, one could not be completely sanguine about a demonstration of nonviolence protected by Armed Might.

The Selma-Montgomery March, including the procession to the state capitol, will probably remain one of the historic water marks in the struggle for human dignity. It is to be hoped that its inspiration will be reflected in greater political participation of Negroes in the black belt. It is also to be hoped that those of us who journeyed from far places to participate in the march will redouble our commitment to Selma, particularly through attention to the urgent agenda of freedom in our home towns. ■



BOOK REVIEW

TOO LITTLE AND TOO LATE?

(The Pastor and The Race Issue was written by Daisuke Kitagawa, an American clergyman born in Japan. He has served parishes in California and the midwest. He is chairman of the Advisory Committee of the Secretariat on Racial and Ethnic Relations, World Council of Churches and executive secretary of the Division of Domestic Mission, Home Department, Episcopal Church Center, New York City. The book, published by the Seabury Press, is $3.50)

Daisuke Kitagawa has written a profoundly disturbing book. It is intended as a reflection upon the role of the pastor in the cure of souls in a social context where "... racism ... has engraved itself in most Americans as a kind of second nature."

As he proceeds with his reflection, Dr. Kitagawa reveals a firm grasp upon the whole pastor's role as well as upon the critical nature of the racial situation in the nation and the significance of the world-wide revolution of which this American situation is a part. "...failure to accord Negro citizens full civil rights in America is tantamount to a breakdown of democracy itself, which could have world-wide ramifications."

The discussion moves through consideration of preaching, counseling and Christian action. The pastoral vocation of the clergyman and the theological dimension of the race issue are emphasized within the context of issues and realities confronting the Church and society.

The book is a kind of tour de force which raises many more questions and issues - exposes many more needs and failings than it develops programs or gives bold projections. It suffers in part from the fact that the central material comes from a series of lectures. The reader is left eager to explore some of the ramifications of the hints and guidelines thrown out -- an exploration which undoubtedly occurred in the conference setting in which the lectures were orginally delivered.

One value of The Pastor and the Race Issue is its concentration on the pastor and his role at a time when the race issue presents the danger of creating a number of civil rights oriented clergy unable to relate a necessary and valid concern with changing the social context to the task of the cure of souls inextricably bound up in their society.

The far greater danger looms on the other side, however, and Dr. Kitagawa gives little comfort to those who would remain in the limbo of religious institutionalism, prostituting the Gospel into comfortable advice while God is shattering the false security shored up by separations in Church and society. No solace can be found here for the clergyman who clings to a false concept of the pastor's role which protects him and prevents the Church from confronting the burden and glory of the Crucifixion. "Crucifixion is no mere fiction, but stark reality, in this life, and apart from it reconciliation is wholly inconceivable. The way of the Cross is the only way to a vital community, and a vital community alone can reflect the witness of the Church in a divided world."

The profoundly disturbing quality of the book, lies in the fact that it probably does fill a real need. The all-embracing racism which permeates our society and our Church exposes a profound confusion about the nature of the Church and its ministry and a miserable inability on the part of the Church to be an agent of God's reconciliation. The questions raised by Dr. Kitagawa have been largely unexplored. The basic facts and interpretations of the present historical and social context of God's act of reconciliation are all too rarely manifest in the daily acts and deeds of the clergy. If Dr. Kitagawa's book stimulates many to engage in the task of thinking in action that he outlines then it may be that the resources of the pastoral ministry can be mobilized to recall the people of God to do the good works He has prepared for us to walk in.

I hope Dr. Kitagawa will go on to supply some of the rich case material and knowledge of a variety of disciplines which underly the material in The Pastor and the Race Issue. Those who accept his invitation to a desperately needed program for pastors, stand in need of his further help. -- James Breeden

CURRENT REGISTRATION AND VOTING STATISTICS IN ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES

by Charles C. Humpstone. Mr. Humpstone is an attorney on the staff of the Office of General Counsel, United States Commission on Civil Rights. The views expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily represent those of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

Negro registration, in most of the South, is changing; in some states, changing rapidly. In part, new registration figures reflect a change in social and political climate; in part, they show the results of changes in Federal laws and increasing enforcement efforts by the Federal government.

One of the difficulties hampering architects of pending voting legislation is the lack of accurate registration figures by race. These are especially difficult to obtain for individual counties or municipalities.

Official figures for Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, and Virginia are published at varying intervals. The accuracy of even these official figures varies from state to state depending upon the purpose for which the state uses the figures. Virginia, for example, collects the figures only as a basis for computing the number of new voter registration books needed. Since only approximate figures are needed they may not reflect registration efforts.

LOCAL FIGURES

Alabama registrars publish their local registration figures periodically but irregularly enough so that collection of figures from the local weekly newspapers has not proven successful. Since no state official promulgates such figures, they are published only as unofficial estimates by statewide newspapers. In Georgia and South Carolina, newspaper reporters are also the principal source of registration figures. Mississippi is even more difficult. The only accurate current figures are those compiled by the Justice Department in the process of preparing for, or conducting, litigation against registrars under present Federal voting laws. These are available for less than half the counties in the state. North Carolina county figures are also currently available only for a few counties. Texas and Tennessee publish county registration figures not broken down by race.

Nevertheless estimates for each of these states by newspaper writers, political leaders, civil rights workers, and others are made and reveal a good deal about the progress of Negro enfranchisement.

The Southern Regional Council Voter Education Project has provided the following comparative registration figures:

	1947	1952	1956	1958	1964
Alabama	6,000	25,224	53,366	70,000	111,000
Arkansas	47,000	61,413	69,677	64,023	105,000
Florida	49,000	120,900	148,703	144,810	300,000
Georgia	125,000	144,835	163,389	161,958	270,000
Louisiana	10,000	120,000	161,410	131,068	164,000
Mississippi	5,000	20,000	20,000	20,000	28,500
North Carolina	75,000	100,000	135,000	150,000	258,000
South Carolina	50,000	80,000	99,890	57,978	144,000
Tennessee	80,000	85,000	90,000	185,000	218,000
Texas	100,000	181,916	214,000	226,818	375,000
Virginia	48,000	69,326	82,603	92,172	200,000
	595,000	1,008,614	1,238,038	1,303,827	2,173,500

Notwithstanding these gains the exclusion of Negroes from the electoral process is still widespread. As of November 1964, one county in Alabama, two in Florida, seven in Mississippi, and one in Virginia, each with substantial non-white populations, had not one registered Negro voter.

Furthermore, of southern counties with populations of more than one hundred voting age Negroes, at least 136 still have less than ten per cent of this population registered.

Here is a breakdown for the states for which county registration figures by race are available:

State	Counties with more than 100 voting age Negro residents but less than ten per cent registration
Alabama	18
Arkansas	1
Florida	2
Georgia (1962 figures)	30
Louisiana	12
South Carolina	2
Virginia	3
	68

As noted, statewide, current, county figures by race, are not available for Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas.

Mississippi remains a special case. It is estimated that Negro registration exceeds ten per cent in only fourteen of the state's eighty-two counties. Of the remaining sixty-eight counties all have substantial Negro populations, most are more than one-third Negro. The figure of sixty-eight, shown on the chart is, therefore, doubled when Mississippi counties are added to the list.

Three North Carolina counties fell below the ten per cent standard in 1961 but may since have increased registration. Tennessee Negro registration has increased so substantially that estimates from earlier figures are not profitable. The same is true for Texas, where it is estimated now that the per cent of Negro registration, statewide, is higher than white registration.

Professor James Prothro of the University of North Carolina has reported surveys which indicate that in 1960, outside of the southern states, eighty per cent of the whites and seventy-eight per cent of the Negroes were registered to vote, while in the southern states, in 1961, only twenty-three per cent of the voting age Negroes and sixty-six per cent of voting age whites are registered.

The present comparative percentages, by race, show that a wide discrepancy endures, except in Florida, Tennessee, and Texas.

Per cent Registered by Color

	Voting Age White Population	Per cent Registered	Voting Age Non-white Population	Per cent Registered
Alabama	1,353,038	69.2	481,230	23.
Arkansas	850,643	65.4	192,626	54.4
Florida	2,617,438	74.8	470,306	63.7
Georgia	1,797,062	74.5	612,910	44.
Louisiana	1,289,216	80.5	514,589	32.
Mississippi	748,266	70.2	422,256	6.7
North Carolina	2,005,955	96.8	550,929	46.8
South Carolina	895,147	75.7	371,104	38.8
Tennessee	1,779,018	72.9	313,873	69.4
Texas	4,884,769	53.2	649,412	57.7
Virginia	1,876,167	59.2	436,720	45.7

Unfortunately statistics on voting, by race, are not presently available.

Total figures for voting in the southern states indicate a generally low level of political participation. The following table shows total votes cast in the November 1964 Presidential election averaged against total population estimated as of November 1964.

State	Per cent Voting
Alabama	36.0
Arkansas	49.9
Florida	52.7
Georgia	43.2
Louisiana	47.3
Mississippi	32.9
North Carolina	51.8
South Carolina	38.0
Tennessee	51.1
Texas	44.4
Virginia	41.0

The figures may be contrasted with those for the New England States and other representative states outside the South.

State	Per cent Voting
Connecticut	71.8
Maine	68.6
Massachusetts	71.3
New Hampshire	72.8
Rhode Island	68.7
Vermont	68.0
California	64.7
Illinois	74.0
New York	63.2

It is noteworthy that Alabama and Mississippi legislators have, within the past two months, commenced consideration of measures to diminish the effect of anticipated Federal legislation by reducing the onerous requirements of their state voting laws.

It is to be hoped that the temporary remedies imposed by the proposed Federal legislation will both result in the permanent removal of voting barriers by state action and will encourage and sustain a wider and more enduring exercise of the right to vote. ■

Family Life Study

The General Convention of 1964 asked the Executive Council to undertake three pieces of work in the field of family life. The work to be completed for the 1967 Convention includes:

1. Develop recommendations on what more the Episcopal Church can do to promote birth control around the world.

2. Conduct studies on the Christian understanding of sexual behavior.

3. Give special attention to resources within the Church for premarital and marital counseling, and encourage professional training so that the Church can more adequately minister in these areas.

All three have been assigned to the Executive Council's Joint Staff Committee on Family Life. Plans are now underway to carry out the studies.

The Joint Committee had already begun a study of existing marriage and family counseling resources before receiving the Convention's mandate. This study forms the main agenda item of the third Family Life Consultation at Brugler House, Greenwich, Connecticut, June 7-9. From facts gathered about Church-related marriage counseling services, the members of the Consultation are asked to develop recommendations for creating more adequate resources. Participants, in addition to the Joint Committee, include persons engaged in some aspect of family life work. These persons, known as Associates, have been carrying out studies or projects with the Joint Committee for three years.

Single copies of the study of marriage and family counseling resources will be available after July 1 by writing Mrs. Muriel S. Webb, Associate Director of Christian Social Relations, 815 Second Avenue, New York 10017. She is Chairman of the Joint Staff Committee on Family Life.

PHOTOS: Front cover, Courtesy of National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Page 4, Courtesy of Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Page 14, Religious News Service.

With...deliberate speed, majestic instancy,
They beat—and a Voice beat
More instant than the Feet—
"All things betray thee, who betrayest Me."

FRANCIS THOMPSON

Men are on the move in our land today, marching in response to inner stirrings which have aroused them to witness to freedom for every American citizen. Their pace is relentless. Of different races and creeds, they are united by their conviction that all Americans are destined for freedom. For them, there can be no genuine peace until this destiny is accepted and achieved. Their goal has its own "majestic instancy": the freedom they seek is NOW.

Every Church person, of every race, is involved in this American revolution. You can make your involvement count. Your gift to the Church and Race Fund helps the Church participate so that all men may benefit from this move toward freedom. Please send your contribution today.

CHURCH AND RACE FUND
Executive Council, Episcopal Church Center
815 Second Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10017

Enclosed is my contribution to the Church and Race Fund.

Name____________________

Address____________________

City & State____________________

Please make your check payable to Lindley M. Franklin, Jr., Treasurer, and mark it "Church and Race Fund."

Second-class postage
Paid at New York, New York

comm.-awards

3/2

February 6, 1964

Ernest Goodman
Director, Information Services
Howard University
Washington 1, D.C.

Dear Mr. Goodman:

Please forgive me for not answering this letter more quickly. As you undoubtedly know, we have been in the midst of an upsurge in Northern Civil Rights action in the last few weeks. I hope the following information will suffice for your immediate needs.

ACADEMIC DEGREES--B.S., Wiley College, Marshall, Texas, 1938.
B.D., Howard University, Washington, D.C., 1941

MAJOR AWARDS--John Dewey Award, 1962;
Bill of Rights Award
American Veterans Committee
Merit Award of Elks
(Numerous other organizational awards)

MEMBERSHIP IN ORGANIZATIONS--Board of Directors ACLU
Board of Directors ADA
Executive Board American Committee of Af
on Africa
Board of Governors Boys Athletic League
A Chairman March on Washington Committee
CALL Committee of
American Negro Leadership Committee
on Africa

I hope this list of Mr. Farmer's various awards, degrees and organizational memberships successfully adds to your biographical material. Incidentally, I am very glad that you brought this to our attention--as a result I am now in the midst of re-writing Mr. Farmer's biograpy in a much more extensive way so that this won't happen in the future.

My kindest regards,

Val Coleman
Assistant Community
Relations Director

VC:mh

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

DIVISION OF
INFORMATION SERVICES

FEB 5 1964

February 4, 1964

Miss Glenda Lubelsky
Secretary to James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Miss Lubelsky:

We are rapidly approaching our publication deadline for the information on Mr. Farmer which we requested in our letter of January 21. We shall appreciate it greatly if you will mail the requested information to us immediately in order that we may have it in the hands of the printer not later than Friday, February 7.

Many thanks for your consideration and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Ernest E. Goodman
Director
Information Services

JAN 22 1964

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

DIVISION OF
INFORMATION SERVICES

January 21, 1964

Call Thurs

Miss Glenda Lubelsky
Secretary to James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Miss Lubelsky:

At this late date we find that we are extremely short on biographical information regarding Mr. Farmer. We were able to use the information which you were kind enough to send on December 17 for an advanced story to the newspapers on Mr. Farmer's selection for an Alumni Achievement Award. The story should be appearing in the papers in your area this week. For our Charter Day exercises, we also publish a program which contains a rather comprehensive biographical sketch on each of the award recipients. The information which we have on Mr. Farmer at this time is rather sketchy. I am enclosing a copy of it to give you an idea of what we have.

It will help us greatly if you will forward to us immediately information on such items as honors and awards received by Mr. Farmer, positions which he has held other than those listed on the enclosed mimeographed sheet, organizations in which he holds membership, etc.

Many thanks for your consideration and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Ernest E. Goodman

Ernest E. Goodman
Director
Information Services

Enclosure

3/2

January 2, 1964

Mr. G. Frederick Stanton
Secretary of the University
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mr. Stanton:

Mr. Farmer is out of the country at present and I am, therefore, replying to your letter of December 31, I know That Mr. Farmer will be very pleased to accept your kind invitation to lunch on March 2, and I shall get in touch with you nearer the time to let you know the name of his guest.

Sincerely yours,

Glenda Lubelsky
Secretary to
James Farmer

GL:LP

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

OFFICE OF
THE SECRETARY

JAN 2 1964

December 31, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Supplementary to my letter of December 9, I am pleased to extend to you and a guest of your selection a cordial invitation to attend a luncheon immediately following the morning exercises on Charter Day, March 2, 1964. The luncheon will be held in the Trustee Dining Room, Baldwin Hall. Members of the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, which meets that afternoon, will be present.

Warm regards of the Christmas Season to you.

Very truly yours,

G. Frederick Stanton

G. Frederick Stanton
Secretary of the University

December 17, 1963

Mr. Ernest E. Goodman
Director of Information Services
Howard University
Washington 1, D. D.

Dear Mr. Goodman:

As requested, I have pleasure in enclosing a photograph and a brief biographical sketch of Mr. Farmer, together with a copy of a recent issue of the CORE-lator, which details his experiences in Plaquamine, Louisiana, last summer.

If I can be of any further assistance please do not hesitate to let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Glenda Lubelsky
Secretary to
James Farmer

GL:lp

encl:

3/2

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

DIVISION OF
INFORMATION SERVICES

December 13, 1963

Miss Glenda Lubelsky
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Miss Lubelsky:

We shall appreciate it greatly if you will send to us, by return mail, a biographical sketch of Mr. James L. Farmer. We need this sketch in publicizing the Alumni Achievement Award he is to receive on March 2.

Very truly yours,

Ernest E. Goodman/bf

Ernest E. Goodman
Director of Information Services

/bf

3/2

December 17, 1963

Mr. G. Frederick Stanton
Secretary of the University
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mr. Stanton:

I am indeed honored to learn that the Executive Committee of the Howard University Board of Trustees has decided to confer an alumni award upon me on Monday, March 2.

I should be most grateful if you could arrange to have a cap and gown available for me. My height is 6'1", weight 220 lbs. and my hat size is 7½.

I shall be able to let you knowssomewhat nearer the time how many members of my family will be accompanying me. I shall not require accommodation since I shall probably be staying with one of my relatives in Washington.

I am looking forward to being with you on March 2.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:lp

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

OFFICE OF
THE SECRETARY

Ht. 6'1"
W. 220 lb
Hat 7½

3/2

December 9, 1963

9 P. — 2

DEC 11 1963

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Confirming the word communicated by telephone on Friday, December 6, it is indeed a pleasure to advise you that the Executive Committee of the Howard University Board of Trustees, at its meeting on that day, authorized the conferring upon you of an alumni award for distinguished post-graduate achievement in the field of Human Rights, at the Charter Day Exercises on Monday, March 2, 1964.

The Exercises will be held in Cramton Auditorium, Sixth and Fairmont Streets, N. W., on the University Campus, at 10:30 A.M. You are requested to come to the entrance at the north driveway adjoining the building at 10:00 A.M. Inasmuch as there will be reserved seating for family members who accompany you, please advise me as to the number.

If you prefer to bring your academic gown, hood, and cap, this may be done; or, if you let me know your height, weight, and head size, this office will arrange for the regalia to be available to you for the occasion.

You and your immediate family are invited to be guests at the Charter Day Banquet, at 8:00 P.M. At the Banquet, which will be a black tie function, you will be presented, and expected to make remarks of approximately ten minutes on any subject of your choice.

Also, you and your immediate family are invited to be guests of the University. Because of the full occupancy of University residence halls by students, we shall arrange accommodations at a local hotel, if this meets with your concurrence.

We look forward to your presence at the University on March 2. Cordial regards and best wishes to you and your family.

Very truly yours,

G. Frederick Stanton

G. Frederick Stanton
Secretary of the University

3/2

December 6, 1963

Mr. G. Frederick Stanton
Secretary
Howard University
Washington 1, D. C.

Dear Mr. Stanton:

As requested in our telephone conversation today, I have pleasure in enclosing a photograph of Mr. Farmer.

As soon as he returns to the office I shall inform him that Howard University wishes to present him with an Alumnus Award, which I am sure he will be honored to accept.

Sincerely yours,

Glenda Lubelsky
Secretary to
James Farmer

GL:lp

encl:

December 26, 1963

Mr. E. S. Fish
A & P Tea Company, Inc.
Graybar Building
420 Lexington Avenue
New York City 17

Dear Mr. Fish:

Mr. Farmer has asked me to thank you for your letter of December 11 and to give you what details we have so far on the presentation of the award at Howard University.

The ceremonies will be held on Monday, March 2, beginning with exercises at 10:00 A.M., and concluding with a banquet at 8:00 P.M. May I suggest that you write to Mr. G. Frederick Stanton, Secretary of the University, fur further details.

Sincerely yours,

Glenda Lubelsky
Secretary to
James Farmer

DEC 12 1963

THE GREAT ATLANTIC & PACIFIC TEA COMPANY, INC.
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EXECUTIVE OFFICES
GRAYBAR BUILDING, 420 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

December 11, 1963

Mr. James Farmer,
National Director CORE,
38 Park Row,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Just a quick note to say I thoroughly enjoyed our get acquainted session yesterday.

There is second thought:

When Howard University honors you in April, I wonder if it might occur at a luncheon or dinner. If so, I would be pleased to buy a ticket and attend.

It would be very kind if you would let me know.

Sincerely yours,

E.S. Fish, Manager
Community Relations Department

ESF:ds

Committees, Awards

Greetings. It is very fitting that you memorialize Dr. W.E.B. DuBois today. A giant among men, he was the father of protest against discrimination in America, a great intellect ~~socialist~~, a grand literary figure, and certainly a large contributor to a fuller understanding of the souls of black folk.

FEB 10 1964

2/21

DUBOIS MEMORIAL COMMITTEE

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Mr. James Farmer
JCongress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

We are pleased to announce that the Memorial Tribute to Dr. W.E.B.DuBois, to be held at Carnegie Hall on February 23, is progressing very well.

A significant part of the program will be the tributes received from cultural and civic leaders at home and abroad.

We would welcome, and take this opportunity to invite you to send, a message from you to this Tribute.

Your early response will greatly facilitate the work of the Program Committee.

Sincerely yours,

Ossie Davis
For the Program Committee

OD/lj

33

6/23-4

committees

Halen.

June 15, 1964

Mr. Walter Reuther
President, UAW
8000 East Jefferson Avenue
Detroit, Mich. 48214

Dear Walter:

I am pleased to confirm my acceptance of your kind invitation to serve on the temporary steering committee of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty and attend the national convention.

It will be good to see you again, and I am looking forward to our meeting.

Cordially yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

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PAT GREATHOUSE.......VICE-PRESIDENT

6/23-7

June 9, 1964

JUN 10 1964

James Farmer, Director of Organization
Committee on Racial Equality
34 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am pleased indeed that you have agreed to serve on the temporary steering committee for the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty.

There will be a dinner meeting of the temporary steering committee on Tuesday, June 23, 1964 at 7:00 P.M. at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C. The preliminary national conference will be held the following day, June 24, 1964, also at the Mayflower Hotel, as was indicated in my letter dated June 5, 1964.

I shall look forward with special pleasure to seeing you at our dinner meeting, which, we trust, will mark the beginning of a meaningful and significant citizens' effort in the Crusade against poverty.

Sincerely,

Walter P. Reuther

Walter P. Reuther, President
International Union, UAW

WPR:rs
oeiu42

Committee

NORMAN THOMAS 80th Birthday Committee

ROOM 402 1182 BROADWAY, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10001 LE 2-1452

October 1, 1964

OCT 2 1964

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Norman Thomas will be eighty years old on November 20th, 1964. Men like Norman Thomas are rare in any country or age, and we know that you count it a singular privilege in having him as an influence and as a part of your life. We would like you to join us in showing him the depth of our affection and esteem.

For those who are in New York or can get there the afternoon of Sunday, December 6th, there will be a birthday party at the Hotel Astor. Separate invitations to that affair will be sent out, but you might want to make a note of the date now. It will be an opportunity for many persons to congratulate Norman Thomas personally.

In addition, I am asking distinguished leaders and organizations - in America and in the free countries of the world - themselves deeply involved in the causes close to his heart, to send Norman Thomas a message of congratulations and tribute. These messages will be bound in a volume for presentation to him as a permanent remembrance of the occasion.

I know that he would be profoundly pleased to have some words of felicitation from you. May I ask you to let me have your message for Norman Thomas' 80th birthday before October 20th. A return envelope is enclosed for your convenience. Please send it air mail.

The man we shall honor, as well as his many friends and admirers, will be enriched by your joining the company of the other distinguished world leaders in the cause of human dignity who will pay tribute to one of the great men of our time.

Sincerely yours,

A. Philip Randolph

A. Philip Randolph

apr:jb

November 30, 1964

Mr. Walter P. Reuther
Chairman
Citizens Crusade Against Poverty
132 Third Street, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

Dear Walter:

Thank you very much for your letter of October 26. I am sorry for the long delay in replying; however, these have been hectic weeks and I have been out of the office a good deal of the time.

I am honored to learn that the CITIZENS CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY voted me a member of its National Committee. I am more than pleased to become a member. As you know, CORE is vitally interested in the anti-poverty campaign and we intend to devote more and more of our time and energies to it.

I look forward to seeing you again and working with you on the National Committee.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer,
National Director

JF/m

A. Philip Randolph
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CITIZENS CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY
132 THIRD STREET, S. E.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20003

WALTER P. REUTHER
CHAIRMAN
RABBI RICHARD G. HIRSCH
SECRETARY
CLYDE ELLIS
TREASURER

TELEPHONE:
547-8700

October 26, 1964

OCT 28 1964

James Farmer, Director
CORE
34 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am honored in reporting to you that the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty at its Formal Founding Conference in New York on October 13th unanimously voted you a member of its National Committee. I hope you will agree to serve in this capacity.

As you know from participating in preliminary meetings, the CCAP is a non-partisan organization dedicated to eradicating poverty from the nation. Its program will be not only educational in character but will encompass as well activities on the national and community level designed to fulfill the objective of eliminating poverty from our midst. The Founding Conference determined that as part of its organizational structure, the ultimate source of policy authority in the organization would be an annual conference of all the participating organizations and individuals. The National Committee will be the highest authority between the annual conferences and will be responsible for the overall direction and implementation of both program and policy.

At the New York meeting, it was agreed that a National Conference of CCAP be scheduled some time in February. At that Conference, final action will be taken concerning the designation of officers, the Executive Committee members, and the National Committee members, and a constitution and bylaws will be submitted for approval. Pending this National Conference, CCAP will move forward in line with the statement of policy and program adopted at the New York meeting. I am enclosing a copy of it. I look forward to working with you at what I think will be a most challenging and rewarding undertaking.

I would appreciate you letting me know as soon as possible that you will agree to serve as a member of the National Committee.

Sincerely,

Walter P Reuther

Walter P. Reuther
Chairman

Enclosure

CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY
(CAP)

Statement of Policy and Program

NEW YORK CITY
OCTOBER 13, 1964

CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY (CAP)

STATEMENT OF POLICY, PROGRAM AND STRUCTURE

THE NEED

Thirty-five million Americans are aliens in their native land.

Millions of American families live in the sub-basements of our social structure. They are America's "have-not" people. They are the denied and the disadvantaged. They are the dispossessed and the discriminated against. They are the old, the young, the Negroes and other minorities. They are the sick, the handicapped, the sharecroppers and the migratory workers. Our poor are the unemployed, the underemployed and the underprivileged. Materially and pschologically outcast, they are foreigners to the nation's prosperity, taunted day after day by the knowledge of an abundance which is always out of reach.

It is not only that our poor are denied employment and opportunities for adequate income, decent housing, good education, medical care; it is that they are robbed of any sense of individual worth and of human dignity. They are cut off, forced to live outside the rest of our society, deprived of any sense of belonging and of participation, victims of a frustration so deep and so enveloping that hope is lost in the abyss of unrelenting squalor.

In the American past, poverty was a tragedy. Resources were scarcer than human needs and want was the cruel unavoidable fate for millions. Today, however, no nation in the world is as richly blessed with material wealth as America. The means are at hand to provide every American, young and old, with a decent standard of living. Yet millions of our people continue to live in abject poverty and the vicious cycle of poverty breeds only more poverty, the inevitable result of social and economic neglect and national indifference.

The plight of these millions is a challenge to the people of our country and a call to dispel the indifference of the more fortunate and to end the silence of the impoverished. No more burning and compelling moral issue exists in our society than the elimination of the human suffering of those who live in poverty.

The dimensions of the problem of poverty in America are so staggering as to require immediate bold and vigorous action, not only at all levels of government but, equally important, by concerted, cooperative action by each interested and concerned citizen. What is needed to complement governmental action is the full mobilization and commitment of the citizens of America as individuals and through groups with which they are affiliated -- church, labor, industry, civil rights, civic, farmer, women, veterans, students and others. Only in this way can we insure success in the nation's effort to attack the source and eliminate the social evil of poverty.

The Crusade Against Poverty (CAP) is the vehicle through which citizens throughout the country can voice their desire to help eliminate poverty from our midst and can participate actively and directly in this great and worthy effort. We as citizens in the Crusade Against Poverty come from every walk of life and from every democratic political persuasion. We are committed to achieve a national awakening of conscience for we know that once Americans everywhere become aroused and indignant against the immorality of a needless poverty in the midst of plenty, they will act quickly and effectively to end this shame upon America. In the course of this effort, the poor will find their own voice and the will to help themselves.

We are come together to challenge the conscience of the nation with the ugly fact of poverty and to move that conscience to an unremitting war against poverty that will help bring the Great Society to its full realization.

THE NATURE OF POVERTY

A Crusade Against Poverty, to be successful, must recognize that the poor cannot be viewed as a single group, all with the same problems, aspirations and objectives. True, the ultimate measure of economic poverty is the absence of material wealth and resources to maintain the necessities of life for self and family. But the reasons for impoverishment are many and varied. An understanding and appreciation of these causes of poverty point the direction to the ways and means which may be utilized to remedy them.

Who then are the thirty-five million poor with whom the Crusade Against Poverty must concern itself?

They are the families of the large number of active breadwinners whose income is too small to provide self and family with their minimum needs.

They are the young, the healthy, the vigorous for whom society has failed to provide job opportunity and who therefore cannot find work.

They are the young unemployed, actively seeking work, who are untrained and cannot fulfill the requirements of jobs that may be available.

They are the old, the disabled, who cannot work because they are not able to.

They are the unfortunate who live in communities whose economic base has withered away and which cannot any longer provide the economic opportunities needed to sustain its population.

They are the discouraged and frustrated who as individuals suffer personal and social problems that add to their feeling of hopelessness and deprive them of that wholesome attitude toward society prerequisite to a sense of belonging and participation.

And underlying the root cause of much of the poverty problem is the ugly scourge of discrimination against minorities.

THE BASIC APPROACH

A comprehensive, coordinated, cooperative program to eliminate poverty must attune itself to the needs of each of these groups of the poor and seek the remedy to the needs of each. Its program, therefore, must be broad based to embrace the vast spectrum of the causes of poverty, yet it must accommodate also the confined problem of the individual. While it places emphasis on the overall economic needs of the nation, it must simultaneously focus its attention on the day to day need of each of the deprived and disadvantaged. It is therefore essential that its effort be directed both at helping to solve broad and overriding problems by complementing and supplementing government programs and at working elbow to elbow with the poor themselves in their desire to vanquish the social ills that beset them.

The fight against poverty must not become merely a well-intentioned social welfare program in which the "haves" do favors for the "have-nots". The poor must be enabled to share in the sense of dignity and belonging that only their personal and active participation in this struggle can provide. Apathy must give way to awakened interest. Frustration must surrender to realizable hope. Disorganized confusion must be fashioned into organized, united effort. Thus the poor will contribute a new and dynamic dimension to the struggle to wipe out poverty.

THE PROGRAM

The Crusade Against Poverty (CAP) is a broad, non-partisan coalition of organizations and individuals dedicated to eradicating poverty from the nation. Its program is as extensive and varied as the many facets of poverty require. Its thrust is twofold. It is educational and catalytic, seeking to inform and to motivate people and organizations both nationally and locally in the task of eliminating poverty. It is also an action coalition, promoting and implementing specific policies and programs on the national scene and on the local and community scene, drawing upon the experience, resources and energies of concerned individuals and organizations to accomplish the tasks and objectives to be undertaken.

There are four broad areas in which CAP will function as it seeks to accomplish its aims and objectives.

A. EDUCATION

Educating the citizens of the nation to comprehend the extent of poverty in America and its effects upon the total of our society is essential to the ultimate goal of eliminating poverty. An educated citizenry will be aroused to take meaningful action in the nation's war against poverty and will help stimulate individual and group participation in activities designed to help rid the country of poverty wherever it exists.

CAP therefore will undertake a comprehensive educational program in the many facets of poverty both on the national level and the local and community level. To this end, CAP will perform the following educational functions:

1. Prepare and distribute background material on the facts of poverty in all its aspects.

2. Prepare and distribute analyses of issues concerning the problems of poverty, including analyses of appropriate legislative proposals. These analyses need not necessarily constitute an official position of CAP, but will be informed analyses circulated in order to stimulate discussion and debate.

3. Generate new ideas and programs in the war against poverty, give them appropriate circulation and devise ways and means to implement them.

4. Act as a clearing house, receiving material from cooperating individuals and organizations and circulating important papers to all other participating individuals and organizations. In this way, each participating individual and organization will have a way of advising others of important activities and programs and will receive noteworthy material prepared by others.

5. Circulate a newsletter describing programs and activities of significance being undertaken nationally and on the community level and describing notable experiences of participating individuals and organizations.

6. Prepare and supply, upon request, analyses of issues relating to specific, meaningful aspects of the poverty problem.

7. Prepare an annual report to the nation, approved by the annual national conference of CAP, assessing progress made, obstacles encountered and the state of the nation's war against poverty.

B. NATIONAL ACTION PROGRAMS

Poverty is equated with unemployment and underemployment, the squalor of slums and inadequate housing, insufficient education, lack of good medical care and a host of other social and economic evils which mean denial and discrimination against those who are the dispossessed and the disinherited. Bold action to repair these evils in our society is necessary on the national level and the community level.

The anti-poverty legislation recently passed by Congress is worthy of universal commendation, but it is only a first step in the long road we must travel before millions of American families are liberated from the tragic plight of poverty.

CAP will develop broader and more comprehensive programs and urge their enactment and implementation at all levels of government as we seek to deal with the total problem of human poverty.

CAP will plan its activities to support and complement governmental programs at the Federal, State and Local levels -- but will develop and carry out its programs and activities at the Federal, State and Local levels independent of the government programs.

Thus CAP will work toward the elimination of unemployment and underemployment, toward the development of urban renewal programs, toward the uplifting of educational accomplishment, in short, toward the alleviation and elimination of the causes and the consequences of poverty.

CAP will set its sights on specific kinds of legislative programs directed toward alleviating poverty and establish Ad Hoc Committees as necessary comprising interested individuals and organizations to support such programs. This will enable those organizations which are free to engage in such activity to participate on this vital level in the fight against poverty.

Thus, organizations will be able to choose the method and type of participation in CAP most suitable to their individual purposes and functions and give needed support to specific programs in which they have an interest and concern.

In certain circumstances, depending upon the legislative nature of the project or program, it may be advantageous that the task be divorced entirely from CAP and that a separate and distinct legislative conference be established as the vehicle for action. This will enable organizations to participate in CAP projects which, for reasons of their own, are unable to participate in legislative activity.

CAP's efforts on the national scene should be directed toward stimulating, initiating and implementing programs and projects which will play a role in reducing and finally eliminating poverty.

C. COMMUNITY ACTIVITY

A successful attack on poverty must concern itself not only with broad national aspects of the problem, but must mobilize as well the resources of the community to undertake specific projects and programs especially designed to meet local problems. For this purpose, plans for direct community action programs must be devised which will engage individuals and organizations in designing and implementing specific tasks on the community level. Such activity serves the twofold purpose of grappling with the causes and the consequences of poverty where they are immediately evident and of involving a broader base of the citizenry in the overall effort of CAP.

To this end, CAP

1. will undertake major projects in carefully chosen areas to stimulate community wide discussion as a prelude to community action.* Through such efforts it will be the aim of CAP to stimulate community action and provide continuing support.

2. CAP, in its work on the community level, will help stimulate, organize, coordinate and give direction to community action projects so that concerned citizens and organizations in every section of the country might be drawn actively into the struggle to wipe out poverty. It will work closely with and help bring together local groups and organizations for this purpose and where possible will provide resource personnel to assist in community action programs.

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* For example, in a given city the Crusade (Conference) staff would meet with cooperating organizations and, with their agreement, organize a major concentration on the poverty issue in that city. The academic social agency and other resources of the city would be tapped to provide documented descriptions of the local poverty problems and to prepare other pertinent materials. Religious organizations and religious leaders would be enlisted to underline the moral issues involved. A major meeting, or a series of meetings involving as broad a base in the community as possible, might be arranged with national figures as featured speakers. The help of the various communications media would be sought in focusing attention and in paving the way for action on local poverty problems.

Community action programs could involve a large and varied number of individual projects relating to the specific and particular problems of the several different groups of the poor. It is important that each project developed be designed to meet a special problem and be structured and administered so that it will achieve its objective.

D. INVOLVEMENT OF THE POOR

It is generally agreed among those in the fight against poverty that breaking through the apathy of the poor themselves and involving them directly in anti-poverty projects is imperative as a key to winning the battle. There are some examples of successful local community organization of the poor in tenants councils, neighborhood associations, self-help groups, etc. But these experiences have been limited in scope and aim and there is therefore need for comprehensive effort to develop new projects, staff them and make them ultimately self-sufficient.

CAP will carry on an organizational educational program aimed at involving the poor, and particularly young people, in self-help activities which are related directly with the problems of poverty. The CAP staff will support such local efforts as long as their purpose and goal is to reduce dependency and deprivation by involving them in activities on their own behalf.

oeiu42aflcio

file

Committee

THEODORE S. WEISS
DINNER COMMITTEE
132 W. 72nd ST., NEW YORK 23, N. Y. • TR 7-2074

DEC 7 1964

December 4, 1964

Dear Friend,

I am pleased to be serving as Chairman of a dinner to be held on January 31, 1965 in honor of City Councilman Theodore S. Weiss.

Ted's first term on the Council is drawing to a close and he will be standing for reelection in 1965. A liberal Democrat, active in the reform movement, he has been an articulate and independent voice for social justice and betterment in our city.

The fight against decontrol of middle income apartments, the battle for a decent minimum wage law for New York City, support of the Board of Education's program for school integration, the effort to create an independent Civilian board to review charges of police abuses, elimination of a meaningless civil defense program, the fight against the increase of the New York City Sales Tax - on these and on countless other issues Ted Weiss has expressed his strong convictions.

His effective advocacy of these causes, however, has gained him much political abuse. It is a foregone conclusion that he will be faced with strong, well financed political opposition in next year's election.

If you believe, as I do, that Ted's reelection to the City Council is important, I invite you to join with me in helping to make this dinner in his honor a success by agreeing to serve as a sponsor.

I would very much appreciate your forwarding the enclosed card to me by return mail.

Sincerely yours,

David Livingston

David Livingston
President, District 65 - RWDSU
AFL-CIO

answ yes

~~Public Relations - Genl~~
Committees - awards

December 7, 1964

Mr. Roger A. Crawford
Graphic Publishing Company
P. O. Box 344
Toledo, Ohio 43601

Dear Mr. Crawford:

Thank you for your letter of November 30, addressed to Mr. Farmer, which has been referred to me.

Mr. Farmer asked me to thank you on his behalf for your choosing to include his biographical sketch in your publication on notable Negroes.

Enclosed you will find a photograph and biographical material.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Staff Associate

NM:lt
Enclosures

Graphic PUBLISHING COMPANY • P.O. BOX 344, TOLEDO, OHIO 43601

DEC 2 1964

November 30, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
CORE
38 Park RW
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer;

We are compiling material for publication about notable Negroes, and are sketching portraits of the subjects selected, from photographs, and combining them with biographical material from newspaper articles, magazines etc. Your biography is among the ones we would be pleased to include in the series.

I would be most grateful if you could furnish us with a photograph and some biographical material that you feel would be helpful for our purpose.

After the series is completed, I will be happy to send you a copy of your drawing, and biographical sketch, along with those of the other notable Negroes selected.

Hoping to hear from you at your earliest convenience, I remain,

Very truly yours,

Roger A. Crawford

Roger A. Crawford

RAC/lb

December 9, 1964

Mr. Cleveland Robinson
Coordinator
Community Committee To Salute
Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
Nobel Peace Prize Winner
312 West 125th Street,
New York 10027 N.Y.C

Dear Mr. Robinson:

Mr. Farmer has asked me to thank you very much for your letter of December 4 and the invitation to participate in the program saluting Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. He will be most pleased to be there, and looks forward to hearing from you further details about the program.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Staff Associate

NM/m

yes

COMMUNITY COMMITTEE TO SALUTE
DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WINNER
On His Return to the United States December 17, 1964

312 West 125th Street, New York, N. Y. 10027
Tel. 666-9123

Chairman
MR. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
Pres. Brotherhood of Sleeping
Car Porters Union, AFL-CIO

Treasurer
MR. JACKIE ROBINSON
Chairman of the Board
Freedom Nat'l Bank

Coordinator
COMM. CLEVELAND ROBINSON
Secretary Treasurer
District 65, AFL-CIO
Tel. OR 3-5120

SPONSORS
(*Partial List*)
Associated Community Teams
AME Ministers Association
Baptist Ministers Conf. of Greater N.Y. and Vic.
Beauty Culturists League State of New York
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL-CIO
Congress of Racial Equality
Guardians Association
Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited—ACT
Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge of F. & A.M. New York State Jurisdiction
N.A.A.C.P.
Nat'l Council of Negro Business and Professional Women
Nat'l Council of Negro Women
Negro American Labor Council
Negro Labor Council
Protestant Council of City of New York (Upper Man.)
The Grand Lodge of the I.B.P.O.E. of W.
The Grand Temple of the I.B.P.O.E. of W.
United Catholic Parishes and Organizations of Harlem
United Council of Harlem Organizations
Uptown Chamber of Commerce
Urban League of Greater N. Y.

December 4, 1964

DEC 7 1964

Mr. James Farmer, Executive Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

It is my honor and privilege on behalf of the sponsors of the community salute to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., to be held at the 369th Regiment Armory, 142nd Street and Fifth Avenue, Thursday evening, December 17th, 1964 at 7:30 P.M. to request that you honor us with your presence and participation in this program.

Among others who will join in honoring Dr. King with their presence and their participation are: Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice President Elect of the U. S., Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, Mayor Robert F. Wagner, Mr. Whitney Young, Jr., Mr. Roy Wilkins, Miss Dorothy Height, Mr. Jackie Robinson, prominent religious leaders of the community and leading artists.

I shall be in touch with you to inform you of further details re; the program.

With my very best regards

Very truly yours,

Cleveland Robinson

Cleveland Robinson
COORDINATOR

CR:ag

P.S. Please address inquiries to
Commissioner Cleveland Robinson
c/o District 65, AFL-CIO
13 Astor Place, New York 3, N. Y.
Oregon 3-5120

357

COMMUNITY COMMITTEE TO SALUTE
DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WINNER
On His Return to the United States December 17, 1964

312 West 125th Street, New York, N. Y. 10027
Tel. 666-9123

DEC 7 1964

Chairman
Mr. A. Philip Randolph
Pres. Brotherhood of Sleeping
Car Porters Union, AFL-CIO

Treasurer
Mr. Jackie Robinson
Chairman of the Board
Freedom Nat'l Bank

Coordinator
Comm. Cleveland Robinson
Secretary Treasurer
District 65, AFL-CIO
Tel. OR 3-5120

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Nat'l Council of Negro Business and Professional Women
Nat'l Council of Negro Women
Negro American Labor Council
Negro Labor Council
Protestant Council of City of New York (Upper Man.)
The Grand Lodge of the I.B.P.O.E. of W.
The Grand Temple of the I.B.P.O.E. of W.
United Catholic Parishes and Organizations of Harlem
United Council of Harlem Organizations
Uptown Chamber of Commerce
Urban League of Greater N. Y.

December 4, 1964

Dear Friend:

In accordance with the unanimous approval of all sponsoring groups of the community, plans for honoring Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. on Thursday, Dec. 17, 1964 are moving ahead satisfactorally.

The salute to Dr. King will take place at the 369th Regiment Armory. The program is scheduled to begin at 7:30 P.M. The leaflets and posters are available at the headquarters set up at 125th St. (see above) Arrangements for publicity are being made and there will be more releases in the days ahead.

The steering committee has been enlarged to include 3 ministers selected from the Baptist Ministers Conference of Greater NY who have endorsed this program wholeheartedly, and have pledged to work for its success. The steering committee's next meeting will be on Monday, Dec. 7th at 4:00 PM at Brother Randolph's headquarters, 217 West 125th Street.

Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey, V.P. elect of the U.S. has definitely agreed to come to the rally and I am sure this is welcome news to all. On Sunday, Dec. 13th we have a radio program on station WLIB at 4:45 P.M. in which Dr. Arthur Logan, Rev. O.Clay Maxwell and I will participate.

A letter to all churches in the community signed by the religious leaders urging all ministers to cooperate has been sent out. All organizations are urged to publicize this event through leaflets, posters, phone calls or other means at their disposal.

Three unions have assured us of a full time person during the coming week, to work out of the 125th Street headquarters, and additional volunteers from organizations will be welcome. These unions are District 65, Local 1199 and Local 144. Brother Overton's Union Local 338 has been kind enough to donate the space for our headquarters.

Please call me on any suggestions you may have relative to the program so that the steering committee can give full consideration to such suggestions at our meetings.

Very truly yours,

Cleveland Robinson

Cleveland Robinson
COORDINATOR

357

CR/b

SALUTE TO

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Nobel Peace Prize Winner

on his return to the United States

THURSDAY DECEMBER 17, 1964

7:30 P.M.

at the

369th REGIMENT ARMORY

142nd ST. & 5th AVENUE, N.Y.C.

PROGRAM WILL INCLUDE

HON. NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER, *Governor of N.Y.*
HON. ROBERT F. WAGNER, *Mayor of the City of N.Y.*
MR. ROY WILKINS, *Exec. Sec. N.A.A.C.P.*
MR. WHITNEY YOUNG, *Exec. Dir. Nat'l Urban League*
REV. WM. E. GARDINER, *Pres. Baptist Ministers Conf. of Greater N.Y. and Vic.*
MISS DOROTHY HEIGHT, *Pres. Nat'l Council of Negro Women*
MR. JAMES FARMER, *Exec. Dir. Congress of Racial Equality*
MR. JOHN LEWIS, *Student Non-Violent Coordinating Comm.*

OUTSTANDING ARTISTS & ENTERTAINMENT

OSSIE DAVIS
RUBY DEE
and many others

CHURCH CHOIRS:

CHAIRMAN, **MR. A. PHILIP RANDOLPH**
Pres. Brotherhood of
Sleeping Car Porters

TREASURER, **MR. JACKIE ROBINSON**
Chairman of the Board
Freedom Nat'l Bank

COORDINATOR, **COMMISSIONER CLEVELAND ROBINSON**
Secretary-Treasurer
District 65
Tel. Oregon 3-5120

SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS

(Partial List)

Associated Community Teams
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Baptist Ministers Conference of Greater N.Y. and Vic.
Beauty Culturists League, State of New York
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL-CIO
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The Grand Temple of the I.B.P.O.E. of W.
United Catholic Parishes and Organizations of Harlem
United Council of Harlem Organizations
Uptown Chamber of Commerce
Urban League of Greater New York

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CALL: SALUTE TO DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
TEL-666-9123 or COORDINATOR

ADMISSION FREE—NO TICKETS REQUIRED—no collection

Committees

Mrs. Leonard Bernstein *Mrs. Ronald Tree*

DEC 14 1964

December 11, 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Mrs. Leonard Bernstein and I hope very much that you will join us as a member of the Honorary Committee for an event of exceptional pleasure and importance. yes

On Saturday evening, January 30, 1965, Shirley Verrett, who is acclaimed by critics as the most exciting mezzo-soprano in a generation, will give a recital at Carnegie Hall for the benefit of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. As you no doubt know, the NCDH and its thirty-seven member organizations have recently embarked on a greatly expanded program to insure good and fair housing for all Americans.

Would you join Felicia Bernstein and me in the State Suite of the Hotel Plaza on Friday afternoon, December 18th, at four o'clock to help make this benefit a success of significance at a time when fair housing -- the root of civil rights -- is in crisis. If you are unable to be with us at that time, won't you lend your name and influence? We hasten to add that this will not involve a time-consuming obligation. A return card is enclosed for your convenience, and we do hope you can make a special effort to come. NO

With all best wishes.

Yours ever,

Marietta Tree

Mrs. Ronald Tree

phoned
mailed
card

P.S. Committee Headquarters is Suite 2836, 52 West 52nd St., New York, N. Y. 10019, COlumbus 5-7460.

Gracie Mansion

December 18, 1964

DEC 21 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer:

It is a source of considerable pride and satisfaction to me as Mayor to participate in the achievements of the New York Shakespeare Festival.

I was particularly gratified last summer to see the stunning effect of the city-wide truck tour of "A Midsummer Night's Dream."

Last season almost 500,000 people -- in Central Park, throughout the five boroughs and in the public schools -- were able to attend productions of the highest calibre without charge.

This impressive work needs our continued support. I hope you will join me and the many others who believe in the program on Tuesday, January 12th, at 4:30 o'clock for a report and discussion of plans for the year 1965. We need your help and look forward to seeing you at Gracie Mansion.

Cordially,

Robert F. Wagner

Mayor

Yes - for committee

file -
committees

December 23, 1964

Mr. Benjamin F. McLaurin
Chairman
Coordinating Council on Education
  for the Disadvantaged
134 West 51st Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ben:

Thank you for your letter of December 8th regarding the Coordinating Council.

As you, I am sure, realize, I am in perfect agreement with the aims of the Council and feel that there is a real need for such a program as you outline. I Appreciate your asking me to become a sponsoring member of the Coordinating Council and will be most happy to do so.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:nm

Miss De

Gordon

Jim - this is Marie Duke's baby.

Yes

GKe

COORDINATING COUNCIL ON EDUCATION FOR THE DISADVANTAGED

~~120 EAST 41ST STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017~~

BENJAMIN F. McLAURIN
CHAIRMAN

581 - 2717

134 West 51st Street
New York, N. Y.

December 8, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
C O R E
38 Park Row
New York, New York

DEC 10 1964

Dear Jim:

President Johnson's vision of a "New Society" requires recognition of the principle that education has now become one of the rights and no longer can be looked upon as a privilege for the wealthy, the gifted, the motivated and competitive amongst our youth. It is for this reason that the Coordinating Council on Education for the Disadvantaged was established, with the aid of Mayor Wagner and the Board of Higher Education.

We find that in other disciplines, especially in the physical sciences, centers of information are operating to help those engaged in work and research in those fields. While our nation spends some $2\frac{1}{2}$ billion dollars a year on research of education for the disadvantaged, coming from funds contributed by individuals, foundations and government agencies, we do not have such a center of information on education. The utilization of this research is not made available to all in the community who are interested in helping with the education of the culturally deprived.

I am enclosing a copy of our program in abbreviated form. It is our aim to set up a cross reference of research and activities in the field of education of the disadvantaged in order to cut down the duplication which has been dramatically illustrated again and again.

As a leader of a significant section of the Civil Rights Movement, I am certain that you would wish to support the CCED and, therefore, take the liberty of asking you to become a Sponsoring Member of the Coordinating Council.

Sincerely yours,

Ben
Chairman

enc

C O P Y

134 West 51st Street
New York, New York 10019

November 25, 1964

Memorandum to Mayor Robert F. Wagner

From: Benjamin F. McLaurin, Chairman, Coordinating Council on Education for the Disadvantaged.

The Coordinating Council on Education for the Disadvantaged is set up to:

1. a) Collect and collate all research, published and unpublished, on education of the disadvantaged. Intensive and continuing search of the literature, classification of findings into an electronic retrieval system will make data readily available.

   b) Establish a clearing house for experimental and on-going projects and list and describe activities of all educational, counseling, and training facilities.

   c) A service to disseminate expeditiously available information to meet specific needs of agencies. Issue functional reports and a bulletin for immediate information and use.

2. A research committee of a small permanent nuclear staff, supplemented by a more extensive roster of consultants drawn from responsible sources and disciplines, to analyze materials and publications relating to the education of the disadvantaged.

3. An advisory committee of agency directors (or representatives) of programs related to education of the disadvantaged to consider common problems, directions and needs.

4. Program development unit to help set up designs for new, effective programs.

5. An evaluation department available on request to projects concerned with education of the disadvantaged.

6. List of Agencies and a picture of what is going on in New York City.

Committees

6 January, 1965

Mrs. Louise Ansberry
Ruder & Finn Incorporated
130 East 59th Street
New York 22, N.Y.C.

Dear Mrs. Ansberry:

As I mentioned in our telephone conversation the other day, Mr. Farmer asked me to reply to your letter of December 21, since he did not have time to do so personally before leaving for Africa.

He asked me to thank you on his behalf for asking him to become a member of your Board of Directors, and will be most happy to do so.

Unfortunately, we know of noome to suggest for you to contact at Mobilization for Youth.

Mr. Farmer asked me to relay to you his very best wishes for the coming year.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Staff Associate

NM/m

yes

R&F
RUDER & FINN
INCORPORATED

DEC 24 1964

December 21, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Jim,

Enjoyed tremendously having you and your wife for dinner the other night.

However, we never did get a chance to talk about the Sciences and Arts Camps. Attached is some literature concerning this. As you know, our long range plans are to establish camps not only in the Middle West and Far West but also in foreign countries such as Japan, France, India and Africa. Thus the intellectually and artisticly gifted across the world will have a familiarity with each others' inspirations, aspirations and cultures. We hope this will develop a deeper understanding and thus a greater chance of world peace in the years to come.

Would you like to be a member of our Board of Directors? We're now adding some names to our Board members, and I've been asked to determine if you'd like to officially become a member. You wouldn't have to particularly attend any meetings, but I'd like to be able to call on you for help from time to time.

Do you think that you could be any help to us in telling me the best person to talk to of the Mobilization for Youth to see if they would like to provide any money for scholarships? Also, perhaps you may know some people to whom such scholarships could be given.

Can we get together and talk about this?

With warm regards,

Timmie

Mrs. Louise S. Ansberry

A very Merry Christmas to you and your wife and a new year of great achievement—

LSA:dg

enc.

130 EAST FIFTY-NINTH STREET, N. Y. 22, N. Y. TELEPHONE 212 PL 9-1800 CABLE RUDERFINN

THE SAAC STORY: A NEW APPROACH TO EDUCATING THE GIFTED

THE PROBLEM

A nation's talented and gifted children are likely to become its leaders. The nation, therefore, has a special stake in their education.

Our education system serves the majority of children, and cannot always discharge its responsibilities to the above-average pupil. Some school districts have begun to offer summer activities to supplement the regular curriculum, but they are usually half-day programs that concentrate either on recreation or academic subjects -- almost never both. Most summer school activities are open to all school children, and do not necessarily serve the special needs of the gifted.

Without duplicating on-going school programs, Sciences and Arts Camps, Inc. (SAAC) was organized to meet five basic needs of gifted children beginning at an early age: continuous intellectual and creative stimulation; exposure to exceptional teachers; out-of-school opportunities to associate with children like themselves in a non-competitive environment; athletic programs that permit both individual and group play; and training in social responsibility for the realization of their leadership potential. SAAC's framework for fulfilling these needs is a growing chain of summer camps, and out-of-school, year-round, follow-up enrichment programs.

SAAC'S BEGINNINGS

The SAAC idea was conceived by Hertzel Fishman, a Greenwich, Conn. clergyman and college political science instructor. In 1959, he and four other Greenwich residents incorporated Sciences and Arts Camps in the State of Connecticut as a non-profit organization. The four other incorporators were James A. Linen, President of Time Magazine, John L. Burns, President of RCA, Bud Collyer, President of AFTRA, and Samuel F. Pryor, Vice-President of Pan-American World Airways. At first they hoped that education foundations and corporations would underwrite a residence camp, but the SAAC idea had not been tested in practice, so a day camp pilot program for 1960 seemed wiser. This program set the pattern for all subsequent SAAC day camps.

After the federal government had granted a tax-exempt status to SAAC, school superintendents in seven Fairfield County (Conn.) townships helped form local committees to conduct a program of public relations. The school authorities mimeographed letters to parents of children in grades 3 - 7, informing them of the SAAC project. Their offices were used as SAAC's local mailing address. They urged their Boards of Education to lease school equipment to SAAC for the summer. They approved a local educator to direct the program. The Board of Education in Darien, Connecticut, geographical center of the participating communities, leased to SAAC, at the standard rental fee, the facilities of its new 30-acre high school for six weeks.

The camp director, and two educational consultants, chose the senior staff members and the junior counselors with great care. They interviewed all applicants at length. The master counselors' remuneration for the six-week program was at least 10% of their annual school salary. The junior counselors were honor collegians whose main function was to assist master counselors, leading song fests, debates, chess tournaments, drama performances, camp fires, square dances, sports, and indoor games on rainy days. Several helped in science, art and with the camp newspaper.

Parents who thought their children might qualify, wrote to the local SAAC Committee for applications, which they completed and returned to SAAC headquarters. Applicants' school principals were then requested by SAAC to complete a confidential evaluation regarding the applicant. The information on this form was the basis for SAAC's acceptance or rejection of candidates. No unauthorized person had access to a child's records.

Acceptance into the SAAC program was based on: an IQ score of at least 120, reading and arithmetic achievement two years above grade level, and teacher recommendations. Children with IQ's slightly below the cutoff point who had shown remarkable leadership qualities, high academic achievement or outstanding creativity were also enrolled. Several high IQ applicants were "underachievers."

The first summer's budget was met only partially by campers' fees, with the deficit covered by contributions and loans. As a result of local committee and other fund raising efforts, SAAC granted scholarship assistance to qualified children from low income families, and no eligible child was denied enrollment for need of such help.

THE PROGRAM

The campers were fascinated by the exciting teachers and new vistas of learning. Each group was exposed to all subjects in the core program: science, humanities, art, music and physical education. During the 50-minute "free periods", campers could participate in any constructive activity they chose. They might work on individual projects, play tennis or team games, play the piano, enter a chess or ping pong tournament, or return to any counselor for additional guidance in a chosen subject.

"Freedom" was the key to the SAAC program. With staff guidance, campers could select individual projects, choose from a variety of supervised non-core activities, (e.g. math, foreign area studies) or drop one subject to intensify study in another. The program's emphasis on the individual camper enabled each child to develop and progress at his own rate.

The science program was conducted by two exceptionally gifted counselors, who travelled an hour each day to get to camp. More than 100 individual science projects, primarily in the biological sciences, ranging from junior high school to early college level, were carried out during the summer. (The following summer, the science program was planned around cancer research, with the cooperation of the Sloan-Kettering Institute.)

A new language experience -- Russian -- was presented informally to many campers through folklore, songs and newspapers. The athletics program emphasized individual non-competitive sports like archery, Swedish gymnastics and trampoline exercises. (Many parents went out their way to congratulate SAAC on this aspect of the program, for they noted a new physical and psychological self assurance in their children.) In the mathematics program, the children could discover and develop, on their own, concepts in geometry, algebra and topology, and build computers.

The humanties program included an evaluation of southern and northern journalism on the race question, and debates on America's national purpose. (The next summer featured an exciting study of Plato's political ideas.) There was a 30-camper orchestra and an enthusiastic choral group. Children learned themes from classic orchestral and operatic music, often writing words to accompany them.

Many children possessed exceptional abstract reasoning power, but their great store of facts also included misinformation. Instructors challenged the campers and encouraged them to define terms used in their unusually large vocabularies.

Other facets of the program included weekly cook-outs, song fests, folk dancing, plays, stamp exhibits, chess and tennis tournaments, nature hikes, sketching trips and unusual films.

Teachers were eager to perform any duty assigned them, participating in frequent counselors' meetings and taking on chores beyond the call of duty. Their enthusiasm about the project was reflected in the delight and high spirits of the children. Parents were given an opportunity to see the camp in operation and meet with the counselor staff to discuss their children's progress. The parents' reactions to the project were exuberant. A well known psychiatrist wrote: "J had a wonderful summer and cannot wait to return. It was his first encounter with truly superior teachers. An unexpected dividend was the physical education program, probably because it was so individualized and non-competitive. He basked in the association of others with interests like his own. He matured both intellectually and socially."

An art director said that "P's great love, of course, was the science labs. What we did not expect was the new articulateness and qualities of leadership that he is displaying at school. We think SAAC encouraged him to think on his feet and express himself with confidence. The friendships made at SAAC would have justified the camp experience if nothing else had."

And a school teacher concurred: "The fact that our children wanted to go back to SAAC is an indication to us that learning as a summer experience can be enjoyed as much as loafing. Sending two children to SAAC comes as no small hardship to us, as a teacher's salary and five small children might well indicate. This gives added meaning to the importance we attach to SAAC."

THE AFTERMATH

Enthusiastic comments of school superintendents who visited the project were echoed in articles by education and free-lance writers in leading periodicals:

The New York Times: "SAAC aims at releasing the brake instead of applying the pressure...The camp gives the young gifted space to play and a challenge to learn."

TIME Magazine: "Whatever happened to summer boredom? ... SAAC gives youngsters an early taste in many fields so that later they can channel themselves more effectively."

The Christian Science Monitor: "SAAC is dedicated to cultivating the pursuit of excellence in bright youngsters, and imbuing them with the values and skills necessary for enlightened leadership in a democratic society."

After the camp season, SAAC began a fall follow-up program designed to add new facets to the campers' experience. These follow-up activities were led by competent local professionals who volunteered to lead small groups of campers, on weekends or during evening hours. Beginning in October, a dozen scientists conducted weekend sessions at the Stamford, Conn. laboratories of the American Cyanamid Company. Five volunteer physicians led sessions on aspects of medicine at two nearby hospitals. Children attended Russian and art classes all winter. A United Nations official conducted a course on underdeveloped countries, and a lawyer led a group of campers in aspects of American jurisprudence.

In at least two broad areas -- learning and character development -- the pilot experience yielded gratifying results. Teachers and parents noted a new zest for learning when the campers returned to school. The alleged danger of boredom never materialized, for the SAAC program had not duplicated the regular school curriculum. To SAAC campers, education began to take on a new and exciting meaning. It began to inspire a genuine love for learning without the motivation of high grades or teacher's approval. SAAC has succeeded in opening new sources of satisfaction, particularly for youngsters who had been "blocked" in subjects like mathematics, poetry or athletics.

The first summer's SAAC experience also had its effect on the children's behavior. At camp they respected each other, supported the performance of their newly-made friends, and went out of their way to congratulate them for outstanding work. Many a parent told SAAC that a child who had been a braggart, a snob, or intolerant of others behaved infinitely more generously to his brothers and sisters and classmates after the camp season. It is fair to suggest that the simple confrontation with children "as good as" themselves or perhaps "better", gave bright youngsters a truer personal perspective and increased their sensitivity to differences and to an appreciation of "giftedness" on many levels.

EXPANSION AND DEVELOPMENT

SAAC's founders realized that success depended not only on the moral support of local school systems and parent approval, but also on financial help. They now believed that the pilot day camp unit would attract the attention it deserved. They were not wrong.

The Carnegie Corporation of New York, long interested in educational experimentation, dispatched two of its representatives to learn about the program at first hand. After a series of negotiations, a three-year administrative award totalling $120,000, was granted to SAAC, beginning June 1961. The grant's purpose was explicit: to establish SAAC units throughout the country.

SAAC's Board of Trustees, headed by Robert B. Anderson, former U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, invited Hertzel Fishman to assume the full time position as president of the organization and authorized the establishment of a central office and recruitment of a small staff in New York City. In the summer of 1961 SAAC operated three day camps, in 1962 nine units, and in 1963 fourteen units in four states. To assist in the educational development of the program, SAAC engaged for two years the consultation services of specialists in gifted child studies.

In 1962 SAAC operated its first residence camp for youngsters ages 10 - 17. At this camp in Massachusetts, more than 30 subjects were offered. Though a youngster could use his "free" periods for more intensive study of a preferred subject, he was expected to participate in a balanced program of science, humanities, music, arts, sports and swimming. Under guidance, each camper formulated his own schedule. The more mature the camper, the greater his freedom to follow a particular interest. Only at mealtimes, at "general swim," during hikes, at evening activities and at rest periods did the cabin meet as a group. The broad range of intellectual and creative activities included great literature, philosophy, history, economics, political science, biology, chemistry, mathematics, fine arts, dance, drama, journalism, orchestra, chorus, swimming, and a wide variety of sports.

The camp was a beehive of activity. A continuous interchange of ideas at seminars and workshops centered on major current issues, on ideals and values and great books. On any day one might find the orchestra playing Mozart or the chorus singing Bach, young campers studying symbolic logic or John Stuart Mills' "On Liberty," or rehearsing "A Midsummer Night's Dream." Campers produced original plays and songs for their social evenings, and participated in an exciting three-day film festival on social and political issues. There was always a chess or bridge tournament going on, periodic tennis tournaments and swimming meets, trips to Tanglewood, Jacob's Pillow, an atomic energy plant, museums, universities, jazz and folk music festivals. The Rocketry Association executed a series of launchings from a camper-constructed site, and ham radio enthusiasts were continually active. The children published a literary magazine, a camp newspaper and a satirical weekly. The rich natural resources of the camp provided opportunities for trail blazing, over-night camping, and ecological, geological and conservation studies. Campers' parents were invited to participate in the weekend program: a distinguished physician explained the use of radio isotopes in medicine, a famous musician gave a bassoon concert, and another parent, who is on the United Nations staff, gave a lecture series on Chinese culture.

SAAC's original faith in a residence camp project was eminently justified, especially in the growth of the campers' personalities. The camp's slogan, "Freedom in Responsibility," left its mark. Living with children from many different geographical, social and religious backgrounds and working with a high-caliber staff from widely differing educational institutions, campers learned to respect, and even admire, their differences. The experience away from home gave many of them their first taste of the joys, challenges and responsibilities of independence. It was easier to mature because they found warm friends among individualists like themselves.

In 1964 SAAC opened its second residence camp at Port Ewen, New York, overlooking the Hudson River (outside of Kingston, New York). This camp enrolls eligible campers for a full eight-week season while the Massachusetts camp gears its program to campers enrolled for four-week seasons. SAAC's new camp was presented to a nationwide audience on NBC's Huntley-Brinkley program.

As SAAC residence camps spread to other parts of the country and abroad, SAAC campers will have the unusual opportunity, beginning in their early teenage years, to meet their counterparts in other societies, and join them in a broad fellowship of responsible youth, dedicated to selfless service and enlightened leadership in a free world.

EDUCATIONAL PROSPECTS

The SAAC experience can vitally affect the following areas:

A. Values: It is easier to articulate pedagogical goals than to teach them -- independence of mind, acceptance of differences, self-criticism, learning for its own sake, relating the various intellectual disciplines to each other, the quest for truth, a broad perspective on world problems, civic virtue, service to society, personal integrity, compassion, freedom in responsibility -- to name several attitudes and ideals SAAC wants campers to adopt and commit themselves to. They are not easy to assimilate to a child's personality. Lectures and discussions are not sufficient, but an environment where these values are deliberately fostered and respected will help. Children learn from example, by emulation, trial and error, daily practice, kindly criticism. To be influenced by a great teacher at an early age, to cultivate the art of inquiry into scientific and human problems, to develop new skills and aptitudes, to practice responsible self-government in an atmosphere of freedom -- all these experiences can deeply affect a child's personality and character.

B. Broadening Horizons: At SAAC, gifted children and exceptional teachers from varied backgrounds break through provincialism, snobbery and parochialism. For the first time in their lives, perhaps, children from rural areas meet city children with the same interests as theirs, to the profit of both. Campers from different economic and social strata become friends and gain invaluable perspective. SAAC is now also sponsoring two 4-week programs each summer at one of its sleep-away camps to enable more eligible children to attend.

C. Integration: It is of enormous value for bright white and Negro children to live in the same summer cabin and be exposed to each other's outlook on life. SAAC's experience underscores the benefits to bright Negro children who can be brought into the program at an early age and kept in it through early adulthood. If there is to be real integration that transcends even political justice, it must begin early enough in the life of a Negro child, in order to give him a sense of personal worth, to make him believe in his prospects for self-fulfillment and a share in the responsibilities and privileges of society. The SAAC experience can prepare him for genuine school integration. In particular, SAAC can help train future Negro leaders and teachers to accelerate the advance of their race, and to establish a harmonious relationship with the white citizenry of the world.

D. Teacher Training: Experienced or prospective teachers can participate in an ideal in-service training program by serving as cabin counselors to gifted children and assistants to recognized master teachers in the various disciplines. When teachers return to their regular classrooms, they will be in a far better position to deal adequately with the gifted or creative pupil, having learned at close quarters how he functions. Teacher training colleges could benefit greatly from the SAAC laboratory, where the high level of learning inspires higher standards for teaching. In addition, SAAC allows for curriculum experimentation, research in the process of learning, in the nature of giftedness, in character training and leadership development.

E. International Understanding: SAAC believes that one way to promote better understanding among nations is to help their future leaders establish early friendship ties. To understand and interpret for others the national characteristics of peoples is of great value to long range foreign policy and international cooperation. A worldwide network of SAAC residence camps where gifted children from the host nation and other nations will be exposed to the SAAC program, and to each other, is likely to contribute to the strength of the free world.

SAAC'S BOARD OF TRUSTEES

SAAC's national officers currently (1964) include: Robert B. Anderson, former U. S. Secretary of the Treasury, Board Chairman; Hertzel Fishman, President; and Clayton Bud Collyer, Treasurer. Allen O. Felix and Daniel Greenberg head SAAC's standing committee on educational policy. Dr. Felix, formerly on the faculty of Teacher's College, Columbia University, is presently Director of Education, New York Stock Exchange. Dr. Greenberg has served in the Departments of Physics, and of History, at Columbia University, and is also Consulting Editor to Ginn & Co. Other Board members include: Louise Ansberry, Ruder & Finn; James C. Hagerty, American Broadcasting Co.; Leo Kornfeld, Cresap, McCormick & Paget; Robert H. Mallot, F.M.C. Corporation; Stuart Marks, Kaye, Scholer, Fierman, Hays & Handler; Lawrence S. Munson, McKinsey & Company; Samuel F. Pryor, Jr., Davis, Polk, Wardwell, Sunderland & Kiendl; and Marjorie Sorensen, New York, N. Y.

Sciences and Arts Camps, Inc. (SAAC)   48 West 48th St.   New York 36, N. Y.   CIrcle 5-3582
SAAC is a non-profit educational organization, launched with the assistance of the Carnegie Foundation

REFORM JEWISH APPEAL

Annual Award Dinner

HONORING

HON. ARTHUR LEVITT • FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN

(American Judaism Award) *(Humanitarian Award)*

838 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 • REGENT 7-8200

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RABBI NELSON GLUECK

(Committee in formation)

check ?

JAN 21 1965

January 19, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am happy to have received your acceptance to serve on the Committee for the Annual Award Dinner at which time we will honor the Honorable Arthur Levitt and His Eminence, Francis Cardinal Spellman.

The first meeting of the Committee will be held on Tuesday, February 9th at 12:15 P.M. at the Hemisphere Club, Time and Life Building. Needless to say, this will be an important meeting at which time we will discuss ways and means of assuring a successful affair with maximum attendance.

I look forward to greeting you on February 9 and to be able to avail myself of your ideas and cooperation.

Cordially yours,

Lester Avnet

Lester Avnet
Chairman

— said you were busy

LA:dd

Saturday evening, March 27, 1965 – Hotel Waldorf-Astoria

Committees

REFORM JEWISH APPEAL

Annual Award Dinner

HONORING

HON. ARTHUR LEVITT • FRANCIS CARDINAL SPELLMAN

(American Judaism Award) *(Humanitarian Award)*

838 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 • REGENT 7-8200

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PRESIDENT
HEBREW UNION COLLEGE-
JEWISH INSTITUTE
OF RELIGION
RABBI NELSON GLUECK

(Committee in formation)

January 11, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

JAN 13 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

A noteworthy event will take place on Saturday evening, March 27, 1965, at the Hotel Waldorf Astoria when the Reform Jewish Appeal Annual Award Dinner will honor Col. Arthur Levitt, Comptroller of the State of New York, and his Eminence, Francis Cardinal Spellman.

Col. Levitt will receive the American Judaism Award for his splendid service both as a State official and as a private citizen to the people of our community.

His Eminence, Cardinal Spellman, will be presented with the Humanitarian Award for consecrated endeavors throughout the world and for notably advancing the humane ideals that animate both Christianity and Judaism.

In the era of the historic Ecumenical sessions at which brotherhood and the cooperation between our great faiths were key themes, our Award dinner holds extraordinary significance.

This testimonial dinner will be $100 per plate, with proceeds to go to the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, with no fund raising at the function itself.

We are now in the process of formulating a committee of prominent and influential citizens of all faiths who recognize the extraordinary importance of this occasion. I sincerely hope that you will join this committee and fill out the enclosed card, indicating your acceptance, so that we can proceed with plans for the invitations and publicity.

I look forward to a favorable reply from you.

Cordially yours,

Lester Avnet

LA:al
enc.

Lester Avnet
Chairman

file
Committees

NEW YORK FRIENDS GROUP, INC.

A non-profit organization for the furtherance of charitable concerns in accordance with the purposes and ideals of the Society of Friends

218 EAST 18TH STREET NEW YORK 3, N. Y. CANAL 8-2470

FEB 9 1965

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Executive Secretary and Director of the New York Peace Information Center

GEORGE WILLOUGHBY
Director, Training Development Program

CAROL MORGANSTERN
Administrative Assistant

8 February 1965

James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear James Farmer,

I am very sorry that you were unable to attend the January 21st meeting of the Gandhi Centenary Preparatory Committee. However, I am enclosing a copy of the minutes of that meeting.

We are verypleased that you are willing to serve as a member of this committee and will see that you receive notice of the next meeting. In the meantime, we would welcome any suggestions you have for appropriate projects which might be undertaken as part of the centenary observances here in the United States.

Sincerely yours,

George Willoughby

George Willoughby

GW:dbm

MINUTES OF MEETING
Gandhi Centenary Preparatory Committee
Held at 218 East 18th Street, New York City
Thursday, January 21, 1965

PRESENT: Charles Bloomstein, James Bristol, Amiya Chakravarty, Ross Flanagan, Robert Gilmore, George Houser, Homer Jack, A. J. Muste, William Stuart Nelson, George Willoughby

REGRETS: James Farmer, Jerome Frank, Donald Harrington, Nat Hentoff, Martin Luther King, Stewart Meacham, Emily Parker Simon, Norman Thomas

REPORT ON NEW COMMITTEE MEMBERS: The secretary reported that written invitations to serve on the Centenary Committee had been extended to the list of names approved at the June 1964 meeting. Accepting membership on the Committee and able to be present today are: Charles Bloomstein, Ross Flanagan, and George Houser. Accepting membership on the Committee but unable to be present at this meeting are: James Farmer, Jerome Frank, Donald Harrington, Nat Hentoff, Mildred Scott Olmsted, Emily Parker Simon, and Norman Thomas. Gordon Allport regretted that he could not take any active part in the Committee. Lawrence Apsey declined. No replies have come from George Lakey, Lawrence Scott, Mulford Sibley, and Harold Taylor.

DISCUSSION ON POSSIBLE PROJECTS: The discussion was opened with a review of proposals presented at the June meeting. Two new ideas submitted by letter from Emily Parker Simon were read: (1) creative consideration of the use of nonviolence in international conflict; (2) consideration of ways to train the police in the use of nonviolence in such conflict situations as race, labor, and other types of civil strife.

Homer Jack proposed that the Centenary Committee organize and sponsor a visit to India of a delegation of Americans selected from peace and civil rights groups. The objective of the visit would be to meet with Gandhians and non-Gandhians interested in peace; to report on the work in the American peace and civil rights efforts; to explore Indian ideas on peace and nonviolence; and to challenge Gandhians and other Indians to a new vision of the role of nonviolence in relation to India's foreign policies and the development of world peace. Amiya Chakravarty, James Bristol, and George Willoughby commented favorably upon the proposal. The Committee asked Homer Jack to draft a written proposal which would be circulated to all members of the Centenary Committee.

A. J. Muste suggested that if the project is to be of significance the visiting delegation should deal with such specific questions as the present proposal for India to manufacture nuclear bombs. Homer Jack stated that he saw his proposal as an interim project for 1966 or 1967, and A. J. Muste's suggestion as a separate project to be undertaken at once. He suggested a delegation of three or four American peace leaders be sent to India to express our concern to Indian leaders in and out of the Gandhian movement over the growing pressure for India to acquire nuclear bombs.

After further discussion on this latter proposal, there was general agreement that this project should be sponsored by the peace organizations. It was suggested that A. J. Muste consult with J. P. Narayan for his reactions to this proposal.

Some concern was expressed over the difficulty of attempting to plan projects so far in advance of 1969, when no one knew whether the idea of nonviolence would even be relevant then. At the same time, the group recognized an obligation to develop some fitting observance of Gandhi's centenary, whether nonviolence was relevant in 1969 or not.

It was agreed that as quickly as possible the Committee should issue a call to all possible interested groups, soliciting ideas for observance of the centenary; and that a "Selection

Committee" be appointed to review all suggestions received and submit its recommendations to the Preparatory Committee. It was suggested that as much as one year might be needed in which to select suitable projects.

Ross Flanagan thought that the Committee should search for possibilities of engaging in some actual witness projects based on Gandhian ideas in some tension spot of the world; such would be more appropriate to the memory of Gandhi, he thought, than sponsoring a conference or seminar.

WHAT IS THE JOB OF THIS COMMITTEE? After lengthy discussion, the Committee agreed that its function should be limited to stimulating interest in the United States in appropriate observances of the centenary anniversary of Gandhi's birth, and in coordinating the various projects and observances sponsored by the many groups interested in Gandhi's ideas. It was suggested that the U.S. Centenary Committee should not itself sponsor more than one or two major projects in its own name, or become involved in any project not directly related to the Gandhi Centenary.

The Secretary was requested to write to the Gandhi Peace Foundation in India to establish direct contact with the Indian committee planning for the centenary observances; inform them of the steps taken by this Preparatory Committee to organize and plan some appropriate observances; and to request recognition of this Committee as its affiliate in the United States.

It was also agreed that we suggest to our friends in India that a World Centenary Committee be established to encourage the formation of national committees wherever there is any interest; to coordinate their activities; and to serve as an information center. It was also agreed that we suggest that the world committee explore the possibility of an appropriate project that would relate to South Africa because of Gandhi's work there long ago and because a South Africa committee to observe Gandhi's centenary is not likely to develop.

SECRETARIAT: It was agreed to request New York Friends Group, Inc., to provide the Secretariat for the Centenial Committee, which would include use of the New York City address, office space, and such secretarial help and services needed by the Committee. The Centenary Committee expects to meet the costs of its program. George Willoughby was asked to continue as secretary.

FUND RAISING: It was agreed that efforts to secure foundation support to help launch the Committee's work should be initiated after the Committee's status has been established with the India Committee.

NEXT MEETING: On call of the Secretary.

Recorded by
George Willoughby

Committees

ETA OMEGA OMEGA CHAPTER
ALPHA KAPPA ALPHA SORORITY

Mrs. Nearline B. Bertin
Mrs. Gwendolyn B. Bland
Miss Thora Dudley
Miss Jacqueline Everette
Mrs. Olga Garrett
Mrs. Mary O. Hope
Mrs. Bessie M. Johnson
Mrs. Mae T. Jones
Mrs. Delores Lemon
Mrs. Marietta J. Tanner
Mrs. Joan Silvey
Mrs. Gladys Simms
Mrs. Irma Wilson

KIVIE KAPLAN TESTIMONIAL LUNCHEON

FEB 15 1965

no

February 9, 1965

Dear Friend:

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Will you please help us sponsor this testimonial luncheon in honor of Mr. Kaplan to express our appreciation for his great contribution in the field of human relations.

May we expect your check by March 15, 1965 so that your name can be listed as a sponsor?

Sincerely yours,
Olga Garrett
Olga Garrett, President

Mary O. Hope, Luncheon Chairman

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- -

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KIVIE KAPLAN, National Chairman

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SATURDAY, MAY 22, 1965

at the CONCOURSE PLAZA HOTEL, BRONX

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file - committees

League for Industrial Democracy

112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y.   ALgonquin 4-5865

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**executive committee member*

Marvin - shall I say yes to this?

February 16, 1965

please return.

FEB 17 1965

Yes!

James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Jim:

The League for Industrial Democracy is initiating a fall Conference on National Economic Planning.

Without such planning, we seriously doubt that the nation can redeem its present pledges: to abolish poverty; provide first class economic, social and political citizenship to the minorities; and to create a Great Society in a time of automation and urban crisis. And yet, a good number of Americans still confuse planning with Communist totalitarianism, and even many of those who are aware of the European planning experience are vague as to what it has meant and how it might apply to the United States.

There has to be an intellectual breakthrough to get the issue of planning on the nation's political agenda. However, a simple exercise in scholarship is not enough. The European experience and the American potential for planning must be defined in terms of our movements for social change. Thus, we believe that the imaginative recruitment of an audience of trade unionists, civil rights and peace activists, open-minded business men, and the like, is as important to our enterprise as the careful selection of scholars and planning practitioners as speakers and as panelists.

We are anxious that the Conference attract the widest possible support. Accordingly, we are asking a number of prominent citizens to join the broad based Ad Hoc Committee which will sponsor the Conference. Membership on this Committee does not commit you to any substantive position on planning, but only to the proposition that the subject should be intelligently discussed. The LID, a sixty year old tax-exempt organization, seeks to act as initiator and administrative center for the Conference, but to be only one among many organizations which will sponsor and direct it.

Enclosed is a tentative outline for the proposed Conference. I hope you will share our enthusiasm for this project and indicate on the enclosed card your willingness to join this sponsoring committee.

Sincerely,

Mike

MICHAEL HARRINGTON
Chairman of the Board

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encl.

P.S. You will be interested to know that we have already received enthusiastic reactions from Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Ralph Helstein, Robert Heilbroner, Bayard Rustin, Jack Conway, and others.

CONFERENCE ON NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLANNING

I. Purpose: To help supply the labor, civil rights and other reform movements concerned with social and economic problems with the information they need to increase their understanding of the possibilities and problems of developing national economic planning in America.

There has recently been a growing interest in economic planning among these movements and, with that, an increased need for information on which to base discussion of planning:

> At its last convention, the AFL-CIO adopted the position that economic planning was essential to economic and social justice in an age of automation.
>
> The civil rights movement is coming to the conclusion that its goals of freedom and equality cannot be achieved unless poverty, unemployment, and the long accumulated neglect of social needs in America are overcome.
>
> Organizations concerned with lowering the risks of nuclear annihilation inherent in the arms race look to economic planning to make possible a shift in resources to peacetime uses without the kind of dislocations which create a stake in preserving the military-industrial complex.
>
> Groups concerned with the failure to cope with the hugh deficits and the new problems in the areas of education, housing, city planning, health, etc. are coming to realize that the needs on which they focus are not likely to be met except in the context of economic planning.
>
> Some responsible business leaders are recognizing that 19th century attitudes to economic policy are an obstacle to coping with 20th century problems.

There is a growing realization among all these groups that the various particular problems with which they are concerned are related to each other and that their solutions require allocations of resources which cannot be achieved in the absence of long-term and co-ordinated public policies which require the framework of economic planning.

The conference on planning is intended to be a first step in a sustained series of efforts to respond to this interest in planning and to provide a context for informed debate.

II. Procedure

A. The conference will be in the fall of 1965 in New York City. The proposed format is attached.

B. Papers: In order to provide conference participants with a point of departure in a common fund of information, approximately twenty expert papers will be solicited and distributed in advance of the conference.

C. A selection of these papers and the major conference addresses will be published as a pamphlet by the LID for wide national distribution. It is expected that this material, in more detailed form, will be published as a book.

D. It is hoped that one result of the conference would be the establishment of permanent study groups to explore in depth problem areas defined by the conference, to develop further literature, and plan subsequent meetings and conferences.

III. Sponsorship: The conference will be organized by an ad hoc committee, chaired by Michael Harrington, and representing a broad range of labor, civil rights, liberal, civic and other organizations. Sponsorship would not imply organizational commitment to national economic planning, only to the need for public discussion of the issue.

It is proposed that the League for Industrial Democracy, initiator of the conference proposal, should serve as the administrative center. As a tax-exempt, educational organization, the LID can receive foundation grants.

IV. Finances:

A. It is estimated that thirty thousand dollars ($30,000) will be required to finance the conference and resource papers:

1.	Conference coordinator (salary)	$ 2,500.
2.	Secretary (salary)	1,500.
3.	Transportation (trans Atlantic and domestic) and accommodations	10,500.
4.	Honoraria	5,000.
5.	Direct conference expenses and services	2,000.
6.	Supplies and overhead	3,000.
		$ 30,000

B. As a result of informal discussions in Washington, we are in a position to expect ten thousand dollars ($10,000) from the labor movement toward meeting conferences.expenses. A contribution from Andrew E. Norman has already been received. The remainder of the budget will be sought from foundations.

Outline for a Conference on

DEMOCRATIC PLANNING FOR AMERICA

FRIDAY

6:00 P.M. Registration and Final Distribution of Papers

Dinner: "Planning for Social Justice"

Presiding: Michael Harrington, Chairman of the Board, League for Industrial Democracy; author of The Other America

Speakers: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 1964 Nobel Peace Prize winner

Walter P. Reuther, President, United Automobile Workers of America, AFL-CIO

SATURDAY

9:30-12:30 Session #1: "Planning and America's Unmet Social Needs"

How have economic policies failed to meet social needs? How can investment be directed to creating employment for "surplus" labor skills, to needy georgaphical areas, and into low-cost housing, education, mass transit, etc.? What are the techniques that can accomplish these ends -- taxes, banking regulations, loans, subsidies, training, indirect and direct controls over location, quantity, price, wages. etc.

Speakers: Leon H. Keyserling, Conference on Economic Progress

Robert Heilbroner, author of The Making of Economic Society

Discussants: Nat Goldfinger, Director of Research, AFL-CIO

Emanuel Piore, Vice-President, IBM

Robert Lekachman, Professor of Economics, Barnard College

12:30-2:00 Lunch: "The Relevance of the European Experience to American Society"

Speaker: Gunnar Myrdal, author of Challenge to Affluence

2:00--430 Session # 2: "Democratic Planning -- the European Experience"

How do the European models converge and differ in priorities and techniques; the relation between government controls and the markets; the roles of business and labor? What scope is allowed for social and individual choice? What is the role of political democracy? What are the problems and directions of development in European planning?

Speakers: Pierre Mendes-France*, economist and former Premier of France
Thomas Balogh*, economist, Oxford University; advisor to British Labour Government

Discussants: John Sheahan, author of *Promotion and Control of Industry in Postwar France*; Professor of Economics, Williams College
Representative from President's Council of Economic Advisors
Ben Seligman, Director of Education and Research, Retail Clerks International Association, AFL-CIO

4:30-6:00 P.M. **Cocktails** (informal discussion)

6:00-7:30 P.M. **Dinner**: "Labor's Stake in Democratic Planning"

Speaker: George Meany, President, AFL-CIO

SUNDAY

2:00-4:00 PM **Session # 3**: "Planning in America -- the Problems and Possibilities"

What are the institutional and ideological obstacles to planning in America? How can they be overcome? What policy experiences can serve as a basis for the development of American planning? What would be the role of Congress, the executive branch, quasi-independent agencies, business and labor, geographical areas, the voting public? What should the movements for democratic social change be working for -- and how?

Speakers: Senator Joseph S. Clark, of Pennsylvania
Jack Conway, Executive Director, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO

Discussants: James McGregor Burns, author of *The Deadlock of Democracy*; Professor of Political Science, Williams College
Ralph Helstein, President, United Packinghouse Workers of America
Robert Moses, Council of Federated Organizations (Mississippi)
Bayard Rustin, organizer, March on Washington

4:00-4:15 PM **Summary Statement**: Michael Harrington

---

* Alternatives to M. France would be Pierre Masse, Bernard Cazes, Pierre Bauchet, Philippe Bauchord, and Gaston Deferre. Alternatives to Mr. Balogh would be Anthony Crosland, Andrew Schonfeld, Peter Shore, and Nicholas Kaldor.

file
committees

23 February, 1965

Rabbi Richard Hirsch
Secretary
Citizens Crusade Against Poverty
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Rabbi Hirsch:

Mr. Farmer has asked me to reply to your letter of February 18, regarding the listing of Mr. Farmer's name. He would like three changes, so that it will read as follows:

James Farmer	National Director Congress of Racial Equality 38 Park Row New York, New York 10038

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

NM/mt

CITIZENS CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY
2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Chairman:
Walter P. Reuther
Secretary:
Rabbi Richard Hirsch
Treasurer:
Clyde Ellis

Telephone No. 232-7266

FEB 1 9 1965

February 18, 1965

Dear National Committee Member:

At the first Annual Conference of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty in Washington, D. C., February 10, 1965, you were elected to membership on the National Committee. I am pleased to confirm your election to this important Committee of the CCAP.

We hope that your continuing interest in this highly significant citizens effort will aid in the alleviation and eventual eradication of poverty from our midst.

Enclosed you will find a copy of the Constitution adopted by the Conference. It outlines the duties and responsibilities of the Committee. Also enclosed is a list of the Officers and Committee members of CCAP. We would appreciate your informing us as soon as possible whether the manner in which we have listed your name and organization is as you would wish it. We are reluctant to set up our permanent stationery until we hear from all of the Officers.

At the meeting the Officers of CCAP were authorized to designate a National Director. We are now in the process of considering several condidates and hope to announce the name of our professional head soon. A summary report of the Washington meeting will be sent to you shortly.

Sincerely yours,

Richard G. Hirsch

Rabbi Richard Hirsch
Secretary

Enclosures
a/s

CONSTITUTION
OF
CITIZENS CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY

The dimensions of the problem of poverty in America are so staggering as to require immediate bold and vigorous action, not only at all levels of government but, equally important, by concerted, cooperative action by each interested and concerned citizen. What is needed to complement governmental action is the full mobilization and commitment of the citizens of America as individuals and through groups with which they are affiliated -- church, labor, industry, civil rights, civic, farmer, women, veterans, students and others. Only in this way can we insure success in the nation's effort to attack the source and eliminate the social evil of poverty.

The Citizens Crusade Against Poverty (CCAP) is the vehicle through which citizens throughout the country can voice their desire to help eliminate poverty from our midst and can participate actively and directly in this great and worthy effort. We, as citizens in CCAP, come from every walk of life and from every democratic political persuasion. We are committed to achieve a national awakening of conscience for we know that once Americans everywhere become aroused and indignant against the immorality of a needless poverty in the midst of plenty, they will act quickly and effectively to end this shame upon America. In the course of this effort, the poor will find their own voice and the will to help themselves.

We are come together to challenge the conscience of the nation with the ugly fact of poverty and to move that conscience to an unremitting war against poverty that will help bring the Great Society to its full realization.

The Citizens Crusade Against Poverty (CCAP) shall develop non-partisan programs of education and activity designed to eliminate poverty from the life of this nation through such activity, but not limited to, the following:

(a) Consultation with and utilization of existing cooperative planning and coordinating bodies in the fields of health, welfare, recreation and character building services.

(b) Encouragement of high standards of performance in administration and services by all agencies in the community.

(c) Creation of public opinion favorable to the objectives and purposes of CCAP by all appropriate educational media.

(d) Research and recommendations for improved community social and civic activities.

(e) Consultation, advice, and recommendations to participants, civic and governmental agencies involved in the war against poverty.

(f) Dessimination of specialized information gathered from participating organizations.

ARTICLE I

General

Section 1. This organization shall be known as Citizens Crusade Against Poverty (CCAP).

Section 2. Citizens Crusade Against Poverty subscribes to the following principles:

(a) We are a non-partisan, non-governmental organization dedicated to meet the moral issue raised by poverty and we are pledged to institute, implement, and support practical programs designed to eliminate poverty.

(b) We dedicate ourselves, as an organization of individuals and groups to the eradication of poverty from the nation, through education, national action programs of a non-partisan nature, non-partisan community activity and the direct involvement and participation of the poor and the disadvantaged themselves.

(c) We believe that all forms of totalitarianism are incompatible with our objectives. In our crusade we welcome and shall accept as members of Citizens Crusade Against Poverty only those whose devotion to the ideals of the democratic process and democratic institutions are unqualified. Participation in CCAP is an expression of allegiance to such democratic principles and of opposition to totalitarian ism of both the right and the left.

ARTICLE II

Organization

Section 1. An annual conference of all participants as defined in this Constitution shall be the ultimate source of policy authority in CCAP.

Section 2. The annual conference will elect a National Committee, broadly representative of the various types of organizations in CCAP and which will have the right to co-opt additional members as desirable.

Section 3. The National Committee shall be the highest authority between the annual conferences of CCAP and shall be responsible for the overall direction and implementation of CCAP programs and policies.

Section 4. The National Committee shall elect from its members a National Chairman, a Secretary and a Treasurer and such other officers as may be deemed appropriate.

Section 5. The National Committee shall select an Executive Committee from among its members which will be responsible for determining the salaries of and reviewing the activities of the Executive Director and staff and shall, in turn, be responsible to the National Committee. The National Chairman will be Chairman of the National Committee and also will be Chairman of the

Executive Committee. The Secretary and the Treasurer of the National Committee shall automatically be members of the Executive Committee.

Section 6. The National Chairman will appoint an Executive Director subject to the approval of the National Committee.

Section 7. The Secretary and/or the Treasurer of the National Committee shall be responsible for the financial affairs of CCAP; shall jointly sign all checks issued in behalf of CCAP; and shall make only such expenditures in behalf of CCAP as are authorized by the National Chairman, the Executive Committee or the National Committee.

ARTICLE III

Annual Conference

Section 1. An annual conference of all participants shall be held within the first ninety days of each calendar year at such time and place as the National Committee shall determine.

Section 2. Other meetings may be held as the Conference or the National Committee shall determine.

ARTICLE IV

National Committee - Duties & Responsibilities

Section 1. In addition to the duties and responsibilities set forth in Article II, the National Committee shall:

(a) Establish a Budget and Finance Committee as a permanent committee.

(b) Establish Commissions in the following areas: Public Information and Education, National Programs and Policies, Community Activity and Organization.

(c) Establish such other committees or commissions as may be found necessary to carry out the programs, activities and objectives of CCAP.

(d) Report annually to the Annual Conference on the activities of CCAP.

Section 2. The National Committee shall meet at least twice a year, and additional meetings may be called by the National Chairman or upon request by one-third of the members of the National Committee.

Section 3. The National Committee shall determine the location of the National Headquarters of CCAP.

ARTICLE V

National Chairman - Duties and Responsibilities

Section 1. In addition to the other duties and responsibilities set forth in this Constitution, the National Chairman shall:

(a) Appoint, with the advice and consent of the National Committee, the chairman and members of all committees and commissions established by CCAP pursuant to Article IV.

(b) Serve as an ex-officio member of all committees and commissions established pursuant to Article IV.

Section 2. The National Chairman shall preside at all meetings of the Annual Conference and meetings of the National Committee and Executive Committee. He shall appoint all committees unless otherwise directed and shall call special meetings of the National Committee.

Section 3. The National Chairman shall have the power to appoint such other committees as he deems necessary to assist him in carrying out the functions of his office.

Section 4. The National Secretary shall perform the duties of the National Chairman in the event of his absence, resignation, or inability to perform his duties.

ARTICLE VI

Executive Director

Section 1. The Executive Director shall be the chief administrator officer of CCAP.

Section 2. It shall be the duty of the Executive Director, subject to the approval of the National Chairman and the Executive Committee, to procure whatever staff is necesssary to conduct the affairs of the organization.

ARTICLE VII

Budget and Finance Committee

Section 1. The Budget and Finance Committee shall annually prepare a budget for the operation of the affairs of CCAP.

Section 2. It shall be the responsibility of the Budget and Finance Committee to develop and maintain a plan for the continuing financial support of CCAP.

ARTICLE VIII

Participation

Section 1. Organizations which share the principles and objectives of CCAP are eligible for participation therein subject to the approval of the National Committee. Any organization desiring to participate in CCAP shall submit to the National Committee a list of its officers and directors and a statement of its purposes.

Section 2. Individuals of prominence in fields related to the work of CCAP, who may wish to participate in the activities of CCAP, may be invited to become members by the National Committee.

ARTICLE IX

Finance

Section 1. CCAP shall be financed by contributions and grants from organizations, foundations and individuals.

ARTICLE X

Standards

Section 1. The following standards shall govern the relationship between CCAP and its participants:

(a) Each participating organization and individual will determine voluntarily the extent of its participation and cooperation in each of the several activities and functions of CCAP both on the national and local level.

(b) Organizations participating in CCAP shall retain its distinct identities, administer their own affairs; establish, maintain and pursue their own policies.

(c) Participating organizations and individuals are urged to transmit to CCAP from time to time reports of anti-poverty activities and concerns. Reports of CCAP activities will be transmitted to participating organizations and individuals in like manner.

ARTICLE XI

Amendments

This Constitution may be amended by a majority vote of the participants present and voting at the Annual Conference. Any proposed amendments to the Constitution must be submitted to the Executive Committee at least 60 days prior to the Annual Conference at which consideration is to be given to such amendments.

CITIZENS CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY

Officers

Walter P. Reuther, Chairman	President International Union, United Automobile Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America 8000 East Jefferson Avenue Detroit 14, Michigan
Rabbi Richard Hirsch, Secretary	Director Religious Action Center Union of Hebrew Congregations 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C.
Clyde Ellis, Treasurer	National Director National Rural Electric Cooperative Association 2000 Florida Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C.

Vice Chairmen

Dr. Eugene Carson Blake	Stated Clerk United Presbyterian Church in the USA 510 Witherspoon Building Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Monsignor Raymond J. Gallagher	Director National Conference of Catholic Charities 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C.
Dr. Martin Luther King	Chairman Southern Christian Leadership Conference 407 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta, Georgia

Vice Chairmen cont.

C. Virgil Martin	President Carson, Pirie Scott & Company 1 South State Street Chicago 3, Illinois
James Patton	President National Farmers Union 1575 Sherman Street Denver 1, Colorado
Elizabeth Wickenden	Social Welfare Consultant 544 East 86th Street New York 17, New York

Executive Committee

Bernard Barnes	Vice President & Secretary Time, Incorporated Time and Life Building New York 20, New York
Fay Bennett	Executive Secretary National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor 112 East 19th Street New York 20, New York
Andrew J. Biemiller	Legislative Director AFL-CIO 815 Sixteenth Street, N. W. Washington 6, D. C.
Robert E. Bondy	Director National Social Welfare Assembly 345 East 46th Street New York 17, New York
Edward Cushman	Vice President American Motors Corporation 14250 Plymouth Road Detroit, Michigan

Executive Committee Members cont.

John Edelman	President National Council of Senior Citizens 1627 K Street N. W. Washington, D. C.
Dr. Frank Graham	Chairman National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc. 112 East 19th Street New York, New York
Reverend Cameron P. Hall	Executive Director Commission on Church in Economic Life. National Council of Churches 475 Riverside Drive New York 27, New York
Michael Harrington	Chairman League for Industrial Democracy 112 East 19th Street New York 3, New York
Dorothy Height	President National Council of Negro Women YWCA 600 Lexington Avenue New York, New York
Ralph Helstein	President United Packinghouse, Food & Allied Workers 608 South Dearborn Street Suite 1800 Chicago 5, Illinois
Monsignor George Higgins	Director National Catholic Welfare Council 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C.
Philip M. Klutznick	Klutznick Enterprises 1 East Wacker Drive Chicago, Illinois
Arnold H. Maremont	Maremont Corporation 168 North Michigan Blvd. Chicago, Illinois

Executive Committee Members cont.

Ben Neufeld	Executive Secretary National Council on Agricultural Life and Labor 2027 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C.
Paul Potter	President Students for a Democratic Society 119 Fifth Avenue, Room 302 New York, New York 10028
A. Philip Randolph,	President Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters 217 West 125th Street, Room 301 New York, New York
Mitchell Svirdoff	Executive Director CommunityProgress Inc. 270 Orange Street New Haven 10, Conn.
David Sullivan	President Building Service Employees Union 900 17th Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.
Roy Wilkins	Executive Secretary NAACP 20 West 40th Street New York, New York
Pearl Willen	President National Council of Jewish Women 470 Park Avenue New York, New York
Whitney Young	Executive Director National Urban League 14 East 48th Street New York 17, New York

CITIZENS CRUSADE AGAINST POVERTY

National Committee Members

Morris Abram	President American Jewish Committee c/o Institute of Human Relations 165 East 56th Street New York 20, New York
Arnold Aronson	Secretary Leadership Conference on Civil Rights 55 West 42nd Street New York, New York
Philip Bernstein	Director Council of Jewish Federations & Welfare Funds 729 Seventh Avenue New York, New York
James B. Carey	President IUE - AFL-CIO 1126 Sixteenth Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.
Eli Cohen	Executive Secretary National Committee on Employment of Youth 145 East 32nd Street New York, New York
Robert Choate	Choate Foundation 603 Security Building 234 North Central Phoenix, Arizona
Vine Deloria	Executive Secretary National Congress of American Indians 1765 P Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20036
David Dubinsky	President International Ladies Garment Workers Union 1710 Broadway New York 19, New York
James Farmer	Natl. Director Congress of Racial Equality 38 — 34 Park Row New York, New York 10038

F. F. Fauri	Dean School of Social Work University of Michigan Ann Arbor, Michigan
John K. Galbraith	Professor Harvard University Cambridge, Massachusetts
Robert W. Gilmore	Turn Toward Peace 218 East 18th Street New York, New York
Harry Golden	Publisher The Carolina Israelite Charlotte, North Carolina
Dr. Fred Harrington	President University of Wisconsin Madison, Wisconsin
Dr. Clarence Hilberry	President Wayne State University Detroit, Michigan
Raymond Hilliard	Chairman, Executive Committee National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice 21 West Superior Street Chicago, Illinois
Thomas D. Hinton	Executive Director National Catholic Community Service 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C.
Sidney Hollander	2315 Talbot Road Windsor Hills Baltimore 16, Maryland
Eugene I. Johnson	Executive Director Adult Education Association of the U.S.A. 1225 19th Street, N. W. Washington, D. C. 20036
H. Justice	Executive Director American Public Welfare Association 1313 East 60th Street Chicago 37, Illinois

Nathaniel Keith	President National Housing Conference 1025 Connecticut Avenue, N. W Washington, D. C.
Leon Keyserling	Member, National Committee Conference on Economic Progress 1001 Connecticut Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C.
Edith Lerrigo	Executive Director National YWCA 600 Lexington Avenue New York, New York
Delores M. LeHoty, R.N.	Executive Director Program of Economic & General Welfare American Nurses Association 10 Columbus Circle New York 19, New York
Jack Lyons	President International Association of Bridge & Structural Iron Workers 3615 Olive Street St. Louis 8, Missouri
Dr. Berwyn P. Mattison	Executive Director American Public Health Association 1790 Broadway New York, New York
Dr. Benjamin Mays	President Morehouse College Atlanta, Georgia
Ralph McGill	Editor Atlanta Constitution Atlanta, Georgia
Margaret Mealy	Executive Director National Council of Catholic Women 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C.
Isiah Minkoff	National Community Relations Advisory Council 55 West 42nd Street New York 36, New York

Walter Mitchell	President International Chemical Workers Union I.C.W.U. Building 1659 West Market Street Akron 13, Ohio
Emanuel Muravchick	Director Jewish Labor Committee 25 East 78th Street New York, New York 10021
Dr. James M. Nabrit, Jr.	President Howard University Washington, D. C.
Sarah Newman	Director National Consumers League 1029 Vermont Avenue, N. W. Washington 5, D. C.
Grace Olivarez	Choate Foundation 603 Security Building 234 North Central Phoenix, Arizona (85004)
Dr. Joachim Prinz	Chairman American Jewish Congress 15 East 84th Street New York, New York
Dore Schary	National President Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith 515 Madison Avenue New York 22, New York
Dr. Charles Schottland	Dean Brandeis University Waltham 54, Massachusetts
Leon Shull	National Director Americans for Democratic Action 1341 Connecticut Avenue, N. W. Washington, D. C.
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Dr. Benjamin Spock, M. D.	2220 Woodmere Drive Cleveland Heights 6, Ohio

Reverend James Vizzard, S. J.
Director, Washington Office
National Catholic Rural Life Conference
1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Jerry Voorhis
Executive Director
Cooperative League of the U. S. A.
59 East Van Buren Street
Chicago, Illinois

# # # #

JF committee - awards

~~[illegible]~~

March 3, 1965

Mr. Howard B. Woods
NNPA Chairman
4595 Easton Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Mr. Woods:

We received your telegram this morning regarding Mr. Farmer's selection for one of the John B. Russwurm awards for 1964. Mr. Farmer is now out of town and will not return for several days, but I know that he will be most pleased and honored . Unfortunately, he will be out of the city on March 13th and will not be able to receive the award in person. Our Associate National Director, Dr. George Wiley, will be able to be at the luncheon at the New Terrace Club and will receive the award for Mr. Farmer.

I have enclosed a photograph of Mr. Farmer.

We look forward to hearing further details on the program, such as time, at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

NO Committees

FREEDOMWAYS SALUTE TO PAUL ROBESON

THURSDAY EVENING — APRIL 22, 1965 — HOTEL AMERICANA, N. Y.

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X = communist

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March 3, 1965

organis policy nec to decline - admiration for Mr. Robeson & desire that this salute be successful

Mr. James Farmer
165 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Fifteen months ago one of America's greatest artists, Paul Robeson, returned from a stay abroad. He had been missed by the many who admired him and knew of his deep love for people. His absence seemed too long for those who were aware of his sensitive appreciation for the arts and his indomitable spirit to freely assert his position as an artist and as a member of the intellectual community.

On Thursday evening April 22, 1965, FREEDOMWAYS Magazine will salute Paul Robeson at the Hotel Americana. It would provide a welcome opportunity for his friends and admirers, many of whom have not seen him for years, to enjoy this evening with him.

We cordially invite you to be one of the sponsors for this memorable FREEDOMWAYS SALUTE TO PAUL ROBESON by returning the enclosed card no later than March 15th.

Yours sincerely,

Ossie Davis

James Baldwin John O Killens

Jon Abt X
Aaronson
Barsky
Bassett X
Mar Belafonte
Belsky
Besse X
G Murray Branch
Wm "
Jos Cadden
Coltrane
Geo W Crockett
E Malone "
Efrain Cross
Wm Delaney
Earl B Dickerson

150

Jane Dumbrowsk
Ernest Dunbar
Harry Epstein
Florenz
Moe Foner
Gomillion
Carlt B Goodlett
J Gray
V Hallinan
Chas H Hill
~~Hol~~
Len Holt
Chas Howard
Grac Hutchins
Percy Julian
Slater King
John H Lawson
P Marshall
Wm H Melish
Hugh Mozak
Alex Mozell
Geo B Murphy
Robt Nemeroff

N.B Olatunje
Linus Pauling
Earl Robinson
Edith Segal
Abr Simon
Jessica Smith
Hope Stevens
I F. Stone
Paul M Sweezy
Bishop W Walls
Chas Wesley
Jos Wortis

file -
Committees
- change to 9 to
committees - awards

March 3, 1965

Miss Mary Cox
Chairman
The Foundation for Freedom and
Democracy in Community Life
1514 Elmwood Avenue
Evanston, Illinois 60201

Dear Miss Cox:

Your letter addressed to mr. Farmer arrived while he was out of town on a speaking trip, so I am taking the liberty of responding to it.

I know that Mr. Farmer will be very pleased and honored to learn that he has been selected to receive the CHAMPION OF OPEN OCCUPANCY AWARD. Unfortunately, he has a previous commitment for March 19th and will not be able to be present andthe Awards Banquet.

I have enclosed a photograph of Mr. Farmer as you requested.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

The Foundation for Freedom & Democracy in Community Life

ADVANCING a program of Education in responsible individual voluntary action for deepening the channels of expanding individual freedom and democracy in a pluralistic society in each local community, and of strengthening the chances for world peace and order in the atomic age.

1514 Elmwood Avenue
Evanston, Illinois, 60201
GReenleaf 5-8866

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY:
Donald S. Frey, Esq.

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Evanston, Illinois
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East St. Louis, Illinois
MRS. MILDRED BURNS
Lincoln, Nebraska

James Farmer—

Although apologizing for this form letter (necessary to keep our expenses to a minimum), it is still with great real warmth and pride that we advise you the National Awards Committee has selected you as a recipient of a special CHAMPION OF OPEN OCCUPANCY AWARD. Presentation of the award will be made at the Awards Banquet on Friday evening, March 19, 1965, in Springfield Illinois.

We are impressed with your COURAGE in personal, positive action in a highly controversial area - with your deep INSIGHT in recognizing that racial housing segregation undermines all human freedoms and progress - and with your keen IMAGINATION and CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORTS in your community and the nation to achieve equal housing opportunities for all citizens.

✓Could you send us a photograph of yourself for use at the National Assembly on Progress in Equality of Opportunity in Housing? This Assembly has already received special praise from the east coast all across the states to the shores of Hawaii (see enclosures).

We hope you will be personally present to receive the Award Friday night and to extend a message to all the religious, civic, business, labor and government leaders assembled from all communities in our land.

Congratulations to you!

Cordially,

Mary Cox, Chrm.

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DR. DONALD B. WARD, Yankton, S.D.
SAMUEL WHITE, Evanston, Ill.
STEVE WILHIDE, Frostburg, Md.
JOHN YOLTON, Detroit, Mich.
DR. GORDON ZAHN, London, England

What the Nation
is saying about the -

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
ON
PROGRESS
IN
EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY
IN
HOUSING

(Springfield, Ill. - March 18-20, 1965 - Holiday Inn East)
("FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE DAYS AROUND THE NATION")

(Business, Labor, Civic, Religious, and Federal, State and Local Government Leaders will exchange ideas on solving together and rapidly the most crucial domestic problem of our time - which undermines all human freedoms.)

IN THE NAME AND BY AUTHORITY OF THE

COPY

NEWSPAPER INFORMATION
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Governor's Office
Harrisburg

PROCLAMATION

FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE DAYS - MARCH 18-20, 1965

WHEREAS, Democracy guarantees to all citizens, regardless of race, creed or color, the right to reside in the neighborhood of their choice; and

WHEREAS, The goal of equal opportunity in housing is in strict accordance with our American tradition of personal liberty; and

WHEREAS, A Nation-wide effort in good citizenship is being led by the Foundation for Freedom and Democracy in Community Life a highlight of this effort being the National Assembly for Progress in Equal Opportunity in Housing, to be held in Springfield, Illinois, March 18-20, 1965; and

WHEREAS, Pennsylvania takes pride in its equal housing laws and wishes to participate in this Nation-wide endeavor in human relations;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, William W. Scranton, Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in conjunction with the Assembly to be held in Illinois, do hereby proclaim March 18-20, 1965, as FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE DAYS in Pennsylvania, and urge all Pennsylvanians to renew their commitment to the basic democratic principle of freedom of residence for all citizens without discrimination.

GIVEN under my hand and the Great Seal of the State, at the City of Harrisburg, this tenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty four, and of the Commonwealth the one hundred and eighty-ninth.

BY THE GOVERNOR:

Secretary of the Commonwealth

WILLIAM W. SCRANTON
GOVERNOR

State of Connecticut

By His Excellency JOHN DEMPSEY Governor; an

Official Statement

FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE DAYS
MARCH 18 - 20, 1965

DEMOCRACY TRADITIONALLY GUARANTEES FREEDOM OF RESIDENDE TO ALL CITIZENS WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, RELIGION OR COLOR.

DESPITE NOTEWORTHY SOCIAL PROGRESS IN RECENT YEARS, THERE IS EVIDENCE OF DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING, A PRACTICE WHICH IS DESTRUCTIVE OF COMMUNITY VALUES AND WHICH VIOLATES THE PRINCIPLES OF LIBERTY AND JUSTICE.

THE FOUNDATION FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY IN COMMUNITY LIFE, AN ORGANIZATION WHICH SEEKS TO ELIMINATE THE BASIC CAUSES OF DISCRIMINATION, IS SPONSORING THE NATIONWIDE OBSERVANCE OF FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE DAYS MARCH 18 - 20, 1965, A PERIOD WHICH COINCIDES WITH THE DATES OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON PROGRESS IN EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING TO BE HELD IN SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS.

CONNECTICUT, LONG AWARE OF THE RIGHT OF FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE, HAS TAKEN STEPS, THROUGH EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS AND LEGISLATIVE ACTION, TO INSURE PROTECTION OF THAT RIGHT FOR ALL INDIVIDUALS. THE RIGHT OF FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE, HOWEVER, CANNOT BE TRULY OPERATIVE UNLESS THERE IS FULL COOPERATION ON THE PART OF ALL CITIZENS.

MAY THE OBSERVANCE OF FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE DAYS IN CONNECTICUT SERVE TO EMPHASIZE THE FACT THAT ALL CITIZENS ARE ENTITLED, LEGALLY AND MORALLY, TO EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING.

S/ JOHN DEMPSEY
GOVERNOR

COPY

STATE of MINNESOTA

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS, voluntary programs of individual and organization action to achieve EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING to eradicate racial and religious discriminatory practices from all communities in peaceful, imaginative and orderly ways is of the utmost importance and urgency, and

WHEREAS, the President has repeatedly urged educational programs by civic, educational, religious, industry, labor and other non-government groups to eliminate the basic causes of discrimination, and

WHEREAS, as long as there are housing discrimination practices destructive to the human values of the community, the moral and spiritual life of America cannot be supported,

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Karl F. Rolvaag, Governor of the State of Minnesota, do hereby proclaim March 18-20, 1965, as

"EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING DAYS"

in Minnesota, and urge wide participation in the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FOR PROGRESS IN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING in Springfield, Illinois, March 18-20, 1965, as one means of attack on one of the most destructive of discriminatory practices existing in the LAND OF OPPORTUNITY.

SEAL

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of the State of Minnesota to be affixed at the State Capitol this eighth day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five and of the State, the one hundred seventh.

GOVERNOR

SECRETARY OF STATE

COPY

STATE OF ILLINOIS

Executive Department

PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS, The United Citizens' Committee for Freedom of Residence has requested that March 18, 19 and 20, 1965, be proclaimed as Freedom of Residence Days in Illinois, the dates coinciding with the National Assembly on Progress in Equality of Opportunity in Housing in Springfield, Illinois, and

WHEREAS, Freedom of residence is a right that democracy guarantees to all citizens, regardless of race, creed or color, in strict accordance with our American traditions of individual liberty, and

WHEREAS, An Executive Order, signed by the President of the United States, calls for educational programs by civic, educational, religious industrial, labor and other non-governmental groups to eliminate the basic causes of discrimination, and

WHEREAS, As long as there are housing discrimination practices destructive to the human values of the community, the moral and spiritual life of America cannot be supported, and

WHEREAS, The forthcoming National Assembly on Progress in Equality of Opportunity in Housing, to be held in Springfield, Illinois, during March 18, 19 and 20, 1965, is a nationwide effort in good citizenship and, as such deserves the support of all our citizens,

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Otto Kerner, Governor of the State of Illinois, do hereby proclaim that March 18, 19 and 20, 1965, be set aside as FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE DAYS in Illinois, and request all our citizens re-examine their personal motives concerning social discriminations, and call upon all realtors, builders, attorneys, community leaders, human relations group members and religious leaders, to discuss and develop effective roles in achieving integrated housing in Illinois in an orderly fashion as befits true Americans.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of the State of Illinois to be affixed

(SEAL)

Done at the Capitol, in the City of
Springfield, this FOURTH day of
JANUARY, in the Year of Our Lord
one thousand nine hundred and
SIXTY FIVE, and of the State of
Illinois the one hundred and FORTY-
SEVENTH

By the Governor:

William H. Chamberlain
Secretary of State

GOVERNOR

MESSAGE FROM THE HON. MARK O. HATFIELD, GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF OREGON, TO THE PROGRAM COMMITTEE FOR THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON PROGRESS IN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING (SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, MARCH 18 - 20, 1965)

****

COPY ON THE LETTERHEAD OF:

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
STATE CAPITOL
SALEM 97310

MARK O. HATFIELD
GOVERNOR

JANUARY 13, 1965

MR. DONALD S. FREY
1514 ELMWOOD AVENUE
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS 60201

DEAR MR. FREY:

I HOPE YOU WILL CONVEY TO THOSE ATTENDING THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON PROGRESS IN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING MY BEST WISHES IN COPING WITH PROBLEMS OF MUTUAL CONCERN.

IN EACH OF MY MESSAGES TO THE OREGON LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY I HAVE CALLED ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT OUR STATE HAS AN ENVIABLE RECORD IN THE FIELD OF CIVIL RIGHTS, BUT THAT THERE IS A CONTINUING NEED TO KEEP OUR CIVIL RIGHTS STATUTES PROGRESSIVE, STRONG, AND ADEQUATE.

IN A SPECIAL MESSAGE JANUARY 11, 1965, I NOTED THAT OREGON TOOK ENLIGHTENED AND HUMANITARIAN CIVIL RIGHTS ACTION LONG AGO. OUR PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS LAW AND THOSE GUARANTEEING FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE ARE SUCH THAT MINORITY AND ETHNIC GROUPS WITHIN OUR SOCIETY ENJOY FULL AND COMPLETE PRIVILEGES OF CITIZENSHIP.

THE GOAL OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND HOUSING IS ONE WHICH CANNOT BE ATTAINED EXCEPT THROUGH ACTIONS WHICH REPRESENT THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF OUR CITIZENS. LAWS MUST BE UNDERGIRDED WITH A TRUE DESIRE, AND COMMITMENT TO THE BASIC CONCEPTS OF OUR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.

AS THIS ASSEMBLY SEEKS MEANS WHEREBY THIS THESIS MAY BECOME A REALITY THROUGHOUT AMERICA, I WISH YOU EVERY SUCCESS.

SINCERELY,

S/ MARK O. HATFIELD

GOVERNOR

MOH:AE

1/17/65

C O P Y

Executive Chambers
Honolulu

MESSAGE FROM GOVERNOR JOHN A. BURNS
FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE DAYS

March 18-20, 1965

A part of the educational program aimed at removing the causes of discrimination in housing is the request by the Foundation for Freedom and Democracy in Community Life that March 18th, March 19th and March 20th, 1965, be designated "Freedom of Residence Days" in Hawaii.

All who serve the cause of eliminating racial discrimination and its vestiges from our life do a service to our State and our Nation and deserve the support of our citizens in such efforts.

In the spirit in which President Johnson has asked all Americans to unite, I urge the people of Hawaii to participate and encourage programs aimed at the elimination of all such divisive doctrines as those which establish discrimination in housing of all types.

John A. Burns
Governor

ON THE LETTERHEAD OF

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
CONCORD

John W. King
Governor

December 2, 1964

Mr. Donald S. Frey
Executive Secretary
Foundation for Freedom &
Democracy in Community Life
1514 Elmwood Ave
Evanston, Illinois, 60201

Dear Mr. Frey:

Thank you for your letter enlisting our cooperation in achieving Equal Opportunity in Housing. We do indeed recognize the vital nature of freedom of residence on our community.

You may be assured that we will participate in the forthcoming National Assembly for Progress in Equal Opportunity in Housing by proclaiming, in conjunction with your national assembly, "Freedom of Residence Days" in New Hampshire,

Sincerely,

John W. King

d

ON THE LETTERHEAD OF -

STATE OF IOWA
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
DES MOINES

HAROLD E. HUGHES
GOVERNOR

JANUARY 25, 1965

MR. DONALD S. FREY, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
THE FOUNDATION FOR FREEDOM AND
DEMOCRACY IN COMMUNITY LIFE
1514 ELMWOOD AVENUE
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS 60201

DEAR MR. FREY:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF JANUARY 3 REGARDING THE FORTHCOMING NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING AND THE ENCLOSED PROGRAM.

I AM PROUD OF THE ADVANCES IOWA HAS MADE IN PROMOTING EQUALITY FOR ALL CITIZENS. THREE MAJOR ACTIONS HAVE BEEN TAKEN BY THE STATE GOVERNMENT IN THE PAST TWO YEARS TO ELIMINATE DISCRIMINATION FOR REASONS OF RACE, COLOR AND CREED. ONE WAS THE ENACTMENT OF THE FIRST FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES ACT IN THE STATE'S HISTORY. THE SECOND WAS MY ISSUANCE OF AN EXECUTIVE ORDER TO FORBID DISCRIMINATION IN ALL DEPARTMENTS OF GOVERNMENT UNDER MY JURISDICTION. THE THIRD WAS THE CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORT OF THE GOVERNOR'S HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION.

IN MY INAUGURAL MESSAGE PRESENTED TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON JANUARY 14, I RECOMMENDED THAT THEY PASS LEGISLATION CREATING A STATUTORY HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION WITH AN APPROPRIATION ADEQUATE TO HIRE THE REQUIRED STAFF AND TO ACONDUCT THE INVESTIGATIVE AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMISSION.

I TRUST YOUR NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WILL BE SUCCESSFUL AND PRODUCTIVE.

SINCERELY,

S/ HAROLD E. HUGHES
GOVERNOR

COPY

ON THE LETTERHEAD OF: MARYLAND COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL PROBLEMS AND RELATIONS

STATE OFFICE BUILDING
301 WEST PRESTON STREET, BALTIMORE, MD.

OFFICERS:
WILLIAM C. ROGERS, SR., CHAIRMAN
RABBI ISRAEL M. GOLDMAN, VICE CHAIRMAN
PARREN J. MITCHELL, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

MEMBERS:
G. CHESTON CAREY, SR.
MRS. HENRY E. CORNER
FATHER ROBERT M. POWELL
MRS. JOHN B. RAMSAY
S. EDWARD SMITH
RICHARD H. THOMAS
DR. EDWARD N. WILSON

DECEMBER 11, 1964

THE FOUNDATION FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY
IN COMMUNITY LIFE
1514 ELMWOOD AVENUE
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

ATTENTION: MR. DONALD S. FREY, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

DEAR MR. FREY:

WITH REFERENCE TO OUR COPY OF THE NOVEMBER 27TH CORRESPONDENCE TO GOVERNOR TAWES, BE ADVISED OF THE FOLLOWING:

1. THIS COMMISSION HAS DRAFTED LEGISLATION BANNING DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING. WE HOPE THIS LEGISLATION WILL RECEIVE FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION BY THE 1965 MARYLAND GENERAL ASSEMBLY. A VERY LARGE NUMBER OF COMMUNITY, CIVIL RIGHTS AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS ARE ACTING IN SUPPORT OF THIS LEGISLATION.

2. THE COMMISSION WILL URGE THAT GOVERNOR TAWES ISSUE A STATEWIDE PROCLAMATION SETTING ASIDE CERTAIN DAYS, IN MARCH, AS FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE DAYS. IN THE EVENT THE GOVERNOR DOES NOT ISSUE SUCH A PROCLAMATION, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THIS COMMISSION WILL UNDERTAKE SOME TYPE PROGRAM IN THIS CONNECTION.

3. MORE THAN LIKELY, THIS COMMISSION WILL BE REPRESENTED AT THE MARCH CONFERENCE, SCHEDULED FOR SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS. I AM CERTAIN WE SHALL RECEIVE ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS FROM YOU CONCERNING THE CONFERENCE.

ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS, THIS COMMISSION HAS SPOKEN OUT AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING, HOLDING IT TO BE NOT ONLY THE LAST MAJOR BARRIER, BUT, ALSO, THE CRITICAL FACTOR IN PERPETUATING THE WHOLE MONOLITHIC STRUCTURE OF SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION.

THEREFORE, YOUR WORK IS OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO US, AND ASSUREDLY YOU SHALL RECEIVE OUR COOPERATION.

WITH HOPES OF ADDITIONAL SUCCESSES IN THE CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, I AM

CORDIALLY YOURS,

s/ PERREN J. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

HERE IS YOUR -
Advanced Program and Registration Form -

liberty under law

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

on PROGRESS in
EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

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(Fifth Annual Multi-State Conference of Civic and Religious Leaders) and governmental and non-governmental organizations, to exchange views and develop more effective means to defend and advance the HUMAN RIGHT TO LIVE - the annual inspirational peak of the vital and fundamental Freedom of Residence movement.

March 18 - 20, 1965

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS
(New Holiday Inn - East)

Sponsored by -
THE FOUNDATION FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY
IN COMMUNITY LIFE, INC.
1514 Elmwood Avenue - Evanston, Illinois

MONT.
NEB.
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N. H.
N. J.
N. M.
N. Y.
N. C.
N. D.
OHIO
OKLA.
ORE.
PA.
R. I.
S. C.
S. D.
TENN.
TEX.
UTAH
VT.
VA.
WASH.
W. VA.
WIS.
WYO.

A VITAL NATIONAL EVALUATION of the road ahead in community by community implementation of the 1964 Federal Civil Rights Act and the responsibilities of acceptance and positive voluntary action by people in their states and communities, spelling out the challenges of THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS - "Everyone has the right to FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT and RESIDENCE within the border of each state."

PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON PROGRESS IN EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

THURSDAY, MARCH 18, 1965

8:00 A.M. Clergymen - Legislators' Breakfast
Theme - "THE MORALITY OF PRIVATE PROPERTY"
"THE ROLE OF LAW TO ACHIEVE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY"

(Held in conjunction with meeting of Illinois legislators who will be considering passage of a Fair Housing Practices Bill)

10:00 Panel Presentation
Theme - "THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN BUILDING STRONGER AND HEALTHIER COMMUNITIES"

(Examples of leadership by Judeo-Christian leaders throughout America to eliminate the practices of racial and religious prejudice that divide and frustrate community progress)

12:00 Noon LUNCHEON TIME OPEN - allowing for informal gatherings and committee meetings for final preparations for a vigorous and constructive conference. Interviews with press, review of public exhibits developed by community groups.

2:00 P.M. Panel Presentation
Theme - "THE ROLE OF FEDERAL, STATE AND MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS TO GUARANTEE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING"
- Official declaration in every town in America
- Improvements to existing statutes

4:00 WORK SHOPS - Organized on various aspects of the Freedom of Residence Movement, with arrangements for Work Shops to have supper together and continue discussions with Resource Leaders of outstanding achievement.

7:00 "FREEDOM FIRESIDE FORUMS" - Role playing by conference attendants at hotel and throughout city of Springfield arranged by Springfield Freedom of Residence Committee

8:00 MEETING OF THE TRUSTEES of the Foundation for Freedom and Democracy in Community Life

PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
ON PROGRESS IN EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

Friday - March 19, 1965

7:30 AM FREEDOM FACT FINDING BREAKFASTS
Informal groupings of conferees with emphasis on surveying housing injustices and bringing them to responsible public attention.

9:00 AM NATIONAL ASSEMBLY PLENARY SESSION
Keynote Address: COMMUNITY CHALLENGES IN THE NEW AGE OF HUMAN RELATIONS
Followed with Panel Presentation by outstanding citizens, giving examples of positive citizen action taken in their communities.

12:15 PM Recess for Luncheon
(Informal luncheon groups made up of Workshop participants)

2:16 PM Panel Presentation: THE ROLE OF BANKERS, BUILDERS, REALTORS and CITY PLANNERS IN TOMORROW'S INTEGRATED COMMUNITY
Personal case histories by leading citizens.

6:00 PM RECEPTION: Informal gathering of all conferees to meet each other and the distinguished leaders in housing throughout the country.

7:00 PM CHAMPION OF OPEN OCCUPANCY AWARDS BANQUET
- Distinguished Speakers -

PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

ON PROGRESS IN EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

Saturday - March 20, 1965

7:30 AM	BREAKFAST * Workshop Leaders and Reporters to come together to gauge productiveness of Conference, other informal gatherings.
9:00 AM	Panel Presentation - THE ROLE OF LABOR UNIONS, CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS, CIVIC AND SOCIAL CLUBS and OTHER VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS - Series of case histories on specific techniques being followed. Question period. (followed with final Workshop Sessions)
12:15 PM	"LIBERTY AND LAW LUNCHEON" Address: "The Higher Values of Integration." Introduction of more Workshop Leaders and Resource Persons. Community implementation of Federal Civil Rights Act of 1964.
2:30 PM	NATIONAL ASSEMBLY PLENARY SESSION Reports and Recommendations from Workshops - Popularize the "Equal Opportunity Brokers, Bankers, Builders" - Launching Journal - "Equal Opportunity Housing" - Saluting College Student movement for Freedom of Residence - Proposition 14 in California
4:00 PM	SUMMATION OF ASSEMBLY Caucus of various state groupings of citizens for statewide action. Decision on date and place of next NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

file - committees

COUNCIL ON INTERRACIAL BOOKS FOR CHILDREN
9 East 40th Street, New York 10016
Le 2 7780

MAR 8 1965

March 6th, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Millions of American children see very few children's books, and the ones they do encounter usually appear to be written for someone else. Negro children almost never have a chance to read books in which there are words and pictures about Negroes. Most books that come to the attention of Puerto Rican or other underprivileged city children are likely to be about middle-class boys and girls who lead very different kinds of lives. The same is true of southwestern youngsters of Spanish, Mexican and Indian backgrounds.

Non-white and urban-poor children too often have reason to feel that books are not for them. And feeling this, they are effectively cut off from much that could enrich their lives and aid them in participating fully in American society. At the same time, white children from more favored backgrounds also suffer from this social imbalance in children's literature. They lack the help of books in reaching out to an important part of the world of childhood that they do not know at first hand.

We believe that the time has come when this situation can change — when intelligent efforts can place useful books in the hands of a great many of America's overlooked children. Accordingly, we call your attention to the COUNCIL ON INTERRACIAL BOOKS FOR CHILDREN which has the following aims:

> Believing that books can do much to create the will and enlarge the capacity to achieve an integrated society, the Council will encourage the writing, production and effective distribution of books specially created to fill the needs of non-white and urban-poor children;
>
> Through such books, give all American children fuller awareness and deeper understanding of one another.

To accomplish these aims, the Council will: (1) offer prizes for manuscripts; (2) help in arranging for their publication; and (3) give assistance in developing new channels of distribution that will get these published books to all children.

The Council plans to seek from established foundations the funds required to carry out these activities.

The manuscripts submitted in competition for the prizes will be judged by a panel of (1) experts familiar with the needs of the children for whom these books are intended and (2) experts in the field of children's literature, not connected with any publishing house.

The Council plans to incorporate as a non-profit organization with the following Board: Elinor Sinnette (District Librarian, N.Y. City Board of Education); Stanley Faulkner (attorney); Lilian Moore (writer of children's books and editor for Scholastic Book Services); Franklin Folsom (children's book writer); and Frances Keene (former editor-in-chief, children's books, The Macmillan Co.).

Will you join us whose names appear below in sponsoring this COUNCIL ON INTERRACIAL BOOKS FOR CHILDREN? 411

A form is enclosed for your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Virginia Gaver

Mary Virginia Gaver
Graduate School of Library
Services, Rutgers University

Langston Hughes

Langston Hughes
Author

John O Killens

John O. Killens
Author

Alec Rosen

Alex Rosen
Dean, Graduate School of
Social Work, New York
University

Ben Shahn

Ben Shahn
Artist

(Organizations listed for identification purposes only)

CIBC/s

committees - awards

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THE
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The Negro Press believes that America can best lead the world away from racial and national antagonisms when it accords to every man, regardless of race, color or creed, his human and legal rights. Hating no man, fearing no man, the Negro Press strives to help every man in the firm belief that all are hurt as long as anyone is held back.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE
HOWARD WOODS, CHAIRMAN
4595 EASTON AVENUE
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI 63113

March 8, 1965

MAR 10 1965

James Farmer
Committee of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York City, N.Y.

The National Newspaper Publishers Association will, indeed, be pleased to welcome you at it's ANNUAL RUSSWURM AWARDS presentation on next Saturday, March 13, 1965.

The luncheon will be held in the New Terrace Club on the grounds of the New York World's Fair. The time is twelve o'clock. The Commodore Hotel is the headquarters for NNPA.

If you desire information in New York you may contact the office of Mr. Frank L. Stanley, Jr., at the National Urban League, 14 East 48th St. His telephone number is 751-0300.

We look forward to meeting you on Saturday.

Very warmly yours,

HB Woods

Howard B. Woods

Bob Curvin accepting
for Farmer

file - committees

March 3, 1965

Mr. Howard B. Woods
NNPA Chairman
4595 Easton Avenue
St. Louis, Missouri

Dear Mr. Woods:

We received your telegram this morning regarding Mr. Farmer's selection for one of the John B. Russwurm awards for 1964. Mr. Farmer is now out of town and will not return for several days, but I know that he will be most pleased and honored . Unfortunately, he will be out of the city on March 13th and will not be able to receive the award in person. Our Associate National Director, Dr. George Wiley, will be able to be at the luncheon at the New Terrace Club and will receive the award for Mr. Farmer.

I have enclosed a photograph of Mr. Farmer.

We look forward to hearing further details on the program, such as time, at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM
W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

NH573 (17)SYC802 1965 MAR 2 PM 9 56
SA489 "S LLJ360 LLZ5 LLZ5 NL PD 6 EXTRA ST LOUIS MO 2
JAMES FARMER, COMMITTEE OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 PARK ROW NYK

I AM PLEASED TO INFORM YOU THAT YOU HAVE BEEN SELECTED FOR ONE OF THE JOHN B RUSSWURM AWARDS FOR 1964. THIS AWARD, THE HIGHES HONOR OF THE NATIONAL NEWS PAPER PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION WILL BE ANNOUNCED AND PRESENTED ON SATURDAY MARCH 13 AT A LUNCHEON IN THE NEW TERRACE CLUB OF THE NEW YORK WORLDS FAIR. PLEASE RUSH PHOTO AND YOUR AVAILABILITY FOR CEREMONY. YOU MAY DESIGNATE A RECIPIENT ?

HOWARD B WOODS NNPA CHAIRMAN 4595 EASTON AVE ST LOUIS MO.
0

George

MAR 3 1965

What shall I do on this?
Mary

File
Comm -
not attended

American Civil Liberties Union

156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • ORegon 5-5990

March 9, 1965

MAR 10 1965

To: Board of Directors

From: The Office

Re: April 3-4 Plenary Board Meeting

The April 3 and 4 Plenary Board meeting will be held at the Park Sheraton Hotel, 7th Avenue and 55th Street, New York City, from 10:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. on Saturday, April 3 and from 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. on Sunday, April 4. Luncheons will be served at the Hotel on both days at $1.50 per day.

We need to know as soon as possible, but no later than March 15, whether you will attend. Enclosed you will find a post-card for your reply.

Travel expenses will be paid from the national budget.

150

~~yes~~ committees

jazz arts society inc.

send Core chk
list name — we nd artists

MAR 1 5 1965

March 13, 1965

Mr. and Mrs. James Farmer
38 Park Row,
Congress of Racial Equality
New York, New York

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Farmer:

In 1962, the Jazz Arts Society organized the New York School of Jazz as a free-tuition school whose primary purpose was to give the underprivileged youth of our city an opportunity to study Jazz under the instruction of leading musicians. The School has given over 300 music scholarships to young people during the two years it has been in existence.

The program is co-sponsored by the Board of Education through its Community Bureau of Education. Classrooms and facilities of the Wm. O'Shea Junior High School No. 44 have been made available. A full curriculum in musical instruction is provided. The faculty is outstanding and it has made the New York School of Jazz the finest of its kind. The development of the school in terms of its educational value and contribution to the morale of our children demonstrates the success of the ambitious project.

Like most institutions, the School is expanding and it now needs a fund which will help pay the increasing costs of teachers and textbooks.

Friends of the School have organized a Committee to help raise these necessary funds. We have planned a series of six weekly concerts to begin Friday, April 2nd to be held in the auditorium of the School at 100 West 77th Street; JAZZ PANORAMA - a six-part 'live' demonstration of the different instruments used in jazz, showing the development, on each program, of a particular instrument, through the various jazz eras (Ragtime, Dixieland, Swing, Bop, Modern, etc.). Professional instrumentalists will vary for each program, only the rhythm section will remain the same throughout the JAZZ PANORAMA. The New York School of Jazz Ensemble will also perform on each of the six weekly programs.

The names of our distinguished list of patrons will be printed on each programme of the JAZZ PANORAMA series. May we list your name among them? A contribution of $10 or more will indicate your interest and generosity.

Sincerely yours,

Christopher Elliott

Friends of the New York School of Jazz

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S. Howard Quint,
David A. Abrahams,
Vice-Presidents
Shirley Douglas,
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Committees
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Executive Director
SAAL D. LESSER

MAR 17 1965

March 15, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

On behalf of Mayor Robert F. Wagner, Honorary Chairman of the forthcoming Encampment for Citizenship Annual Dinner, I would like to extend a cordial invitation to you to serve as Honorary Sponsors of this event.

On May 25, 1965, at the Plaza Hotel, the Encampment for Citizenship will honor Mrs. Alice K. Pollitzer in her 95th year and the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Encampment for Citizenship. Because of your interest in and knowledge of the Encampment program, it is our hope that you will want to be part of this tribute.

Will you please let us know on the enclosed card if we may have the honor of including your names as Sponsors of this event?

We look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Paul W. Fink

Paul W. Fink
Chairman of the Board

file
committees

March 16, 1965

Mr. Frank Millspaugh
Vice President, National Affairs
United States Youth Council
236 East 46th Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Millspaugh:

I both approve and am quite excited about the "freedom radio" project planned for Mississippi. I will be glad to help in any way that I can.

I will have a problem in giving my name to a fund-raising campaign, since my own organization is currently engaged in an emergency fund-raising drive, attempting to wipe out its deficit. We have therefore adopted a policy that for the present I cannot be a part of outside fund-raising drives, however worthy the cause.

If I am correct, therefore, in assuming that the committee which you are now creating is primarily for fund-raising purposes, I will have to regretfully decline. If this is not the case, please communicate with me.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:nm

United States Youth Council

236 East 46th Street, New York, N. Y. 10017

Cable Address: YACWAY
Youth Affiliate of the National Social Welfare Assembly
United States Affiliate of the World Assembly of Youth
(212) 687-3674

FEB 23 1965

19 February 1965

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Mr. Farmer:

This is a two-part letter, First, I want to sincerely thank you for lending your name to the "Thanksgiving Fast for Freedom" this fall. American students have responded with a total contribution of nearly $37,000.00 to date, and both my co-director from the United States National Student Association and I are excited by the increase this represents over last year's drive.

We are currently negotiating a contract with the Federal Department of Agriculture for surplus farm commodities and are planning a massive distribution system in critical Southern areas where county officials have neglected the needs of the people by refusing to participate in federal assistance programs. By distributing food with attention to political strategy as well as human need, we hope to affect a long-range, if limited, change in the areas in which we operate.

My second reason for writing is to acquaint you with another project in which I have become increasingly involved in the last few months. I have enclosed a clipping reprint and mimeographed materials which describe an attempt to establish a "freedom radio" station in Mississippi. My associates and I are increasingly convinced that such a station could make a substantive contribution to the development of democracy in the South and to the struggle for justice in which we are involved. To this end, we have formed the Radio Tougaloo Association and are operating out of my office at the United States Youth Council.

Since December, we have had three field workers in Mississippi who have held radio workshops in thirty communities. Last Sunday, February 14, nearly 200 people, many of whom had attended these workshops, held

a "Freedom Radio Assembly" in Tougaloo, Mississippi. These people drove in from throughout the state, and they were unanimous in their assessment of the need for a mass communications facility in the state which would deal openly and honestly with the key issues of our time. On March 7, these people will meet again to form a constituent organization for the founding, ownership, and policy direction of the station. At present, volunteers are canvassing most of the state, speaking in Negro churches and attending all available meetings, to enlist a broad support for this project. Our office in Tougaloo is attempting to maintain contact with these volunteers and to provide them with whatever assistance and information they can.

The New York office of the Association is soon to begin a public fund raising campaign to further and assist the work of the radio organization developing in Mississippi. In preparation of this, we are creating a broad and diverse Committee of Advisors consisting of people known and respected in the fields of civil rights, labor organization, public service, education, and the arts. Some of the individuals who have thus far consented to serve and who may be known to you are Dr. Harold Taylor, Mr. Milton Mayer, and Mr. Dick Gregory. These people have been with us for some time and have made suggestions as to persons to be invited to serve on this Committee.

Your eminence in the field of civil rights, and your kind cooperation with the Fast for Freedom, brought you first to mind. I personally hope that you will accept this invitation and that you will not only lend your name to the project but will make your experience and knowledge available to us from time to time. We do not plan any time-consuming and expensive Committee meetings, but we would like to be able to call on you by letter or telephone on occasion.

We will greatly appreciate any consideration you may be able to give this request. Of course, I shall be only too pleased to discuss this project with you more fully if you desire.

Sincerely yours,

Frank Millspaugh

Frank Millspaugh, Vice President
National Affairs - U.S. Youth Council

Executive Secretary - Radio Tougaloo
Association

FM/aa

Enclosures

XERO COPY

XERO COPY

A FREEDOM RADIO PLANNED IN SOUTH

Civil Rights Group Would Broadcast in Mississippi

A Freedom Radio station is being established in Mississippi by a group of civil rights adherents.

The Radio Tougaloo Association is conducting workshops throughout the state to inform people about the new station and to get their ideas on what should be broadcast.

A statewide assembly will be held at the chapel of Tougaloo College Feb. 14 to draw up a constitution for the station. Representatives from most of Misssissippi are expected to attend.

The station will be at Tougaloo. It is possible that other stations will be set up elsewhere in Mississippi.

Tougaloo College, situated north of Jackson, is known as a base for integrationist activity in Mississippi.

"We would like to see really objective reporting on what's going on in Mississippi and the rest of the country made available to the people there," the president of the Radio Tougaloo Association, Chris Koch, said.

"We'd like them to find out what the national culture of America is like, and have them join it," said Mr. Koch, who is program director of WBAI-FM, a noncommercial New York station owned by the Pacifica Foundation.

Frank Millspaugh, executive secretary of the association clared: "Hardly a single existing radio station in Mississippi gives objective and broad news coverage. When civil rights activities are mentioned it's always in the most negative terms."

Mr. Koch, Mr. Millspaugh and eight other persons active in integration activities, formed the association in November, with the intention of dissolving it as soon as a board of directors composed of Mississippians is set up for the radio station. This is expected to take place at the meeting Feb. 14.

The workshops are being held in churches, theaters, fields and homes. Crowds of 50 to 300 persons have attended, a project director who visited Tougaloo last week reported. Dr. David Finkelstein, a physics professor at Yeshiva University who taught at Tougaloo College last summer, said that an association official "doesn't have to say more than a few words before the people take over.

"The fact that it's a Free-

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THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, JANUARY 31, 1965.

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a Freedom Radio workshop sets the tone. Usually the discussions get very lively very fast," he said.

Questions concerning the election of officers for the station, Federal regulations affecting it and programs to be broadcast are often raised by workshop participants, said Robert McNamara 3d) vice president and project director in Tougaloo.

Mr. Koch commented: Republicans always find it hard to get a hearing in Mississippi. We would make this station available to all political parties."

The project leader added that several nationally known entertainers, authors and political leaders had indicated a willingness to appear on educational programs for Radio Tougaloo. Dick Gregory, the comedian, and Theodore Bikel the folk singer, are on the Association's board of advisers.

A project unrelated to Radio Tougaloo but also seeking to broadcast civil rights news in the South is Radio Free Southland. Proposed by Jack Summerfield, general manager of WRVR-FM, radio station of the Riverside Church in New York, this would be a noncommercial network distributing educational programs to Northern and Southern stations.

Mr. Summerfield is presenting proposal to foundations in the hope of obtaining financial backing. Radio Tougaloo's only funds come from a special grant of the National Council of Churches.

Mr. McNamara, former head of the Civil Rights Information Service at the University of Chicago, emphasized the association's hope that the new station will be run by Mississippians.

"This is to be a local effort and an integrated one from the first," he said. "We're just here to get things started."

RADIO TOUGALOO ASSOCIATION
STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The purpose of our Association is to help establish a radio station in Mississippi controlled by the Mississippi community through publicly elected representatives and designed

1. to provide the facilities for and encourage a responsible public dialogue between the Negro and white communities of Mississippi, and thereby help create an environment in which a segregated society can develop into an integrated one, and

2. to conform in the fullest sense with the FCC requirement that broadcasters operate in "the Public interest and necessity."

This means specifically that in our opinion Radio Tougaloo should:

1. engage in any activity that shall contribute to a lasting understanding between nations, races, creeds, and colors,

2. promote the study and dissemination of information on political and economic problems and on the causes of religious, philosophical, and racial antagonisms,

3. promote the full distribution of public information by obtaining access to sources of news not commonly tapped by Mississippi broadcasters and employing such varied sources in the public presentation of accurate, objective, comprehensive news on all matters vitally affecting the community,

4. encourage and provide outlets for the creative skills and energies of the community,

5. offer performance facilities to amateur and professional musical and dramatic groups, and

6. promote and aid other creative activities which will serve the cultural welfare of the community.

To realize this goal we will help establish a radio corporation which any Mississippian can join by paying a nominal membership fee. The board of directors of this corporation will be elected from the membership body, the Mississippi staff, and the Northern based Radio Tougaloo Association.

Financial support for this project will come from three sources:

1. The listening audience will contribute that portion of the necessary income commensurate with their resources. It is understood that the resources of Mississippi audiences are not large. Its support will come in the form of membership fees and larger individual contributions. These membership fees and contributions will also serve as an indication of community response to the station.

2. Special gifts are being solicited from individuals, labor unions, and other sources.

3. Foundations and philanthropists will help establish the station, contribute to the development of the actual plant, and support special programming projects or continue existing ones.

We believe that this program can be highly beneficial to the Mississippi community, and we are eager to be called into service in its behalf.

Members of the Radio Tougaloo Association are:

Christopher Koch
Program Director, WBAI-FM
30 East 39th St.
New York, New York

Robert C. McNamara III
RTA staff
Tougaloo, Mississippi

Frank A. Millspaugh, Jr.
Vice-President United States
Youth Council, National
Director Books for Equal
Education
236 East 46th St.
New York, New York

Dr. David Finkelstein
Professor of Physics
Yeshiva University
New York, New York

Tracy Batteast
RTA staff
Tougaloo, Mississippi

Peggy Cooper
New York, New York

Melvin Greenberg
President Aluminum Louvre
Corporation
Long Island, New York

Virginia Davis
New York, New York

David Rosen
Engineer Nuclear Research
Associates
Long Island City, New York

Cornelia McNamara
Researcher Books for Equal
Education
New York, New York

Morton Schiff
Professor of Physics
Tougaloo College
Tougaloo, Mississippi

Robert Stenson
RTA staff
Tougaloo, Mississippi

Harold Trent
Harold Trent Printing Co.
Long Island, New York

Committees

CHILDREN'S DRESS
INFANTS' WEAR · HOUSEDRESS
AND BATHROBE MAKERS' UNION

Local **91** *ILGWU* · AFL-CIO

HARRY GREENBERG
MANAGER · SECRETARY

100 EAST 17th ST · NEW YORK-3-N-Y- · GRAMERCY 7-3146

yes

March 23, 1965

MAR 23 1965

Mr. James Farmer,
Executive Director
Committee on Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

On behalf of the Executive Board and membership of Local 91 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, may I extend to you a hearty invitation to be one of the sponsors of our Art Exhibit which will commence on Monday, April 26, 1965, and continue throughout the week.

As a pioneer in workers education, we are proud of the achievements and development attained by our workers in our Art Class for the past thirty years.

The Exhibit will take place in our own Art Gallery, 100 East 17th Street, New York City, at 6PP.M. sharp.

We have conducted Art Exhibits prior to the present one, and the monies raised were distributed to many worthwhile causes such as the Italian Orphans; British War Relief; U.S.O., and for the building of a Childrens Convalescent Home in Israel.

The proceeds of our present Art Exhibit will be distributed to pre-school all day nursery center by a special prominent citizens committee.

We sincerely hope that it will be possible for you to honor us with your presence and lend the prestige of yourself and your office to this humanitarian undertaking.

Sincerely yours,

Harry Greenberg

Harry Greenberg
Manager-Secretary-Local 91, ILGWU
Vice-President, International Ladies
Garment Workers Union

HG/LG
oeiu
153

P.S. Enclosed please find self-addressed stamped envelope for your convenience. Please indicate your acceptance on the enclosed card.

Committee

March 26, 1965

Mr. A. J. Muste
c/o Students for a Democratic Society
119 Fifth Avenue, Room 302
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Muste:

This is to confirm our telephone conversation of yesterday in which I relayed the message that Mr. Farmer will be very glad to be listed as one who endorses the April 17th March On Washington to End the War in VietNam.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

MAR 15 1965

Yes

MEMO ON THE COMMITTEE FOR AN APRIL 17 MARCH ON WASHINGTON TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

TO: Prospective Endorsers of the March

The accompanying draft for a Call Supporting the Committee for an April 17 March on Washington to End the War in Vietnam pretty well outlines the essentials of the action which we hope will be given endorsement of a representative group of people who have been identified with peace activity. Below is a list of persons to whom the Call is being sent and whose signatures we hope to get promptly.

Members of the Students for a Democratic Society and the Student Peace Union have participated to date in the meetings of the provisional Committee. It is contemplated that individuals on the committee will not formally be delegates of the organizations with which they are identified. A good many difficult problems are avoided by this approach. Adults who have been serving on the provisional Committee, on whose behalf this communication is sent, include leading persons from the Women Strike for Peace, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the Catholic Worker, the Committee for Nonviolent Action, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the War Resisters League, the Catholic Peace Fellowship, and tentatively SANE. The provisional Committee will become operative as soon as the arrangement is formally approved by the National Council of SDS.

All arrangements for the March, including discipline, slogans, determination of policy, addition of new members, will be in the hands of the provisional Committee which has both student and adult membership.

The list of individuals being asked to endorse the enclosed call are:

Norman Thomas, Harold Taylor, Dagmar Wilson, Dorothy Hutchinson, Stewart Meacham, Martin Luther King, Jr., A.J. Muste, A. Philip Randolph, Dorothy Day, Father Dan Berrigan, S.J., Father Phil Berrigan, O.S.J., Mother Mary Berchman, Roget Lockard, John Lewis, James Foreman, James Farmer, Arthur Waskow, Paul Goodman, W.H. Ferry, Paul Jacobs, Kenneth Boulding, Erich Fromm, Kay Boyle, Seymour Melman, David Livingston, David Reisman, H. Stuart Hughes, William Davidon, Staughton Lynd, Bayard Rustin, Paul Potter, C. Clark Kissinger, Mario Savio, Howard Zinn, Sid Lens, Milton Mayer, Anatol Rapoport and others.

For the provisional Committee,

A. J.

A. J. Muste

c/o SDS
119 5th Ave Rm 302

007 3261
WA 5-9415

Dear Jim: I have been owing you a phone call for sometime! Hope you can come in on this April 17 as endorser.

Best AJ

DRAFT OF CALL SUPPORTING COMMITTEE FOR APRIL 17 MARCH ON WASHINGTON TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM

For some months students on many campuses throughout the nation have been organizing for an April 17 March on Washington to End the War in Vietnam. Plans, originally advanced by the Students for a Democratic Society, include picketing the White House, a March down the Mall to the Capitol Building, a Statement to Congress, and a Rally with both students and adult speakers.

In the meantime, the situation in Southeast Asia has deteriorated, additional American troops have been sent to South Vietnam, American planes have been bombing Laos and North Vietnam, the danger of escalation into a major war has increased. After 25 years the people of South Vietnam still continue to suffer the ravages of war.

In these tragic circomstances, students preparing for the April 17 March have felt increasingly that the March should have the widest possible support and participation and be as impressive as possible. At the same time adults and adult organizations concerned about peace have hailed this student initiative and have been increasingly aware of the fact that the frustration and grief felt by multitudes of adult Americans over the course pursued by our government in South Vietnam demanded expression. The result is the formation of a provisional Committee for an April 17 March on Washington to End the War in Vietnam, with both student and adult membership.

The emphasis of the March will be on presenting the facts about the situation in South Vietnam and demanding that the war be brought to an immediate end. Attention will be called to the fact that many suggestions have been made as to steps that might be taken to this end, but without advocating specific approaches as the program of the March. It will be emphasized that the people of South Vietnam must have freedom to determine their own destiny and to build their own economy and society in peace.

The undersigned enthusiastically welcome the initiative taken by the students, endorse the Committee and its program, call for vigorous support and urge all who can do so to take part in the April 17 March on Washington.

file
committees - awards

March 30, 1965

Mr. Robert Curvin
106 Huntington Terrace
Newark, New Jersey

Dear Bob:

The enclosed is a copy of a letter Mr. Farmer received the other day. He knows nothing about the organization and is inclined to say no to their request that he serve on the Board of Directors. He says that the whole idea leaves him cold.

Please advise Mr. Farmer of your feelings on this; if you know anything about the organization, etc.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

ANDOC, Inc.

Agency for Negro Development, Occupation and Culture

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We are A Non-Profit Organization and Exist only Through your Donations

March 23, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

In commemoration of the One Hundred and Second Anniversey of the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation and the Second Anniversary of the March on Washington, we (ANDOC) are endeavoring to organize a parade such as one which has never been presented before in the History of the American Negro. Along with the organization of this parade, we have also taken the initial steps in trying to get a federal bill passed through the office of the President or Congress to proclaim August 28th as a National Holiday for the American Negro. Letters have been sent to the office of the Vice President, various Senators and Congressmen regarding this matter. We also have the approval from the office of the Honorable Hugh J. Addonizzio, Mayor of the city of Newark, New Jersey, to hold the parade on Sunday, August 29, 1965. This is a new area of work for our organization and since we were very much impressed in the manner in which the March on Washington was conducted, we would like you to serve as a member on our Board of Advisors. Your earliest reply will be greatly appreciated on this matter.

Very truly yours,

Lewis N. Miles II
Executive Director

LNM:uh

Committees

INTER-AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM

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New York, N.Y. 10018
Telephone: BR 9-5862
Cable: Intradeli, New York

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APR 1 1965

March 31, 1965

Mr. James Farmer, Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

On June 3rd, 1965, this Organization will honor Romulo Betancourt former President of Venezuela and a founder and life member of this Association, at a Dinner at the Hotel Roosevelt.

This Dinner, which happily coincides with our Fifteenth Anniversary, will, by the presence of Romulo Betancourt, also serve to restate the purposes of our Organization: to fortify civil and political liberties in Latin America and further the political, economic and social well-being of its peoples.

We are asking friends dedicated to the cause of democracy and freedom, to join us in honoring Romulo Betancourt, one of the greatest democratic leaders of the Hemisphere. His victorious fight against the extremist forces of violence in his country, and his successful economic and social achievements mark a brilliant page in Latin America's fight for constitutional government and democratic progress.

Feeling confident of your sympathy for former President Betancourt and for all causes which fortify freedom and human dignity in our world, we would feel privileged if you would serve as a member of our Committee of Honorary Sponsors for this occasion. Your acceptance will be an inspiration to us, in continuing the still unfinished tasks ahead. We enclose a card for your reply.

Anticipating your reply and hoping for your acceptance, believe me

Sincerely,

Frances R. Grant

Frances R. Grant
Secretary General

file Committees

METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING
215 WEST 23RD STREET NEW YORK 11, NEW YORK SPRING 7-8900

COORDINATING
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COMMUNITY,
CIVIC, AND
FRATERNAL
ORGANIZATIONS
FOR DECENT
HOUSING AT
RENTALS PEOPLE
CAN AFFORD

yes

March 1965

Dear Friend,

The Metropolitan Council on Housing wishes to extend to you an invitation to become a sponsor of a large city-wide tenants' rally on April 24th at City Hall to draw the attention of our mayor to the frightful housing conditions of hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers.

As you know New York is still gripped by a severe, unrelieved housing crisis. One family in seven is living in dilapidated houses, while in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant more than 1/3 of all apartments are sub-standard. Each year about 100,000 families apply for admission to low-rent public housing, but only one in ten get in. Tenants by the thousands seek relief from intolerable conditions by application to the City Rent Administration, the Department of Buildings etc.

We believe that some meaningful, city-wide, demonstrative action is necessary to remind the administration that decent housing must be made available to all people at rents they can afford. Good housing,- like good schools, good parks and clean water is the responsibility of our elected officials. We believe that now, toward the end of his third term in office, it is time that Mayor Robert F. Wagner assume responsibility for this.

We think the chief demands of a TENANTS' EMANCIPATION RALLY should be:-

...A building program of 200,000 new apartments in New York City in the next 5 years,- with priority given to "vest-pocket" projects on vacant and badly used commercial land. Mixed low and middle-income housing, by use of subsidies where necessary, to acheive built-in, total integration - both racial and economic.

...A moratorium on the demolition of sound, habitable, rent-controlled housing.

...Enactment into law of Judge Morrit's decision of "No services,--No Rent".

...Speed up receivership proceedings. After making repairs the city should keep and maintain the received properties.

...Enactment of legislation to provide tenant protection and personal security in apartment houses.

more.....

...Strengthen Rent Control.

...Rehabilitation of housing without rent increases.

...A Fair Housing Rental Service to end discrimination in the leasing of apartments.

To make this first TENANTS' EMANCIPATION RALLY effective we seek the support of as many individuals and community organizations as we can reach. Because we know and appreciate your concern and involvement in causes that seek to better the conditions of the citizens of New York we ask you to join us as a sponsor of the April 24th rally.

If you agree to act as a sponsor will you please SIGN THE ENCLOSED CARD and return it to us. With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Jane Benedict
Metropolitan Council on Housing

Rev. Eugene S. Callender
Chambers Memorial Baptist Church

Dr. Leonard Covello
Educational Consultant

Rev. David A. Giles
Metropolitan-Duane Methodist Church

Ruth G. Goring
Brooklyn Unity Democratic Club

Rev. Donald S. Harrington
Community Church of New York

Dr. Helen Harris
Bronx Council on Rents & Housing

Jerome W. Marks
State Assemblyman

Rev. Howard Moody
Judson Memorial Church

Rev. Robert Nichol
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Brooklyn Congress of Racial Equality

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State Assemblyman

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State Assemblyman

Gilberto Gerena Valentín
Nat'l. Assoc. for Puerto Rican Civil Rights

Theodore S. Weiss
City Councilman

(Affiliations are given only for purposes of identification)

jazz arts society inc.

new york, new york

01753

DATE April 1, 1965 **AMOUNT** $10.00

The Jazz Arts Society gratefully acknowledges the receipt of your contribution toward the support of its work.

From
JAMES FARMER,
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y. 10038

☐ MEMBERSHIP ☐ SCHOLARSHIP FUND ☒ NEW YORK SCHOOL OF JAZZ ☐ JAZZ CULTURAL CENTER FUND ☐ SPECIAL PROGRAMS ☐ RESEARCH

EXECUTIVE OFFICES
80 east 11th street
new york, n.y. 10003
suite 243 • OR 3-2440

LEONA FINESTONE-TREASURER

PER Leona Finestone

RECEIPT

file - committees

jazz arts society inc.

April 1, 1965

APR 2 1965

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Thanks so much for your recent donation. Your name and organization as Patron arrived too late to appear on the first printed program, but it will appear on our next five printed programs among our Patron Names.

Our First program in this series of Jazz Panorama 1965, starts Friday, April 2nd. We are enclosing two sets of tickets for the first and second program. The remaining program tickets will be mailed to you shortly.

Thanks so much for your continued interest.

Sincerely yours,

Christopher Elliott
President
CE:ce

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1

FRIDAY, APRIL 2, 1965

PART 1 — TRUMPET
JOHNNY WINDHURST
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2

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BOB WILBER, SOPRANO & TENOR SAX, CLARINET
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ROLAND ALEXANDER, TENOR & SOPRANO SAX, ALSO FLUTE

3

FRIDAY, APRIL 30, 1965

PART 111 — TROMBONE
J. C. HIGGENBOTHAM
BENNY POWELL
GRACHAN MONCUR, 111

4

FRIDAY, MAY 7, 1965

PART 1V — STRINGS
CALO SCOTT, CELLO
WILLIAM BLANK, VIOLIN
ART DAVIS, BASS (FEATURED)
CHARLIE JACKSON, GUITAR

5

FRIDAY, MAY 14, 1965

PART V — DRUMS
ZUTTY SINGLETON
FRANKIE DUNLOP, (FEATURED)
CLIFFORD JARVIS

6

FRIDAY, MAY 21, 1965

PART V1 — PIANO, VIBES
JACKIE BYARD
ROLAND HANA (FEATURED)
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JIM HARRISON, COORDINATOR
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Enclosed is my check/money order for $__________ representing full payment for tickets designated on the right. I am enclosing a self-addressed envelope and understand that my tickets will be mailed within reasonable time before the date of the first concert indicated.

Name..
Address..
..................................Telephone..........................

PLEASE DESIGNATE NUMBER OF TICKETS IN PROPER BOX

PRICE	APR 2	APR 9	APR 30	MAY 7	MAY 14	MAY 21
ADVANCE $1.50						
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yes - file = Committees

The National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences

A Non-Profit Association Dedicated to the Advancement of Television

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PETER COTT, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

April 13, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y. 10038

APR 14 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Three years ago, The National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences inaugurated The Station Award, designed to honor the outstanding television program or series of programs produced by a local station in the United States dealing with "a significant issue in the station's community." This Award focuses national attention on the vital role of the local station in the broad spectrum of television programming, and makes the public aware of the service rendered their communities by the almost 600 television stations in the nation. The Station Award will be presented during the 17th Annual Emmy Awards Telecast on September 12, 1965.

The Award is judged preliminarily in each of our Chapter cities, and finally by a distinguished group of civic, educational and religious leaders in New York and Hollywood. This year, the Final Judging for The Station Award will be conducted in New York and we would be most appreciative if you would serve as a member of the Final Judging Committee for this Award. We are inviting seven other outstanding leaders in the fields of education, law, religion, business and the social sciences to serve with you.

One afternoon and one evening will be required between May 3rd and June 30th to view the Regional Winners and select the final Emmy Award Winner. The Academy will make all arrangements relative to the final judging, including travel and hotel accommodations, for the judges who live outside of New York City.

The enclosed brochure describes the nature of the Award, and the criteria and procedure for judging the entries. We will make the date of the judging convenient to all. Will you please indicate on the accompanying form whether you will be able to serve and, if so, which period of time and which afternoons and evenings are most convenient for you.

We believe that you will find this a most rewarding experience, and we would be honored by an affirmative reply.

Sincerely,

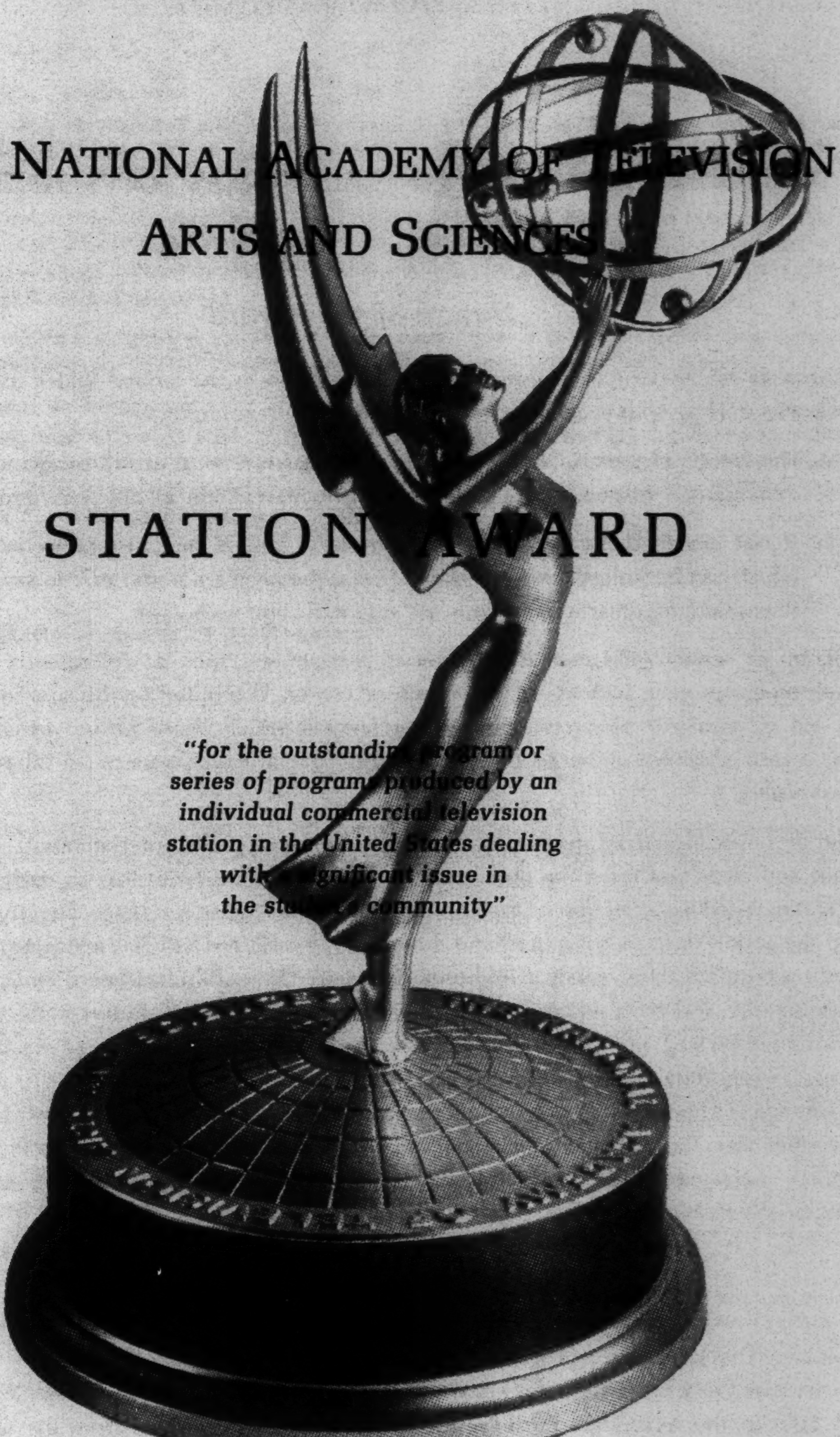
THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF
TELEVISION ARTS AND SCIENCES

Rod Serling

Rod Serling
President

RS/ilb
Enc.

THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF TELEVISION ARTS AND SCIENCES



STATION AWARD

"for the outstanding program or series of programs produced by an individual commercial television station in the United States dealing with a significant issue in the station's community"

ENTRY DEADLINE MARCH 1, 1965
FOR PROGRAMS FIRST PRESENTED BY THE PRODUCING STATION
BETWEEN JANUARY 1, 1964 AND DECEMBER 31, 1964

THE STATION AWARD

of

THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF TELEVISION ARTS AND SCIENCES

Nature of the Award

THE AWARD WILL BE PRESENTED to a licensed commercial station in the United States for a single program or series of programs dealing with a significant issue in the station's community:

a. The results of which can be judged on the achievement of the program itself and documented evidence of a resulting constructive action in the community; or

b. If not designed for such specific, immediate action, an outstanding achievement which can be judged on the merits of what the program undertook to say, how well it was said, together with its courage, ingenuity, and execution.

Such a program or series could deal with community problems, such as delinquency or gambling; a community development project, such as a civic or cultural center; community politics; a local disaster for which community aid is required; or a community development which needs further expansion or support. The criterion for award eligibility is based on the treatment of an actual issue or an inherent, potential or possible social problem.

The program or series should be documentary in style and can include entertainment, as long as its objectives are dominant and clear and meet the requirements outlined. In the event that an entry is based on a presentation which stimulated direct action in the community, substantiating evidence directly tying the program or programs to the action must be submitted and the results so achieved will play an important role in the judging. In this manner a program achievement with but basic production qualities, when directly effective in its impact upon the community, will have equal consideration with more elaborate undertakings which may or may not have been designed for such immediate action. This Award is designed to recognize the achievement of a single station, as specifically differentiated from the efforts of a group of affiliated stations or two or more stations of common ownership. Although it is possible that some segments of an entry may well have used the facilities of a station other than the originating licensee, the criterion of eligibility is that the final physical production and the efforts of the personnel responsible for producing, performing and executing the program was the achievement of the individual station entering the program.

The Award

THE AWARD WILL BE the golden statuette known as the EMMY, designed by Louis McManus in 1948, and named by Harry R. Lubcke, the Academy's third President. The name was derived from the word "immy", an engineering term relating to the Image Orthicon camera tube.

Award Eligibility Period

THE PROGRAM ENTRY must have been first televised in the local area between January 1,1964 and December 31, 1964. The Award will be presented on the National EMMY Awards Telecast in September, 1965.

Judging the Award

THE AWARD WILL BE judged in two phases:

a. **REGIONAL ELIMINATIONS**

There will be regional eliminations conducted in each of the Chapter cities of The National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences (Chicago; Columbus, Ohio; Hollywood; New York; Phoenix; St. Louis; San Francisco; Seattle; Washington, D. C.).

To insure complete objectivity, regional judging will be done in an area other than the one to which the entry is submitted. The jury for these regional eliminations will be made up of Academy members who are industry leaders from the Chapter cities and their geographic areas.

Each regional judging committee will be comprised of seven members. The winner of regional judging will be determined by a majority vote of the judges.

b. **NATIONAL FINAL JUDGING**

The winning entries in each of the nine Chapter regions will be submitted to a jury which will be made up of a group other than those who served on a regional committee. Serving on this committee will be individuals prominent in the fields of government, religion, business, law and the arts.

Criteria for Judging

JUDGING WILL BE conducted according to the following criteria:

a. **CONCEPT**
b. **EXECUTION**
c. **IMPACT**

Entry Procedure

a. Any commercial television station is eligible to submit only one program. It may be a single special program or a selection of one from a series of programs. The entry must be received by the regional Chapter office designated in the entry blank by Monday, March 1, 1965.

b. The program may be submitted on a 16mm composite print or on videotape. Program titles and other identification should be on a head leader.

c. An affidavit of action resulting from the program must be included *if* the program was designed for such action. Such affidavit should be submitted in seven copies, in typewritten form, and presented in a brief, concise manner (no longer than five hundred words). It may include quotes of reviews, articles, etc., as well as other substantiating material.

d. Material submitted to the Academy will be returned no later than October 15, 1965, with the exception of the nine regional winners which will be placed in the Library of Television of the Academy of Television Arts and Science's Foundation.

   1. Winners of the nine regional eliminations should be prepared, if requested, to provide a print of the program from which excerpts may be presented on the Annual EMMY Awards Network Telecast. Similarly, regional winning stations will be requested to assist in securing clearances for such re-broadcast.

e. Every effort will be made to assure the safe handling of your program entry. However, you are advised to insure the entry print since the National Academy cannot be responsible for loss, theft or destruction.

f. The National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences reserves the final right to reject any entry if in its sole opinion it does not qualify under the above description of program eligibility.

Entry Fee

THE FOLLOWING SCHEDULE of entry fees will prevail. Fees will be used to offset the costs in connection with the competion.

As identified in the Television Market Rankings published on page 26-a of Television Factbook, Issue No. 34:

Stations in Markets 1 - 75	$75.00
Stations in Markets 76 - 225	$50.00
Stations in Markets 226 and over	$25.00

A check must accompany the entry, made payable to "The National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences."

File
Committees

May 4, 1965

Mrs. George Colin
General Chairman
The Festival of Arts
Temple Emanu-El,,
Yonkers, New York

Dear Mrs. Colin:

Since Mr. Farmer is out of town and will not return for almost two weeks, I want to reply to your letter of May 3rd.

As I mentioned in my letter of March 16th, Mr. Farmer will be in Michigan on May 16th. Unfortunately, he will not be able to return in time to attend the opening of your Civil Rights Arts Festival. I am sorry that we did not let you know sooner, but Mr. Farmer did want to attend and was hoping that his schedule would allow it.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

"DOUBLE IMAGE"

A. C. HOLLINGSWORTH

The Festival of Arts

Temple Emanu-El *Yonkers, New York*

May 3, 1965

MAY 4 1965

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Just a short note to remind you that we are expecting you at the opening of our Civil Rights Arts Festival on Sunday, May 16 at 4:00 P. M.

I am anxiously looking forward to greeting you personally. Much thanks.

Sincerely

Yetta Colin

Mrs. George Colin
General Chairman

YC/j

March 16, 1965

Mrs. George Colin
General Chairman, Arts Festival
Temple Emanu-El
Yonkers, New York

Dear Mrs. Colin:

Mr. Farmer has asked me to reply to your letter of March 10th, asking him to be one of your honorary sponsors for the Festival of Arts.

Mr. Farmer will be most pleased andbe among the sponsors of Temple Emanu-El's two-week program, "Worship the Lord in the Freedom and Equality of Man".

Mr. Farmer will be returning from Michigan on May 16th, and is not yet sure whether he will be able to be back in time to be present at the opening at 4:00 o'clock. He hopes to be able to be there; I will contact you within the next week or so to let you know definitely.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Staff Associate

yes

The Festival of Arts

MAR 11 1965

March 10, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

The Arts Festival Committee of Temple Emanu-El is presenting what we believe to be an unusual and exciting program, the theme of which will be "Worship the Lord in the Freedom and Equality of Man." This program will be presented during a two-week period beginning May 16 through the 29th. Leading Negro painters, sculptors, playwrights, musicians and singers will be featured. We expect Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (schedule permitting) to be present at our opening service, the Honorable Alex Quaison-Sackey, Governor Nelson Rockefeller, and many other national figures.

A head of Gandhi will be unveiled, emphasizing one man's struggle for freedom; special Sabbath evening services will highlight the Jewish people's struggle; and it is our sincere desire to bring a greater understanding of the Negro struggle for freedom to the peoples of this and the larger community.

It would be our distinct privilege to have you among our honorary sponsors and also to be present at the opening on May 16 at four p. m. ||

We would appreciate a reply in the affirmative as soon as is possible because of our printer's deadline.

Many thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Yetta Colin

Mrs. George Colin
General Chairman
Arts Festival

YC:r

AMOS

one of a series of 18 life-size oil panels depicting the Prophets.

by Jacques Barosin

Temple Emanu-El
Yonkers, New York.

JF
committees
awards

May 11, 1965

Mr. William L. Edgenton, Board Chairman,
The African Development Foundation, Inc.
Post Office Box 1444
Kansas City, Mo. 64141

Dear Mr. Edgenton:

I have your letter of April 29 and although we are sympathetic with your stated objectives, before I could allow my name to be listed on your advisory board I would have to know more about the organization. For example, who are the members of the board and executive committee, what other people are on the advisory committee and I would also like more information about the organization itself.

I will appreciate hearing from you at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer,
National Director

JF:akr

THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION, INCORPORATED
1000 EAST 12TH STREET
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI 64106

WILLIAM EDGENTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD
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SECRETARY-TREASURER

MAY 7 1965

write CORE - Kansas City

April 29, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

We are still enthused over your statement via Associated Press dated February 5, 1965. The reason for our enthusiasm is that your statement is supportive of the aim of our organization ADFI. We also feel that our organization is not in conflict with CORE because both our aims have a basic identity: that of freedom for our people in America and Africa.

Enclosed please find a recent news release and a copy of our brochure for which we feel should be a source of gratification to you that there is an organization which is compatible and already helping on your stated aims of "recruitment for Africa."

May we have the pleasure of listing your name on our advisory board along with other dignitaries and diplomats (foreign and domestic) and other organizations who have embraced our efforts in behalf of the African Nations?

May we hear from you soon?

Very truly yours,

William L. Edgenton
WILLIAM L. EDGENTON
Board Chairman

Check with George Houser ANSAC - Davis or Paullerson

4/ has gone talk to JF

THE
AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED

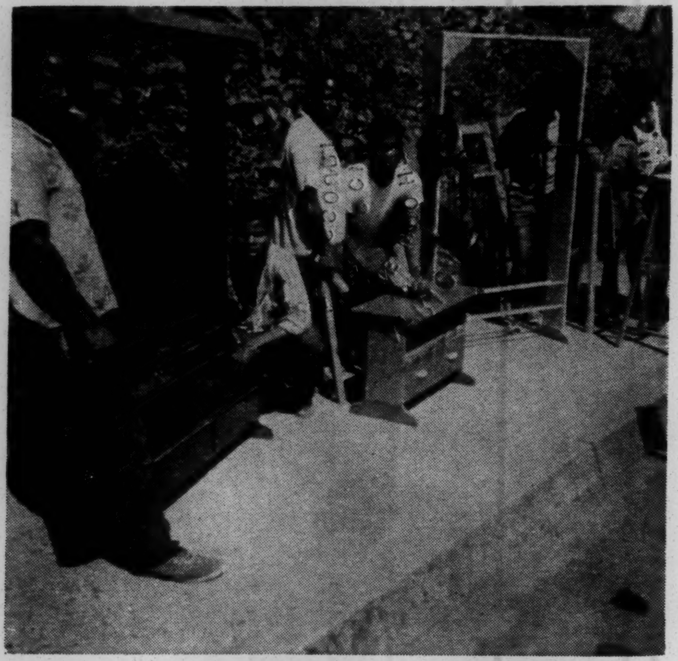
P. O. BOX 1444
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI 64141

Long after the stigma of second class citizenship here in America has been erased, the Negro will be forced to continue in his economic struggles in his efforts to support his new freedom.

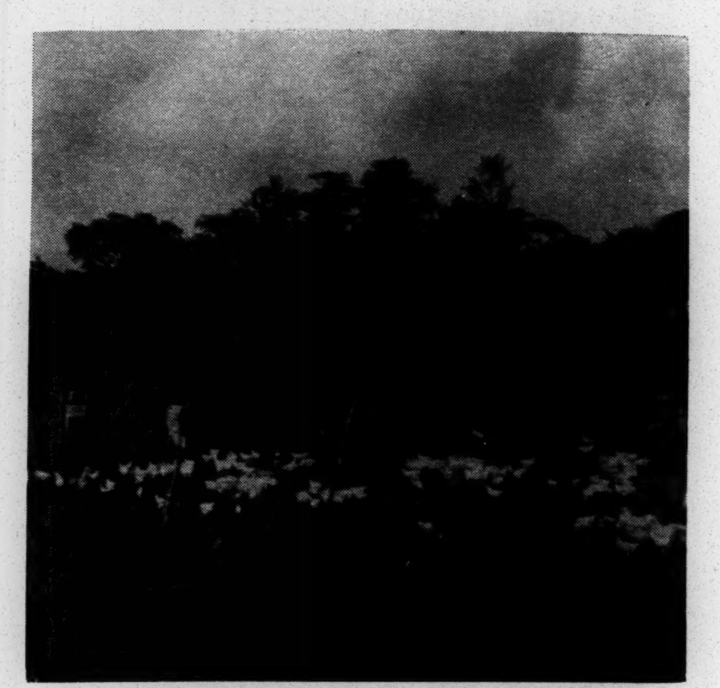
In this struggle, he must consider his past in light of the retrenchments made in the services in which he formerly functioned. The steady stream of unskilled or even semi-skilled workers is being displaced by increasing automation and the Negro, now, constitutes 4 to 5 percent of those permanently unemployed. These frustrations have made many become involved in social, political and economic apathy, squalor, ignorance and crime.

To find himself, the American Negro must realize there is no easy road that leads out of the trap of poverty. For the most part, he has moved from country slums to city slums; from southern slums to northern, western or eastern slums. Some who could or were better informed than others, have moved out of the country as did Europeans in the initial settlement of America.

The choice of going to Africa may include immediate risks and limitations, but today the choice is far more real than ever before when Africa was still a part of the white man's world.


Your contribution to A.D.F.I. can replace these hand tools with power machines.

Through national solicitation and fund raising, ADFI hopes to help those African nations to become strong and perhaps point to new routes for American Negroes to freely make contributions to a worthy cause and at least point to another way for a solution of some of the Negroes' problems.


Greater knowledge of agriculture and Poultry raising to be gained through your contribution to A.D.F.I.

WHAT IT IS

This is an organization incorporated and established on a non-profit, non-political, non-sectarian basis which has pledged itself to raise and solicit monies, equipment and materials and to provide, when requested, persons of desired skills to aid in strengthening those African Nations emerged or emerging as free nations.

Dr. Martin Luther King just after he had received the Nobel Prize said: "The American Negro has not contributed enough of his resources to aid Africa in its struggle. But there is now an awareness of the paucity of our support.

What about their future? Your contributions to A.D.F.I. can supply them many of their basic needs.

There is a growing realization that something more must be done and that we have many resources that could be most helpful. For too many years, the Negro in America was so ashamed of his heritage that he didn't want to identify himself with Africa. We have tended to forget our brothers and sisters."

To properly channel the much needed financial support to Africa, to urge greater federal aid, to encourage a greater person to person relationship between America and Africa and to aid in the participation through all available channels in the technical development of Africa, are the basic programs to which this organization has dedicated itself.

This organization will be guided by a full time professional staff and supplemented by a large number of volunteer workers. The full time staff will provide the programs and the administrative support. The responsibilities of the staff include fund raising, solicitation of memberships, coordination with all other interested organizations, publicity, publications, brochures and the interviewing and recruiting of technical personnel to support African Government requests. It is the dual aim of this organization to provide aid at the governmental level and develop a strong person to person relationship in Africa.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

The seal of ADFI has inscribed thereon these words: "HE HELPS THOSE WHO HELP THEMSELVES." The time has come to end the paradox of the last one-hundred years when American Negroes were promised liberty while the Africans were losing theirs. Now that the Africans have largely regained their freedom (even before the American promise has been fulfilled), the realization has become universal that the two problems are inseparable.

As an adult, you can participate in this important international problem by making direct contributions in behalf of this effort to ADFI. You can join the ADFI Chapters to help in the fund raising program and to help in broadening the channels of communication and knowledge between America and Africa.

More and Better Schools can be provided through your contributions to A.D.F.I.

If you are a student, you can encourage ADFI Chapter organizations on your campus; start cultural groups and thereby contribute, through your efforts, to the fund raising, cultural and recruiting programs of this organization.

No matter who or where you are, you can dedicate your efforts to help those who are helping themselves.

HOW IT STARTED

When he was 15 years old, and on his first trip to Africa, William Lloyd Edgenton, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the African Development Foundation, Inc., moved with his family to West Africa. He had many varied experiences while there to include the setting up of the first modern barbershop and supervising in the organization of baseball teams in the schools and Missions of that area.

As early as 1921, when he was back in the United States, he advocated the settling and developing of Africa. He has lived with this vision and it has persisted, becoming a reality. In 1954, he helped organize the West African Shipping and Trading Company (WASTCO) incorporated in Liberia and which today, though dormant, is not dead and is identified with ADFI.

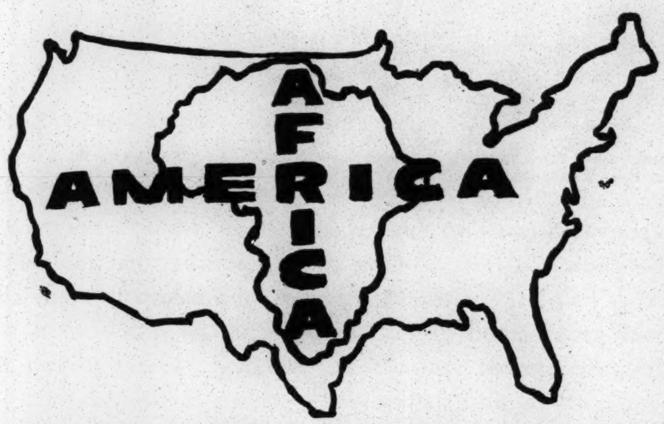
In 1962, he again was in Liberia and helped organize the African Pioneers League (APL) which is the African counterpart of ADFI. He has received indorsement by several African Governments for the type of aid and development this organization is offering.

William Lloyd Edgenton has already done much to awaken the interest of many people all over the United States in behalf of Africa.

Adequate housing is one of the basic needs that your contributions to A.D.F.I. can supply.

ADFI ROLL OF HONOR

The African Development Foundation, incorporated, will compile for publication the list of names that will appear in the first annual Roll Of Honor of the ADFI Fund, which will identify those who have given during the fiscal year ending April 30, 1966. WE WOULD LIKE TO INCLUDE YOUR NAME, along with the many supporters who believe in the aims and ideals of this organization and whose contributions, small or large, are doing so much to make this (your) organization one of excellence in all of its varied programs.



Though AFRICA is approximately five times the size of AMERICA, A.D.F.I. and its affiliated Chapters have set IT in the heart of US.

ADFI is grateful for your confidence and support which serves as a gauge to industry, foundations and others in reviewing the merits of this organization when considering who will receive their support.

WE SINCERELY HOPE THAT YOU WILL TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO INVEST IN THE FUTURE OF THE PRESENT AND ON-COMING GENERATIONS. WON'T YOU CONSIDER MAKING SUCH AN INVESTMENT TODAY?
YOUR contribution to ADFI is:

Credited to you by name and location

Tax Deductible

Applied to any one of our programs that you specify

CLIP AND MAIL THIS FORM TO

THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT FOUNDATION, INC.
P.O. BOX 1444
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI 64141

( ) I wish to become a member of ADFI

( ) Here is my membership contribution of

( ) $100 ( ) $50 ( ) $25 ( ) $5 ( ) $1

NAME ______________________________

STREET ______________________________

CITY ______________________________

STATE ____________________ ZIP CODE ________

I give $__________ to the ADFI Fund (make check payable to ADFI Fund)

Use My Gift:

( ) In the area of greatest need,

—or—

( ) For ______________________________

____

____

( ) I intend to give annually until further notice.

Send reminder every year on ____________________
date

NAME (Mr.) (Mrs.) (Miss) ______________________________

ADDRESS ______________________________

CITY ______________________________

STATE ______________________________

ZIP CODE NUMBER ______________________________

Please return this Certificate with your Gift.

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Affiliated with the American Civil Liberties Union
156 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10010 • ORegon 5-5990

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file: committee - awards

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MAY 14 1965

May 13, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038

Dear ~~Mr. Farmer~~ Jim:

The New York Civil Liberties Union is pleased to invite you to serve as a sponsor of the Opening Night presentation of the 1965 Lincoln Center Film Festival. The performance, and a gala reception to follow, will be held on September 7 at Philharmonic Hall, as a benefit for the NYCLU.

no

We would appreciate your early response to this invitation on the enclosed post card as we must shortly go to press. Of course, we will be sure to send you invitations to attend the performance as soon as the printed invitations are available.

Thanking you for your consideration, and looking forward to your favorable response, I am

Yours sincerely,

Aryeh

Aryeh Neier
Executive Director

enclosure

ESTABLISHED 1931 — INCORPORATED 1951

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file - committe - awards

MAY 24 1965

The One Hundred Men, Inc.

422 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

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Vice-Pres., Schenley Dist. Co.

WO

May 19, 1965

TO: MEMBERS OF THE ONE HUNDRED MEN

FROM: ROBERT J. MANGUM - CHAIRMAN

Subject: Dinner Meeting - June 15, 1965

The delay in having dinner meetings was caused by an unexpected change of plans by Mr. David Rockefeller, whom we had hoped to have as our speaker in March or April, and by a delay in correspondence from Senator Kennedy to the Chairman of The One Hundred Men. We were trying to arrange for Senator Kennedy to speak in May. He has agreed now to speak in early Fall, probably in September.

City Council President Paul R. Screvane will address The One Hundred Men on the New York City Poverty Program on Tuesday, June 15, 1965. The dinner meeting will be held at the Brass Rail, 100 Park Avenue, New York City. Dinner will be served at 6:30 P.M. and President Screvane will speak at about 8 P.M. Reservations will be received at the door. Cocktails are not included in the cost of the dinner, but can be purchased individually at the bar.

Kindly forward your check in the amount of $7.50 to Mr. William J. Hart, 170-20 130th Avenue, Rochdale Village, Jamaica 11434, New York. All checks must be received no later than June 9, 1965.

Sincerely,

Bob

M

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file - Committees

JUN 8 1965

PC
Planned Communities, Inc.
A subsidiary of Modern Community Developers

Suite 111, 7750 Roosevelt Boulevard
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19152
DE 8-7333 Code 215

May 26, 1965

Dear Jim:

My deepest appreciation for your acceptance as a member of the Advisory Committee of M-REIT.

A copy of our preliminary prospectus, in which your name appears, will be mailed to you shortly. If you have any suggestions about it, please do advise me.

Any suggestion of people who might like to invest would be appreciated.

Cordially,

Morris Milgram

MM/jb

Mr. James Farmer
38 Park Row
New York, New York

file -
Committees

June 21, 1965

Mr. Louis J. Braun
National Chairman
Campus ADA
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Braun:

Because of the crises of the past weeks Mr. Farmer has been out of the office almost constantly and has not been able personally to keep up with his correspondence. He has just had time to read your letter, but not to dictate an answer, so has asked me to reply.

Mr. Farmer was, of course, very pleased to hear of the many important projects you are planning and will be happy to be a member of the National Campus ADA Advisory Board.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

NEW YORK OFFICE
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10010
OR 5-7020

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OK

JUN 7 1965

June 4, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
c/o CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Campus Americans for Democratic Action is planning broad and intensive programs of implementation on the campus and in the community in the fields of Civil Rights, Education, and Civil Liberties. We seek to advance liberal goals and ideals, while persuing productive associations with the prominent representatives in the areas of labor relations, economics, and peace. We wish to become a rallying point for liberal students who share our concerns and ideals.

Projects are being conducted in all parts of the country dealing with the problems of poverty, segregation, and the cold war. As we build and develop our programs in depth, we are in need of advice and consultation from experts in the fields in which we work. Ours is an ambitious undertaking, and to be accomplished with any measure of success, advice must be sought, and advice must be given.

It is because of this that the National Executive Committee of the Campus ADA, on May 29, 1965, authorized the creation of a National Campus ADA Advisory Board.

An Independent Liberal Organization

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OR 5-7020

Americans for Democratic Action

We of Campus ADA would be most honored if you would consider becoming a member of this board, and consent to aid us in developing and implementing programs which would meet some of the pressing problems relevant to all Americans.

We await your reply, and hope that it will be a favorable one.

Sincerely yours,

Louis J Braun

Louis J. Braun
National Chairman
Campus ADA

LJB/dmd

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Committees

June 28, 1965

Miss Anne Moody
320 West 96th Street
Apartment 2F
New York, New York

Dear Anne:

Mr. Farmer asked me to reply to your letter of June 18th, as he did not have time to dictate a personal answer before leaving for the Convention.

Mr. Farmer regrets that he will not have time to serve on your Committee, but will be very glad to lend his name for the support of the Committee.

Sincerely,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

JUN 21 1965

June 18, 1965

Use name
no work

Mr. James Farmer
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I have been chosen to head a Committee which will be presenting Miss Dorothy Wright, Contralto, one of America's outstanding young artists, in a Town Hall Concert to be given in the near future.

Miss Wright comes from the New England Conservatory of Music, in Boston, Massachusettes and has lived in New York for some time furthering her career. She has worked with the Hall Johnson Choir and has done concerts in most of the large cities throughout the United States. She has also been heard on radio and television.

I have chosen you to serve on this committee with me or lend your name for the support for such a Committee.

In anticipation of an early early reply, I remain,

Respectfully yours,

Anne Moody
Anne Moody
320 W. 96 St
Apt 2F
OX 7-2247 or 222-3132

file
committees

TELEGRAM JUNE 29, 1965

MICHAEL HANMON
2026 REDESDAL AVE
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 100038

WILL BE PLEASED TO ACT AS HONORARY NATIONAL CO-CHAIRMAN OF MICHAEL HANNON CITIZENS' DEFENSE COMMITTEE

JAMES FARMER
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

Committees

July 7, 1965

Mr. Lester R. Bachner, Chairman
Pauline Wechsler Testimonial Dinner
American Friends of the Hebrew University
11 East 69th Street
New York, New York 10021

Dear Mr. Bachner:

We would be pleased and indeed honored to join the national committee for a Pauline Wechsler Testimonial Dinner.

We know the great work that Mrs. Wechsler has done throughout the years. Not only has she met obligations within the Jewish community, but she has taken into the broad scope of her concern obligations in such areas as civil rights. We in CORE know of and appreciate Pauline Wechsler's work. We also know of the dedicated work of her husband and of their children, Elaine, Gloria and Robert.

Thank you for inviting us to join with what I am sure will be numbrous Americans in this tribute to Pauline Wechsler.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:nm

AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY
11 EAST 69th STREET • NEW YORK 21, N. Y. • YUkon 8-8400

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invited C.R. Heb Univ

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*Deceased

Abraham
husband
children
Elaine
Robert
Gloria

June 21, 1965

yes —

Mr. and Mrs. James Farmer
165 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Farmer:

It gives me great pleasure to tell you that Mrs. Abraham F. Wechsler has been selected for a signal honor. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem will name her an Honorary Fellow, a rare distinction which has been given to very few people since the establishment of the University 40 years ago. The Fellowship will be conferred upon Mrs. Wechsler at a Dinner and Ball in her honor on Monday, October 25th, at the New York Hilton Hotel. The guest speaker of the evening will be United States Senator Robert F. Kennedy of New York.

Pauline Wechsler is the National Chairman of the Society of the Book and President of the New York Women's Division of the American Friends.

As a friend and as one who has worked closely with Mrs. Wechsler in her many activities, I know you will want to join the national committee being formed for this tribute. We want to list you among the national leaders in this salute to a woman who has given so generously of herself to her people, to Israel and to the general welfare.

I look forward to your acceptance. Your early reply will be very much appreciated.

Sincerely,

Lester R. Bachner, Chairman
Pauline Wechsler Testimonial Dinner

LRB: iu

telephoned - please write letter

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J F
Committees

July 16, 1965

Mr. John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
Executive Director
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Pemberton:

Mr. Farmer has asked me to forward the enclosed check, in th the amount of $20, to you for his membership contribution.

Mr. Farmer regrets the delay in sending in this contribution.

Sincerely yoursm

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Deparmtnet

Lula check for a nominal membership

American Civil Liberties Union

Founded 1920
Incorporated

156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y., 10010 • ORegon 5-5990

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May 25, 1965

MAY 26 1965

Mr. James Farmer, Executive
Director Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Jim:

Our membership department has just completed a review of the current status of persons serving on our Board of Directors, National Committee and subject-matter committees. Your name has popped out of their files as among those of whom they have no record of a membership contribution to the Union in 1964 or 1965.

As you know, the Union is engaged in a major 1965 Expansion Drive to provide the funds needed for our new Southern Regional Office, and for our expanded legal, legislative and educational program. We are asking all members of the Union to increase their contributions by at least 30% over their past level of giving, and results to date indicate that significant proportion of the membership is responding to this appeal.

Our Constitution requires that members of the Board and National Committee be members of the Union. In renewing your membership, may I urge you to contribute in the spirit in which we are asking all members to give this year.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Jack

John de J. Pemberton, Jr.
Executive Director

JdeJP:gk

P.S. During the recent past our membership department's files were subjected to tampering. If you have a record of a recent contribution to the Union, will you oblige me by indicating its date and amount, so that they may bring their files up to date?

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American Civil Liberties Union

Founded 1920
Incorporated

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June 3, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
Executive Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

JUN 4 1965

Dear Jim:

I would like to report to you on the progress made to date in our drive to raise tax-deductible funds for the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee of ACLU and solicit your help in concluding this effort.

As you recall, our plenary Board meeting in April decided to "adopt" this agency as an arm of ACLU. We were motivated to do this by the absolutely essential part now being played by LCDC in introducing some concept of constitutional rights into situations where local reaction to the civil rights revolution has tended to close all of the windows. We undertook at that meeting to launch a special campaign to raise $75,000 as a portion of LCDC-ACLU's budget. We recognized that the timing of this campaign would present difficulties, in view of affiliate efforts involved in our own 1965 Expansion Drive. However, we felt that, these difficulties were warranted not only by the merits of the cause but because the effort would give the whole ACLU family experience in seeking tax-deductible funds in areas extending beyond the traditional sources of ACLU fund-raising.

The Board decision, as well as a general outline of the kind of face-to-face major gifts campaign we have in mind, were promptly communicated to affiliates. There have been frustrating delays in preparing the basic brochure to be used by our solicitors in approaching prospective donors. In the meantime we have urged our affiliates to set up their campaign machinery so that it would be ready to roll as soon as the necessary literature is in hand.

We have asked each affiliate to set up a special committee which would prepare a list of prospective donors, and assign workers to contact them as soon as the materials are ready.

Washington Office — 1101 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005; Lawrence Speiser, *Director*; Julie N. Barrows, *Executive Assistant*
Southern Regional Office — 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303; Charles M. Morgan, Jr., *Director*; Jean Levine, *Executive Assistant*.
With organized affiliates in thirty states and 800 cooperating attorneys in 300 cities of 50 states

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When the brochure is printed this week, we will have a kit for each solicitor which will contain: the brochure on LCDC-ACLU; a revised prospectus setting forth LCDC's prospects and accomplishments in greater detail for the really large-gift prospect; a fact sheet on relations between LCDC and ACLU's Southern Office, the civil rights movement and the President's LCCRUL Committee; a confidential list of individuals and foundations who have already contributed to LCDC-ACLU; LCDC's current docket of cases; and a reprint of the New York Times article announcing the LCDC-ACLU merger.

In addition, we are just sending out to affiliates a list of general and family foundations in their areas, and another one of all attorneys who have served with LCDC who might be able to convey the sense of excitement which surrounds this project to solicitors (and if they wish, to accompany them in making their visits to prospects).

A direct-mail solicitation for gifts in the order of $25, $50 and up will shortly go out to 15,000 lawyers in five major cities. While we do not expect major returns from this method of solicitation, it was made possible by an offer of $1,500 in "seed money" by an LCDC-ACLU supporter who specified that it be used in this way. If returns are encouraging, this mailing can be rapidly expanded to cover any indicated portion of the 214,000 lawyers in the United States.

While the delay in producing the basic brochure for this drive has been unfortunate, our ability to fulfill our commitment to the defense of civil liberties in the South via LCDC-ACLU will depend largely on the degree to which our affiliates put into effect the plans outlined for them by our Membership and Development Department.

May I solicit your special attention to this project? You could be helpful in two ways. You could check on the progress made by your affiliate, and offer to help it, in setting up a committee and assigning prospective donors to ACLU solicitors. In addition, you could volunteer to take a solicitor's kit for use in approaching your own list of prospective donors. The time available to us is very short before summer vacations set in. I think it would be hard to overestimate the importance to this effort of active participation by all 67 ACLU Board members.

Rachlin
raising money
for LCDC

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Jack

John de J. Pemberton, Jr.

JdeJP:gk

HAROLD TAYLOR
Suite 630
156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10010, N.Y.

JUL 2 6 1965

Committees, awards

July 26, 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

On Thursday and Friday, August 12-13, unofficial Congressional Hearings on Viet Nam will be convened in New York City by Representative William F. Ryan. The entire New York Congressional Delegation is being invited to attend.

In view of the steadily escalating war in Viet Nam and the absence of official public hearings in the Foreign Affairs Committees of Congress, it is imperative that such hearings be held elsewhere. Therefore, unofficial Congressional Hearings, convened by members of government, will be held in New York and other cities during the next month. Expert testimony representing all points of view will be presented at the Hearings. This material, plus written statements from organizations and individuals, will be compiled and the resulting document will be inserted in the Congressional Record by Mr. Ryan.

|| On behalf of Congressman Ryan, I am inviting you to join with a group of public-spirited citizens to endorse the convening of these Hearings. Your endorsement will be publicly announced. OK

In my judgment, Congressman Ryan is performing a great public service in convening these Hearings on Viet Nam, and thus providing a forum for public discussion of the major issue of American foreign policy. I hope you will join me in giving public support to Congressman Ryan's Hearings. A form and return envelope are enclosed, which I would appreciate your signing and sending to me, by return mail if possible.

Sincerely,

Harold Taylor

Harold Taylor

committes
awards

OK

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

August 5, 1965

AUG 5 1965

Mr. James Farmer
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

On March 2, 1967 Howard University will attain its 100th anniversary. This will be one of the most significant events in the life of this institution, and it is contemplated that the observance will extend throughout the school year 1966-67. A Centennial Committee is moving forward on plans for investing this year-long Centennial celebration with colorful and memorable events, of which every Howardite may feel justifiably proud.

One of the major activities of this Centennial observance will be an Alumni Centennial Fund campaign, through which the University will undertake to raise among our alumni throughout the world at least $250,000 for the University scholarships. You will recognize at once not only the morale building possibilities, but also the practical necessities of our launching a vigorous effort in this area at a time when employment opportunities are widening but when personal funds for starting and continuing college training remain limited.

Naturally, the most important factor of a cooperative endeavor of this nature and magnitude is the leadership. Accordingly, we are forming an International Committee of distinguished persons who hold degrees from the University and who will provide the inspiration and counsel indispensable to the success of the campaign. Specifically, I am writing to ask you to serve on this International Committee of the Alumni Centennial Fund. Your consent will be a blessing not only to Howard, but also to the total community of higher education.

Knowing your schedule to be a busy one, I assure you that this strategic service to Howard and the field of higher education need not make considerable demands upon your time. In backing this project as a member of the International Committee, you will enable the University to benefit by having your name appear on special Alumni Centennial Fund stationery and widely publicized in our special Fund literature.

I know that with your help this appeal for urgently needed scholarship assistance can elicit a favorable response from our alumni throughout the world. Please let me hear from you by return mail, as we are counting on you as a member of the International Committee.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

James M Nabrit Jr

James M. Nabrit, Jr.
President

Ch

Committees, awards

League for Industrial Democracy

112 East 19th Street, New York, N. Y. 10003 / ALgonquin 4-5865

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(continued on reverse side)

AUG 12 1965

August 12, 1965

~~Our allied~~ groups

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038

Dear Jim,

Earlier this year, you will recall, I invited you to become a sponsor of a Conference on National Economic Planning, initiated by the League for Industrial Democracy.

I was delighted to receive your acceptance, and want now to bring you up to date on the progress we have made in preparing for the Conference.

The project has elicited an enthusiastic response from a large number of people, representing a broad cross-section of American intellectual and organizational life. A list of those who have thus far agreed to be sponsors is enclosed. We shall seek to expand the list.

Indeed, the support which we received was so far reaching that it forced us to revise the target date for the Conference and to project it into the spring of 1966. This will allow a maximum participation of organizations and individuals in the process of making plans -- and should deepen the impact of the entire undertaking.

Toward this end, representatives of the League met in Washington on June 15th with Matthew Clarke (Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions), Rev. John F. Cronin, S.S. (National Catholic Welfare Conference), Gerhart Colm (National Planning Association), Woody Ginsburg (Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO), Nat Goldfinger (AFL-CIO), Cameron P. Hall (National Council of Churches), Msgr. George G. Higgins (National Catholic Welfare Conference) Leon H.

Contributions to the LID are tax-deductible / LID is officially accredited to the United States Mission to the United Nations

"Education for Increasing Democracy in Our Economic, Political and Cultural Life"

Princeton, N.J., Dec. 12, 1904

Edwin Markham, Esq.,

C/o Funk & Wagnalls,

New York City

Dear Sir:-

I wish to set on foot a movement to organize an Intercollegiate Socialist Society, for the purpose of stimulating an interest in socialism among college men, graduate and undergraduate, organizing study clubs in the colleges, and assisting them with information and literature. I wish to get a few men of influence whom I know to be interested in Socialism, to sign a call, asking those who care to assist me to send in their names. Such a call, if signed by names which command attention, would no doubt be published by newspapers which reach college men. Would you be willing to sign it and lend your influence to such a movement?

I am sending this list to Rev. Lyman Abbott, Rev. T.C. Hall, W.D. Howells, Robert Hunter, J.G. Phelps-Stokes, Stanley McCormick, Clarence Darrow, Jack London, W.J. Ghent, Lincoln Steffens, Prof. Richard T. Ely, Prof. Franklin Giddings, Prof. John R. Commons, and Prof. Thorstein Veblen.

Respectfully yours,

UPTON SINCLAIR

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Keyserling (Conference on Economic Progress), and Ben B. Seligman (Retail Clerks' International Association). (NOTE: organizations are listed for identification purposes only and do not imply organizational endorsement of the conference.) Many of their suggestions have been incorporated in the revised program which is enclosed.

The participants at the Washington meeting felt that we had succeeded in giving the Conference a sound basic structure. Within this consensus, they stressed two different points: that the sessions be designed for the analysis and discussion of new information on planning and that we, and all the participants, seek to avoid all ceremonial speeches; that we seek the widest possible participation in the Conference, including people from civil rights, labor, business, religious and academic groups.

We have sought financial support for this undertaking from various foundations and have received indications of interest. In the weeks ahead we shall pursue these possibilities and also seek definite commitments from suggested conference speakers.

We shall keep you informed of our progress and welcome any suggestions you might have. Thank you, again, for your support.

Sincerely,

Michael Harrington
MICHAEL HARRINGTON
Chairman of the Board

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encl. 2

CONFERENCE ON NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLANNING

I. Purpose: To help supply the labor, civil rights and other reform movements concerned with social and economic problems with the information they need to increase their understanding of the possibilities and problems of developing national economic planning in America.

There has recently been a growing interest in economic planning among these movements and, with that, an increased need for information on which to base discussion of planning:

> At its last convention, the AFL-CIO adopted the position that economic planning was essential to economic and social justice in an age of automation.
>
> The civil rights movement is coming to the conclusion that its goals of freedom and equality cannot be achieved unless poverty, unemployment, and the long accumulated neglect of social needs in America are overcome.
>
> Organizations concerned with lowering the risks of nuclear annihilation inherent in the arms race look to economic planning to make possible a shift in resources to peacetime uses without the kind of dislocations which create a stake in preserving the military-industrial complex.
>
> Groups concerned with the failure to cope with the huge deficits and the new problems in the areas of education, housing, city planning, health, etc. are coming to realize that the needs on which they focus are not likely to be met except in the context of economic planning.
>
> Some responsible business leaders are recognizing that 19th century attitudes to economic policy are an obstacle to coping with 20th century problems.

There is a growing realization among all these groups that the various particular problems with which they are concerned are related to each other and that their solutions require allocations of resources which cannot be achieved in the absence of long-term and co-ordinated public policies which require the framework of economic planning.

The conference on planning is intended to be a first step in a sustained series of efforts to respond to this interest in planning and to provide a context for informed debate.

II. Procedure

A. The conference will be in the Spring of 1966, either in New York City or in Washington, D.C. The proposed format is attached.

B. Papers: In order to provide conference participants with a point of departure in a common fund of information, approximately twenty expert papers will be solicited and distributed in advance of the conference.

C. A selection of these papers and the major conference addresses will be published as a pamphlet by the LID for wide national distribution. It is expected that this material, in more detailed form, will be published as a book.

D. It is hoped that one result of the conference would be the establishment of permanent study groups to explore in depth problem areas defined by the conference, to develop further literature, and plan subsequent meetings and conferences.

III. Sponsorship: The conference will be organized by an ad hoc committee, chaired by Michael Harrington, and representing a broad range of labor, civil rights, liberal, civic and other organizations. Sponsorship would not imply organizational commitment to national economic planning, only to the need for public discussion of the issue.

It is proposed that the League for Industrial Democracy, initiator of the conference proposal, should serve as the administrative center. As a tax-exempt, educational organization, the LID can receive foundation grants.

IV. Finances:

A. It is estimated that thirty thousand dollars ($30,000) will be required to finance the conference and resource papers:

1.	Conference coordinator (salary)	$3,000.
2.	Secretary (salary)	2,000.
3.	Transportation (transatlantic and domestic) and accommodations	10,500.
4.	Honoraria (for speakers and papers)	5,000.
5.	Direct conference expenses and services	3,000.
6.	Promotion	3,500.
7.	Supplies and overhead	3,000.
		$30,000.

B. As a result of informal discussions in Washington, we are in a position to expect ten thousand dollars ($10,000) from the labor movement toward meeting conference expenses. A contribution from Andrew E. Norman has already been received. The remainder of the budget will be sought from foundations.

Revised Outline for a Conference on

DEMOCRATIC PLANNING FOR AMERICA

FRIDAY

6:00 P.M. Registration and final distribution of Papers

Dinner: "Planning for Social Justice"

Presiding: Michael Harrington, Chairman of the Board, League for Industrial Democracy; author of *The Other America* and *The Accidental Century*

Speakers: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; 1964 Nobel Peace Prize winner
George Meany, President, AFL-CIO

SATURDAY

9:30-12:30 Session #1: "Planning and America's Unmet Social Needs"

Why are America's needs so unevenly met despite America's vast resources? Why aren't the available techniques of economic policy as now used -- tax changes, public spending, credit regulation, trust busting, etc. -- more effective in overcoming the imbalances and inequalities in the American economy? Why is there continued unemployment, regional poverty, urban decay, inadequate education, etc., despite the longest "recovery" on record, booming profits, and an explosive rate of scientific progress?

Speakers: Leon H. Keyserling, Conference on Economic Progress
Thomas Watson, IBM

Discussants: Nat Goldfinger, Director of Research, AFL-CIO
John R. Bunting*, Vice-President, Federal Reserve Bank, Philadelphia
Robert Lekachman, Professor of Economics, Barnard College

12:30-2:30 Lunch: "The Relevance of the European Experience to American Society"

Speaker: Gunnar Myrdal, author of *Challenge to Affluence*

2:30-5:30 Session #2: "Democratic Planning -- the European Experience"

What are the similarities and differences of the European models in priorities and techniques; the relation between government controls and the markets; the roles of business and labor? What scope is allowed for social and individual choice? What is the role of political democracy? What are the problems and directions of development in European planning?

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* Alternates to Mr. Bunting: Herbert Holloman, Paul Mazur

Speakers: Pierre Masse*, former General Commissioner, French Planning Commission
Thomas Balogh*, Economist, Oxford University; advisor to British Labour Government

Discussants: Woody Ginsburg, Research Director, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO
Representative from the President's Council of Economic Advisors
Ben Seligman, Professor of Industrial Relations, University of Massachusetts

5:30-6:30 Cocktails (Informal Discussion)

6:30-9:00 Dinner: "Planning in the American Tradition

Speaker: Robert Heilbroner, author of *The Making of Economic Society*

SUNDAY

2:00-5:00 Session #3: "Planning in America -- the Problems and Possibilities"

How can planning in America be developed in the light of previous experience? What would be the roles of Congress, the executive branch, quasi-independent agencies, business and labor, geographical areas, the voting public? How can economic planning be developed in America? What are the institutional and ideological obstacles to planning in America? How can they be overcome? What should the movements for democratic social change be working for -- and how?

Speakers: Senator Joseph S. Clark of Pennsylvania
Walter P. Reuther, President, United Automobile Workers of America, AFL-CIO

Discussants: Bertran Gross, Professor of Public Administration, Syracuse University
Ralph Helstein, President, United Packinghouse Workers of America, AFL-CIO
Bayard Rustin, Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute

5:00-5:15 Summary Statement: Michael Harrington

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* Alternatives to Pierre Masse would be Bernard Cazes, Pierre Mendes-France, Pierre Bauchet, Philippe Bauchord, and Gaston Deferre. Alternatives to Mr. Balogh would be Anthony Crosland, Andrew Schonfeld, Peter Shore and Nicholas Kaldor.

Committees

August 20, 1963

Mr. Ronald Segal, Convenor
International Conference on
Economic Sanctions against South Africa
The Old Manor House
Manor Road
Walton-on-Thames, Surrey

Dear Mr. Segal:

Mr. Farmer is now out of the office, but I have spoken with him by telephone regarding your letter of August 2nd. He asked me to let you know that he will be glad to have you list his name as a sponsor of the Sanctions Conference.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Stedman
Administrative Department

yes

International Conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa

Congrès International des Sanctions Economiques contre l'Afrique du Sud

The Old Manor House, Manor Road, Walton-on-Thames, Surrey.

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URGENT AND CONFIDENTIAL

2nd August 1965

AUG 1 3 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer,

The International Conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa, which was held at London in April last year, was a notable success, and its proceedings had a significant effect on subsequent considerations of the South African crisis at the United Nations, on the campaign for sanctions by the Organisation of African Unity, and on public opinion towards sanctions within the West.

In pursuance of recommendations by the final plenary session of the Sanctions Conference, the Steering Committee of the Conference is planning to hold an International Conference at London, in April 1966, to consider the whole question of South West Africa, the failure of international accountability for the government of the mandate so far, and methods - including sanctions - of forcing South Africa to accept the all but unanimous view of humanity. Despite persistent calls by the United Nations, the government of South Africa has not only extended its policy of white domination to the territory but has actually annexed it, over the protests of its inhabitants and in defiance of the terms on which the mandate was granted in the first place.

By concentrating at this conference on the question of South West Africa, we shall be dealing with a subject of vital and topical interest. The judgement of the International Court of Justice is expected within the next six to nine months; this judgement is likely to call for a positive international policy towards the South African mandate. The relevance of sanctions towards enforcing that policy is clear.

As you may see from the letter-head, a large number of public figures from all over the world agreed to sponsor the Sanctions Conference, and we trust that an even larger number will sponsor the Conference on South West Africa.

We would feel greatly honoured if you would agree to sponsor the Conference, on the clear understanding that this in no way commits you to any specific decisions that the Conference may take.

I am most anxious that this Conference should, at the same time as marshalling international pressure over the problem of South West Africa, provide an opportunity for the leaders of the American Civil Rights movement to meet the leaders of Afro-Asian opinion.

The Sanctions Conference of April, 1964, was attended by a large number of official delegations from African and Asian states, all of them led by Cabinet Ministers or senior diplomats. It is hoped that the Conference on South West Africa will be attended by even more influential Afro-Asian representatives and I believe it important that the American Civil Rights movement should be significantly represented.

We would much appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Ronald Segal

Ronald Segal, Convenor.

J. Farmer Esq.
Congress of Racial Equality,
New York.

Committees, awards

sane | NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A
SANE NUCLEAR POLICY, INC.
17 E. 45 ST., NEW YORK 17, N.Y.
TELEPHONE: OXFORD 7-2265

AUG 30 1965

File

August 23, 1965

James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

President Johnson has said that there is no substantial division in the country or in Congress about the Government's Vietnam policies. We are convinced, however, that there is substantial public opinion that does not agree with the President, and we also think there are steps the Administration has not yet taken to help bring the dispute to the conference table. Since our government operates in a democracy which responds to the concerted views of its citizens, we are convinced of the need to show clearly that many Americans want a more vigorous pursuit of a peaceful settlement in Vietnam.

We think the time has come for a new massive show of strength for an end to the war in Vietnam. And we think it should take the form of the largest peace gathering ever held in the Nation's capital.

In the past year, whole new elements of American life have become concerned and active on behalf of a peaceful settlement in Vietnam. We hope that all these people, in addition to those who have long been active can be brought together in an impressive demonstration.

We propose a Mobilization in Washington on Saturday, *~~October 16~~ to take the form of a demonstration at the White House, followed by a public meeting near the Washington Monument.

A distinguished list of individuals will act as sponsors of this event rather than any organization or group of organizations, so that all interested persons will feel free to participate without regard to organizational affiliation.

To be effective, this effort must be on the largest possible scale. Therefore, it cannot succeed without the vigorous efforts of many concerned groups and individuals. For its part, SANE has offered the services of its Washington Office and its Political Action Director, Sanford Gottlieb, to help coordinate the Mobilization. We are asking others to help in any way they can.

*November 27, 1965

OK sponsor (tel)

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STAFF
Donald Keys
Program Director
Sanford Gottlieb
Political Action Director
Marie Runyon
Director of Development

Will you:

1. Announce the event in your publication?

2. Distribute copies of the Call for a Washington Mobilization, when ready? Let us know how many copies you can use.

3. Help mobilize your members in all the communities you can reach to go to Washington on October 16.

We hope you will join in giving this effort all possible support. We will be in touch with you again, with the Call and list of sponsors as soon as they are ready. In the meantime, will you please send us a preliminary reply to the three questions above?

Very sincerely yours,

Benjamin Spock

Benjamin Spock, M.D.
Co-Chairman

CALL

JOIN THE MOBILIZATION IN WASHINGTON TO CALL FOR AN END TO THE WAR IN VIETNAM

WE SEE no gain coming from the war in Vietnam. We see only the growing victimization of the Vietnamese people, the erosion of a better society at home, and the clear possibility of a world conflict.

Caught between terror, torture, and the senseless use of force, the Vietnamese people have seen their land turned into a bloody testing ground by the Vietcong, the Saigon government, by the North Vietnamese and the United States.

Caught between a commitment to eradicate racial injustice and poverty at home and a growing involvement in an Asian land war, the Johnson Administration will inevitably turn its resources and energies toward the military conflict.

Caught in a competition for the loyalties of the poorest nations, the Soviet Union and China will seek to prove their militancy by aiding North Vietnam, thus increasing the chances of a direct clash with the United States.

WE SEEK to end this war.

WE AFFIRM that no party to the conflict, the U.S. included, has done all it can to bring about negotiations, and since the war will ultimately end at the conference table, we ask new actions to speed that day.

WE AFFIRM our support for all the efforts, including those of the United Nations Secretary General, U Thant, and Pope Paul, to bring the dispute to the conference table, and we welcome a wider role for the United Nations in bringing about negotiations and in implementing any agreement.

WE RECOGNIZE that the U.S. cannot negotiate an end to the war by itself, but we believe there are things our government could do which it has left undone, that could lead more quickly to negotiations. And we believe we can help build the public understanding through which our government can vigorously pursue the path of peace.

TOWARD THE GOAL OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN VIETNAM....

WE ASK
That our government call for a cease-fire, and to this end;

Halt the bombing of North Vietnam;

Halt the introduction of additional men and materiel, and ask the other side to do the same.

WE ASK
That our government state the conditions under which it will accept peace in Vietnam, and to this end:

Declare U.S. support for the principles of the 1954 Geneva Accords -- the eventual withdrawal of all foreign military forces, a prohibition against military alliances, the peaceful reunification of Vietnam, and self-determination for the Vietnamese people.

Declare U.S. acceptance of negotiations with all concerned parties including the Vietcong, a primary combatant;

Declare U.S. agreement to constitution of a representative new government in South Vietnam as part of the settlement.

Declare U.S. support for U.N. or other international machinery and guarantees to supervise the cease-fire, provide for peaceful establishment of a new government in South Vietnam, protect the rights of minority groups and protect the neutrality of North and South Vietnam.

IN SUPPORT OF THESE MEASURES WE HAVE ISSUED THIS CALL FOR A

Mobilization in Washington
November 27, 1965
~~October 16, 1965 - the eve of U. N. Week~~

Beginning at 10 A.M. in front of the White House

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Bishop Hazen G. Werner
Rabbi Jacob Weinstein

Committee, awards

August 23, 1965

Messrs. Dr. Benjamin Spock &
Dana McLean Greenley
c/o Chairman SANE
17 East 45th Street
sNew York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Spock & Mr. Greenley:

Sharing with you a deep and urgent concern about the present American policy in Vietnam. I will be honored to be an individual sponser at the Mobilization in Washington on October 16th. Unfortunately, my schedule will not make it possible for me to be present.

Very Sincerely yours,

JF/rwb

James Farmer
National Director

yes - Sponsor
not speak (full calendar)

sane
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SANE NUCLEAR POLICY, INC.
17 E. 45 ST., NEW YORK 17, N.Y.
TELEPHONE: OXFORD 7-2265

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Sanford Gottlieb
  Political Action Director
Marie Runyon
  Director of Development

August 18, 1965

AUG 20 1965

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Mr. Farmer:

President Johnson has said that there is no substantial division in the country or in Congress about the Government's Vietnam policies. He is perhaps correct to the extent that most Americans oppose a unilateral pullout and believe the Government has done all it can to bring about negotiations. While we believe the Administration sincerely wants to end the war, we think it has not done all that it could do to encourage negotiations. Recognizing that the Administration moves in large part in response to public pressures, we are convinced of the need to show clearly that many Americans want a more vigorous pursuit of a peaceful settlement in Vietnam.

Toward this end, we ask that you join us as one of the major speakers, and if you are willing, also as an individual sponsor of a Mobilization in Washington on October 16. We hope that this event will become the largest single demonstration for peace in Vietnam. The individuals on the enclosed list are being asked to sponsor the Mobilization. Your affiliation would be listed for purposes of identification only.

We are not seeking official organizational sponsorships of this Mobilization, but we are undertaking to develop broad participation by many groups and individuals. SANE has offered the services of its Washington Office and Political Action Director, Sanford Gottlieb, to help coordinate the activities. Other volunteers will be recruited across the country.

The proposed event will take the form of a march in front of the White House, followed by an outdoor mass meeting near the Washington Monument. The speakers at the meeting, and we hope you will be among them, are being invited from major publics of American life, and, as much as possible, will be relatively new voices in the dialogue on Vietnam. Enclosed is the proposed Call for the Mobilization, which outlines the policy approach and the measures we are commending to the Administration. The event will

be tightly controlled. The tone will be affirmative and creative, and no civil disobedience will be allowed.

We hope you can accept the invitation to speak to this significant meeting on October 16 in Washington, and we would welcome your sponsorship as well. In view of the need for adequate time to plan this event, we hope we may hear from you soon.

Very sincerely yours,

Benjamin Spock
Benjamin Spock, M.D.
(Co-Chairman, SANE)

Dana McLean Greeley
Dana McLean Greeley
(Unitarian Universalist Association)

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CALL

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IN SUPPORT OF THESE MEASURES WE HAVE ISSUED THIS CALL FOR A

Mobilization in Washington

October 16, 1965 - the eve of U. N. Week

Beginning at 10 A.M. in front of the White House

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committees,
awards

SEP 1 1965

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  Program Director
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  Political Action Director
Marie Runyon
  Director of Development

August 31, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Core
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Thank you for your affirmative response to the invitation of Dr. Spock and Dr.Greeley to serve as a Sponsor of the Washington Mobilization on Vietnam. You will be glad to know that the response has been exceptionally good.

Please take note, however, that the date of the Mobilization has been shifted from October 16 to November 27, the Saturday after Thanksgiving. This was made unavoidable by a series of important conflicts.

In view of this change in date we hope you may be able to be present at the rally and to speak. Our invitation to you to be one of the major speakers is very much open. If it is possible for you to speak as a result of this date change, may we hear from you very soon?

Sincerely,

Donald Keys

Donald F. Keys
Executive Director

DFK:as

called to tell mr Keys that mr Farmer
would not be able to attend

Committee

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20001

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Sep 7 [illegible]

September 3, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I wish to express to you my personal appreciation and the gratitude of the entire Howard University community for your agreeing to serve as a member of the International Committee of the Alumni Centennial Fund. It is very heartening to us to have this affirmative response from you and a considerable number of other distinguished persons who have received degrees from this institution. The names of the full committee will be announced soon.

Under the leadership of Dr. William Stuart Nelson, Vice President for Special Projects, the University calendar for the Centennial Celebration Year is nearing completion. It is an inspiring venture; and I hope that in addition to your service on the International Committee you will be able to witness some of the activities and events which are planned. Be assured that you will be kept informed of all programs.

Thank you again for consenting to be a member of the University's Alumni Centennial Fund International Committee.

Sincerely yours,

James M Nabrit Jr

James M. Nabrit, Jr.
President

Committee, awards

USNSANEWS

UNITED STATES NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
2115 S Street, N.W. • Washington, D. C. 20008 • 202 387-5100

October 5, 1965

OCT 7 1965

James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

ok Tel

Dear Mr. Farmer,

Last year you were kind enough to join the committee of sponsors of the annual Thanksgiving Fast for Freedom. Your support was instrumental in raising the $34,108.05, contributed by students across the nation. The enclosed report details the progress and the difficulties of the past Fast, and points to the pressing need for another and more successful Fast this year.

Needless to say, the removal of legal restrictions to voting, represented by the Voting Rights Act of 1965, makes it more important than ever that Southern Negroes be safe from economic harrassment.

The Executive Committee of the Fourth Annual Thanksgiving Fast for Freedom would again welcome your endorsement of the 1965-66 Fast. This year's fast will provide not only food, but economic assistance to self-help cooperatives in the South. On November 18, students in schools across the country will be asked to give up their evening meal and the money thus saved by the school will be sent to a special fund, to be used for food and other forms of assistance.

Since we are nearing the date at which materials are to be printed and final plans completed we would appreciate an immediate acknowledgment from you. I feel confident that your support will, as it has in the past, be of great help in making the Fast a success.

Very truly yours,

Stephen

Stephen Arons
Civil Rights Director

SA:mkg.

AUTHORITY TO ACT: CRISIS IN HUNGER

Memorandum Re: Thanksgiving Fast for Freedom, 1964-65

On November 19, 1964, 80,000 American students fasted that Mississippi's impoverished Negroes might eat. These students, participating in the United States National Student Association's Fast For Freedom, abstained from dinner so that their meal money could be used to provide food for some of the poorest people in the country. In a December 2 letter to Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman, USNSA President Stephen Robbins proposed that the Delta Ministry of the National Council of Churches use the $34,000 raised by the Fast to pay administrative costs for distributing government surplus food in Mississippi. This procedure would provide many times more food than could be purchased wholesale. At that time only 24 of Mississippi's 82 counties were distributing food to the poor.

The United States Department of Agriculture is empowered under section 1431 of Title VII of the United States Code to contribute food surplus to private agencies for redistribution. On February 23, after careful consideration and planning, USNSA and DM submitted to the Department a proposal to feed 7,900 needy persons in Forrest County, Mississippi for a 90 day period. When Mississippi State Welfare authorities were notified of the proposal, they arranged to have Forrest County join USDA's Needy Family Program. The Needy Family Program uses government surplus food, but is administered at the expense of local government.

Following this development, a second proposal was submitted asking for USDA cooperation in any one of the five counties of Jefferson Davis, Carroll, Madison, Amite, or Panola. When informed of these plans Mississippi authorities asked for time to recruit the county. By the end of July, all but two of Mississippi's 82 counties had some form of food distribution set up using government food. In August, Mississippi presented a proposal to the Office of Economic Opportunity for funding the Needy Family Program in all counties which did not distribute to all needy all year round. That proposal still awaits the approval of OEO.

It is estimated that over 100,000 additional people are now being fed in Mississippi as a result of USNSA-DM pressure. Secretary Freeman, in a telegram to President Robbins stated:

> There is no doubt that the offer of the USNSA to undertake a pilot food distribution program in a number of counties in Mississippi must be considered as the catalytic event responsible for the progress that has been made to date.

It was realized early in August by the Executive Committee that in spite of this progress the Fast money would have to be used soon. The time for the 1965-66 Fast was approaching, and people were still hungry in Mississippi.

Having secured a proposal from the Delta Ministry in Mid-September to provide food for the needy in Washington, Sunflower and Bolivar counties, it was decided that rather than risk further delay, a project would be begun immediately. These counties have only winter food distribution programs (beginning after December 1). In addition, the need is extreme because of the presence of over 700 impoverished men, women and children who are striking for an increase in their sub-standard wages. OEO estimates that its program cannot begin before December 1, 1965.

Arrangements are now being made for the purchase and distribution of $30,000 worth of food through the Delta Ministry's seven distribution centers. Plans call for aiding several thousand needy persons for one month in an area in which the per capita income is often less than $600 per year. An essential part of the program will be its basic administration by local groups of poor people. Further details on this project will be forthcoming.

We are now actively planning for this year's Fast. The drive, the distribution of food, and the aiding of self-help organizations have been given considerable thought and effort. In embarking upon the new Fast, we look back with pride upon a year in which over 100,000 people were provided with food and in which our own demonstration project was begun. The need, however, both in Mississippi and in other states, remains great. We hope by extending our efforts this year to involve more students, to secure, without delays, the cooperation of the Department of Agriculture, and to strike at the root causes of poverty through self-help corporations.

Financial Accounting: 1964-65 Fast

Receipts	$38,063.43		
Expenses	3,955.38		
Unexpended Balance 7/31		$34,108.05	
Disbursements		30,000.00	
Fund for Administration of 1965-66 Fast			$4,108.05

committees, awards

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NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR A
SANE NUCLEAR POLICY, INC.
17 E. 45 ST., NEW YORK 17, N.Y.
TELEPHONE: OXFORD 7-2265

OCT 8 1965

OK
+ce

October 7, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 7, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

The National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy will present its Eleanor Roosevelt Peace Award to Senator George McGovern at a Testimonial Dinner at the Waldorf-Astoria on November 9th.

We honor Senator McGovern for his courage and leadership in the rather lonely campaign for a peaceful solution to the complex problems of Vietnam; we also applaud his efforts on advance planning for conversion of the arms industry to peaceful pursuits.

I want to ask you to be one of the sponsors of the dinner. Sponsorship would not obligate you to attend on November 9th, but we would be delighted if you could be with us. We want you to be associated with this tribute to Senator McGovern.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin Spock

Benjamin Spock, M. D.
Co-Chairman

Enclosures

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October 15, 1965

Mrs. Samuel C. Derman
W.I.L.P.F., Fairfield County
919 Lakeside Drive
Bridgeport, Connecticut

Dear Mrs. Derman:

I have just spoken with Mr. Farmer on the telephone regarding your letter of Ocotber 11th (he will not return until the middle of next week).

Mr. Farmer said that he would be glad to have you list him as an honorary sponsor of your conference to be held at the University of Bridgeport on November 20th on the subject, "Are We Educating for War or Peace?".

On behalf of Mr. Farmer and all of us at CORE I want to extend best wishes for a very successful conference on this important subject.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Stedman
Administrative Department

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY 1915-1965

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM
FIRST PRESIDENT: JANE ADDAMS
U. S. SECTION
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OK

OCT 14 1965

919 Lakeside Drive
Bridgeport, Connecticut
October 11, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
c/o CORE
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer,

The Fairfield County Branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, along with other community organizations, is planning an all-day conference to be held at the University of Bridgeport on Saturday, November 20, 1965, on the subject "ARE WE EDUCATING FOR WAR OR PEACE?"

It is our conviction that the largest and most pressing question before the voluntary organizations of America is the problem of war--be it hot or cold--and its impact on society. If we do not assume responsibility on the community level for dealing with this question, we are not likely to build a world in which free societies grow and flourish. Instead, we shall continue the drift toward negation of all we cherish.

As a leader in matters of social concern and world affairs, we are inviting you to become an honorary sponsor of this conference. Your views in the area of world peace are highly respected and valued; consequently, your support of this project would help to secure its success.

It is our earnest hope that this conference will serve as a spearhead to a whole new approach to peace education in Fairfield County and beyond its borders to other communities.

I hope that I may receive your affirmative reply by return mail, so that your name may be included on our program.

Most sincerely,

Nina B. Derman

(Mrs.) Samuel C. Derman
Legislative Chairman and
Chairman Sponsors Committee
W.I.L.P.F., Fairfield County

DRAFT PROGRAM FOR CONFERENCE ON ARE WE EDUCATING FOR WAR OR PEACE?

SATURDAY,
NOVEMBER 20, 1965

STUDENT CENTER, 244 UNIVERSITY AVE.,
UNIVERSITY OF BRIDGEPORT

9:30 A.M. - REGISTRATION and Viewing of Exhibits

10:00 A.M. - PROGRAM - Chairman - Mrs. Libby Frank, Acting Chairman of Committee on Childhood Education National Board of WILPF (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom)

Greetings - Mrs. James H. Halsey

The Role of the Schools - Dr. Harold See, Dean of the College of Education, University of Bridgeport

The Role of the Family and the Community - Dr. Ethel Alpenfels - Anthropologist, School of Education, N.Y.U.

The Role of the International Community - Dr. Gerald Wendt, Director of UNESCO Publications

Question Period

12:15 P.M. - LUNCHEON - Chairman, Herman W. Steinkraus, President of the United Nations Association of the U.S.A.

1:15 P.M. - Après Lunch Address by Mr. Noel Brown - Department of Political and Security Council Affairs of United Nations

1:45 P.M. - DISCUSSION GROUPS

Group 1-A - On Schools: Bill of Rights, Integration, Academic Freedom, Freedom of Speech, Textbook Issue, Civil Defense Drills, An Analysis of Patriotism

Leader - Dr. Herbert Barrett, School Psychologist for Weston Public Schools

Group 1-B - On Schools: Same topics as Group 1-A

Leader - Mr. Norman Hunt, Principal, New Canaan Junion High School

Group 2-A - Family and Community: Friends who came to your home, Developing attitudes in the home, Role of religion, Your role in the community

Leader - Dr. Abraham Knepler, Professor of Education, UB

Group 2-B - Family and Community: Same topics as Group 2-A

Leader - Dr. H. Parker Lansdale, General Secretary, Greater Bridgeport Y.M.C.A.

Group 3-A - The International Community: Participation of children in the world community, United Nations, the rule of law and international morality

Leader - Dr. Anna Maskell, Assistant Professor of Education, Southern Connecticut State College

Group 3-B - The International Community: Same topics as Group 3-A

Leader - M. Michael Grupp, Leader of Southern Connecticut Ethical Society

3:30 P.M. - AFTERNOON TEA AND VIEWING OF EXHIBITS

4:00 P.M. - CONCLUSION - Chairman, Mr. Larry Bogart, Director of International Coop. Inst.

Speaker - Dr. Mario Salvadori, Professor of Civil Engineering & Architecture, Columbia University, and Chairman of the Universities Committee on the Problems of War and Peace of Greater New York

4:30 P.M. - QUESTION PERIOD

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Fairfield County Branch, and Cooperating Organizations

Conference Chairman: Mrs. Selma K. LeSchack
Stonybrook, Westport, Connecticut
Telephone 227-4553

Comm - awds

November 9, 1965

Mr. Ossie Davis
44 Cortland Avenue
New Rochelle, New York

Dear Mr. Davis:

Mr. Farmer asked me to reply to your letter of October 6th since he will be out of the office for the next three weeks on a lecture tour. He also asked me to apologize for him for the long delay in responding.

Mr. Farmer will be glad to have you add his name to the list of signatories of the ad to be placed in the New York Times, and hopes that this letter is not too late to be of use.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Stedman
Administrative Department

Ossie Davis
44 Cortland Avenue
New Rochell, New York

yl

October 6, 1965

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

Dear Jim:

If the fears expressed in Mr. Selwyn Rabb's column are true, then surely, the suspicions of the Negro community that there is one law for Negroes will have been proven. Those of us who care will never be able to prevent another Watts, or another explosion in Harlem, and other Negro communities unless we can assure our people that equality before the law, for Malcolm X, for his alleged assassins, as well as for anybody else, is still the law of the land.

The Malcolm X Inquiry Committee has drawn up an ad to be placed in the New York Times, a draft of which is enclosed. Please read it. An if you feel, as we do, that it is important to get at the truth behind this whole affair, please join us as signatories to the ad, and please send a donation to help us pay the costs.

Sincerely yours,
Ossie Davis
Ossie Davis

enc.

Yes
9.7.

HARLEM WANTS TO KNOW

It was reported by the New York World Telegram and Sun on March 3rd that the Police Department of New York City stated: "They had solved the case" of Malcolm X's murder.

Why, after six months, there has been no trial and only official silence by the District Attorney and the Police Department? On August 11th the New York World Telegram and Sun reported: "Five months ago the three men accused of killing Malcolm X were arrested. Today they are still in the Tomb waiting for a murder trial - a trial one defense lawyer believes may never take place."

It was reported by the New York Herald Tribune on February 23rd that "Several undercover plainclothes policemen were in the uptown meeting hall at the time Malcolm X was shot dead there on Sunday."

Question: If the Police Department has "solved the case" of Malcolm X's murder, if the Police Department had "several undercover plainclothes policemen on the scene when Malcolm was killed, why is it that now the trial "may never take place?"

HARLEM WANTS TO KNOW!

Is it to be that Negro leaders, such as Medgar Evers, Lemuel Penn, George Metcalf, Malcolm X and others, are to be killed off like dogs whenever they speak out and their killers go unpunished? HARLEM SAYS NO!

We find the inaction of the District Attorney and the Police Department inexplicable. We demand that whoever killed Malcolm be brought to justice! NOW! It is of such concern that the citizens of Harlem are demanding an inquiry. It is of such concern that the Malcolm X Inquiry Committee was organized - to raise these questions, demand answers and justice.

SIGNED:

YOUR SUPPORT IS VITALLY NEEDED. Please send donation to:

MALCOLM X INQUIRY COMMITTEE
Box 63 - Queens Village Station
New York 11429, N. Y.

Malcolm X Trio Still Marking Time Waiting for Trial

By SELWYN RAAB
Of the World-Telegram Staff

Five months ago the three men accused of killing Malcolm X were arrested.

Today they are still in the Tombs waiting for a murder trial—a trial one defense lawyer believes may never take place.

The lawyer, who asked that his name be withheld, is one of six assigned by the court to represent the trio. He said he has learned that the prosecution case has collapsed, and added:

"Something is wrong with the DA's case of he would have moved before this to get a trial date. I understand the chief prosecution witness has died."

The lawyer said the witness was a police informer.

Trouble Denied

A spokesman for Manhattan District Attorney Frank S. Hogan denied that the prosecution was having any trouble or that the trial was being purposely delayed.

"A six-month wait for a murder trial is not unusual and we expect that a trial date will be set in September," Hogan's aide said.

He also noted that two of the six defense lawyers had recently completed long trials and they would have been unprepared to proceed immediately.

Hogan has assigned Vincent Dermody, an assistant district attorney and one of the most highly regarded homicide prosecutors on his staff, to handle the case. Dermody, who will be on vacation until mid-September, was unavailable for comment.

Suspect Shot

Malcolm X, 39, the militant black nationalist leader, was shot to death Feb. 21 while he was addressing 400 followers in the Audubon Ballroom, W. 166th St. and Broadway.

One suspect, Thomas Hagan, alias Talmadge Hayer, 22, of Paterson, N. J., was shot and wounded by one of Malcolm's bodyguards and captured by police outside the ballroom.

On March 3, the police said they had solved the case with the arrest of two Muslim "enforcers," Norman 3X Butler, 26, of 661 Rosedale Ave., and Thomas 15X Johnson, 30, of [illegible] Bronx Park South, both of the Bronx.

Johnson and Butler were free on bail on a shooting charge when they were picked up.

Two defense lawyers indicated they would move soon to have the indictments dismissed if a trial date is not put on the criminal court calendar.

Charles Beavers, one of Johnson's two lawyers, said: "If the DA doesn't bring this case to trial in September then we will ask for a dismissal on the grounds Johnson is entitled to a speedy trial."

NEW YORK WORLD-TELEGRAM AND SUN, WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1965

Committees

November 18, 1965

Mr. Richard Barnes Kennan
Executive Secretary
National Education Association
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Kennan:

I share with you the concern which you expressed about the serious problems confronting public education today. We in CORE have confronted these problems north and south and we are glad that now the National Education Association has organizationally come to grips with what we believe to be the most serious problem facing American education today.

While normally we are reluctant to devote staff time to broad scale advisory council matters, our deep concern for the problems to which I hope the NEA Sub-Committee on Human Rights will address itself leads me to designate Mr. Alan Gartner, Community Relations Director of National CORE as our representative on your council. Mr. Gartner is, for your information, a former teacher at Newton High School.

Sincerely yours,

JF/rab

James Farmer
National Director

Committees
awards

November 29, 1965

Mr. John He J. Pemberton, Jr.
American Civil Liberties Union
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Pemberton:

Mr. Farmer, who has been out of the office for the past three weeks on a speaking tour and thus not able to answer your letter personally, has asked me to let you know that he will be glad to stand for re-election to the Board of Directors.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Stedman
Administrative Department

FOUNDED 1920/INCORPORATED

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION aclu

156 FIFTH AVENUE / NEW YORK / NEW YORK 10010 / ORegon 5-5990

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Executive Director, JOHN DE J. PEMBERTON, JR.; Associate Director, ALAN REITMAN; Legal Department, Director, MELVIN L. WULF, Assistant Director, SEYMOUR BUCHOLZ; Development Department, Director, GORDON K. HASKELL, Assistant Director, THEODORE MOTE, Membership Secretary, WARREN ADLER; International Work Adviser, ROGER N. BALDWIN; Administrative Assistant, LOUISE C. FLOYD.

November 16, 1965

NOV 18 1965

Mr. James Farmer
Executive Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

OK

Dear Jim:

On behalf of the Union's 1965 Nominating Committee, I am writing to ask that you stand for re-election to the Board of Directors.

It goes without saying that the Union is deeply indebted for all your past services, and we will assume that you are willing to stand for re-election unless we hear to the contrary. The election will take place within the next few months in the manner authorized in the Constitution, as indicated in the copy enclosed.

Very sincerely yours,

Jack

John de J. Pemberton, Jr.

JdeJP:gm
Enc.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
# of the
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
Revision adopted January 7, 1957, after Corporation vote
With Amendments adopted in March 1963
and March, 1965.

Section 1. Name

The name of this membership corporation, as stated in the certificate of incorporation, is "American Civil Liberties Union, Inc."

Section 2. Object

The object of the corporation, as stated in the certificate of incorporation, is "to maintain throughout the United States and its possessions, the rights of free speech, free press, free assemblage and other civil rights, and to take all legitimate action in furtherance of such purposes." The Union's object shall be sought wholly without political partisanship.

Section 3. Headquarters

The Union's national headquarters shall be located as determined by its national Board of Directors. Unless or until so determined to be located elsewhere, the headquarters shall be at 170 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, New York.

Section 4. Management

The management of the Union's business shall be vested in its national Board of Directors, as hereinafter provided.

Section 5. Membership

(A) A regular member of the Union shall be a person or organization paying dues of six dollars or more annually to the national American Civil Liberties Union or one of its affiliates. Associate memberships shall be available to students and others for whom membership would otherwise be foreclosed upon payment of dues of three dollars or more annually.

(B) A member may be suspended or removed from the Union, or a prospective member may be excluded — after hearing, if he so desires — by vote of a majority of the actual membership of the national Board of Directors.

Section 6. Affiliates

(A) Any group of persons residing in the United States or its possessions may apply for recognition as an affiliate of the Union, and the national Board of Directors shall so recognize the group when satisfied that the purposes of the Union will be so served. An affiliate shall act in accordance with the policies of the Union, with the understanding that the purpose of this requirement is to obtain general unity rather then absolute uniformity.

(B) The board of an affiliate shall determine whether to become, or remain, integrated in membership and income with the national organization. In other respects, the structure and functioning of an affiliate, including its relations with the national organization and with its own chapters (if any) shall be governed by rules adopted from time to time by the national Board of Directors, subject to the recommendations of a Biennal Conference.

(C) An affiliate may be suspended or removed from the Union — after hearing, if the affiliate so desires — by vote of two-thirds of the actual membership of the national Board of Directors.

Section 7. Governing Bodies

(A) The Board of an affiliate shall be composed of persons who are members of that affiliate, and shall be electorally responsible to the affiliate's membership. To establish such electoral responsibility, the affilate's constitution or by-laws shall porvide that:

(1) Election of its board members shall be for reasonable terms and in a manner by which all the affiliate's members have reasonable opportunity to vote, as by a ballot mailed to each. If the board members are delegates from chapters, they shall be reasonably apportioned to the geographical distribution of the affiliate's membership; and, if they are elected indirectly by chapter boards, those chapter boards shall be electorally responsible to their respective chapter memberships.

(2) Reasonable opportunity shall be afforded the affiliate's (or chapter's) membership to nominate candidates for the affiliate (or chapter) board, and to initiate amendments to the affiliate (or chapter) constitution and by-laws.

Any vacancy in an affiliate (or chapter) board existing between regular elections may be filled by the board of the affiliate (or chapter).

(B) The National Committee shall have an authorized membership of eighty persons who are members of the Union (apportioned roughly according to the population of the main geographical sections of the United States and its possessions, and selected to obtain the widest possible distribution of support of persons currently active publicly in behalf of civil liberties -- if possible, to the extent of being readily recognized nationally), and approximately one-third of that authorized membership shall be elected each year for three-year terms in the following manner:

(1) Nominations shall be made by the Nominating Committee hereinafter provided for, after seeking suggestions from all members of the Union. Further nominations may be made by petition of any five members of the national Board of Directors, any ten members of the National Committee, the boards of any three affiliates, or any fifty members of the Union not members of any affiliate.

(2) The electors shall be the members of the Union, voting on ballots mailed to them by the national office and returned by them to the national office.

Any vacancy in the National Committee existing between annual elections may be filled by the national Board of Directors for the remainder of its term.

(C) The national Board of Directors shall have an authorized membership of eighty persons who are members of the Union, and approximately one-third of that authorized membership shall be elected each year for three-year terms in the following manner:

(1) Nominations shall be made by the Nominating Committee hereinafter provided for, after seeking suggestions from all members of the Union. Further nominations may be made by petition of any five members of the national Board of Directors, any ten members of the National Committee, the boards of any three affiliates, or any fifty members of the Union not members of any affiliate.

(2) The electors shall be the following persons, voting by mail:

(1) The members of the boards of the affiliates, voting individually and each casting as many votes as there are

members of his affiliate divided by that affiliate's actual board membership.
(ii) The members of the National Committee, voting individually and each casting as many votes as there are members of the Union divided by the combined actual membership of the National Committee and the national Board of Directors, provided that a member of the National Committee who is also a member of an affiliate board may choose in which capacity to vote, but shall not vote in more than one capacity.
(iii) The members of the national Board of Directors, voting individually and each casting as many votes as there are members of the Union divided by the combined actual membership of the National Committee and the national Board of Directors, provided that a member of the national Board of Directors who is also a member of an affiliate board may choose in which capacity to vote, but shall not vote in more than one capacity.

Any vacancy in the national Board of Directors existing between annual elections may be filled by the national Board of Directors for the remainder of its term.

(D) All persons who are members of the national Board of Directors, the National Committee or the board of an affiliate (or chapter), or a committee or other agency of any of the above, and all persons who are members of any staff, shall be unequivocally loyal to democratic government and civil liberties for all people. This requirement shall be interpreted in accordance with the 1940 Resolution, a copy of which is attached.
(E) A member of the national Board of Directors or the National Committee may be suspended or removed from his position — after hearing, if he so desires — by vote of a majority of the actual membership of the national Board of Directors.

Section 8. Officers and Committees

(A) The officers of the corporation shall be a chairman, a secretary and one or more assistant secretaries, a treasurer and one or more assistant treasurers, and an executive director; the officers of the National Committee shall be a chairman and two or more vice-chairman (distributed among the main geographical sections); the officers of the national Board of Directors shall be a chairman, one or more vice-chairman, one or more general counsel, and any others which it may from time to time create. The officers of the corporation, the National Committee and the national Board of Directors shall be elected by the national Board of Directors at the time of or as soon as possible after the annual meeting of the corporation, for one-year terms. Between annual elections, the national Board of Directors may fill any vacancy among the officers of the corporation, the National Committee or the national Board of Directors for the remainder of its term; and all officers shall hold office at the pleasure of the national Board.

(B) The Nominating Committee, responsible for nominations for annual elections to the National Committee and the national Board of Directors, shall be composed of five persons (one to be designated as chairman), appointed by the chairman of the corporation at the time of or as soon as possible after the annual meeting of the corporation for one-year terms, provided that:

(1) Two of its members shall be members of affiliate boards (appointed after seeking suggestions from all affiliates), two of the national

Board of Directors, and one of the National Committee.
(2) Not more than two of its members shall be appointed for a second consecutive term, and none shall be appointed for more than two consecutive terms.

(C) The national Board of Directors may from time to time create any committee or other agency of the Board which it deems desirable. The chairman and members of each such committee or agency shall be appointed by the chairman of the Board, with the advice and consent of the Board. All such appointees shall hold office at the pleasure of the Board.

Section 9. Corporation and Board Meetings

(A) The annual meeting of the corporation shall be held at a time and place to be fixed by the national Board of Directors, and a special meeting may be called by the chairman of the corporation. Twenty members of the Union shall constitute a quorum.

(B) Meetings of the national Board of Directors shall be held at times and places to be fixed by the Board, or in the absence of Board action by the chairman of the Board. Ten members shall constitute a quorum, except as provided in Sections 10-(C) and 12-(A) herein, and, by majority vote of a quorum, the written vote of any absent member may be counted on any proposition discussed at a previous meeting where he was present, except as provided in Sections 10-(C) and 12-(A) herein. Members of the National Committee and affiliate boards shall be entitled to attend and to participate in discussion but without vote. On request of any three Board members, the Board vote on any motion shall be taken by name and so recorded in the minutes. Members of the Board who fail to attend three consecutive regular meetings, without obtaining from the Board leave of absence in advance, shall have their absence called to the attention of the Board, and may be suspended or removed therefor by vote of a majority of the actual membership of the Board.

Section 10. Biennial Conference

(A) A conference shall be held biennially at a time and place to be fixed by the national Board of Directors, provided that at least each second time it shall be held in a city other than that of the national headquarters (preferably in rotation among the main geographical sections). All members of the national Board of Directors, the National Committee, and the boards (or other duly authorized representatives) of affiliates shall be entitled to attend as delegates, provided however that no affiliate shall cast more than three votes.

(B) The conference may consider any matter of concern to the Union, and make recommendations thereon to the national Board of Directors. The conference vote on any proposed recommendation shall be taken by name and so recorded in the minutes.

(C) Any recommendation made by the conference shall be adopted by the national Board of Directors unless the Board shall at a meeting thereof decide otherwise by a two-thirds vote of those present, a quorum being two-thirds of its actual membership, such vote to be taken by name and so recorded in the minutes. Such a decision not to adopt such a conference recommendation shall then be submitted for referendum vote in accordance with the procedure set forth in Section 7 (C) (2) above for the annual election of national Board members; and, if the decision of the Board is over-ridden by a two-thirds vote, then the Board shall adopt the conference recommendation: Provided however that, as required by the laws of the State of New York governing membership corporations, the national Board of Directors is finally responsible for preventing any action not conforming to the object of the Union as stated in the certificate of incorporation, any action basically threatening the continuation of the Union's business, or any action on matters of administration so detailed as to be entirely within the Board's management.

Section 11. Advice

(A) Whenever the national office deems any matter to be sufficiently important, it shall immediately seek advice thereon from National Committee members and affiliates, especially by providing them as soon as possible with all working papers supplied to members of the national Board of Directors, or any committee or other agency thereof, in connection with meeting agenda items.

(B) In addition, any member of the National Committee or of any affiliate board may on request obtain copies of such working papers, and may take the initiative in raising any question and offering advice thereon.

(C) Immediately on receiving any such question or advice, the national office shall transmit it to the national Board of Directors, or the appropriate committee or other agency thereof, in the same manner as with any question or advice from a national Board member.

Section 12. Amendments.

(A) Amendments to this constitution may be proposed as recommendations of a Biennial conference. Any amendment so proposed shall be adopted by the national Board of Directors unless the Board shall at a meeting thereof decide otherwise by a two-thirds vote of those present, a quorum being two-thirds of its actual membership, such vote to be taken by name and so recorded in the minutes. Such a decision not to adopt such a proposed amendment shall then be submitted for referendum vote in accordance with the procedures set forth in Section 7 (C) (2) above for the annual election of national Board members; and, if the decision of the Board is over-ridden by a two-thirds vote, the proposed amendment shall thereupon become part of this constitution: Provided however that, as required by the laws of the State of New York governing membership corporations, the national Board of Directors is finally responsible for preventing any action not conforming to the object of the Union as stated in the certificate of incorporation, any action basically threatening the continuation of the Union's business or any action on matters of administration so detailed as to be entirely within the Board's management.

(B) Amendments may also be proposed by petition of any five members of the national Board of Directors, any ten members of the National Committee, the board's of any three affiliates, or any fifty members of the Union not members of any affiliate. If such an amendment is approved by the national Board of Directors, it shall then be submitted for referendum vote in accordance with the procedure set forth in Section 7 (C) (2) above for the annual election of national Board members; and if approved by a two-thirds vote, shall thereupon become part of this constitution.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE ACLU AT THE ANNUAL MEETING,
February 5, 1940

While the American Civil Liberties Union does not make any test of opinion on political or economic questions a condition of membership, and makes no distinction in defending the right to hold and utter any opinions, the personnel of its governing committees and staff is properly subject to the test of consistency in the defense of civil liberties in all aspects and all places.

That consistency is inevitably compromised by persons who champion civil liberties in the United States and yet who justify or tolerate the denial of civil liberties by dictatorships abroad. Such a dual position in these days, when issues are far sharper and more profound, makes it desirable that the Civil Liberties Union makes its position unmistakably clear.

The Board of Directors and the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union therefore hold it inappropriate for any person to serve on the governing committees of the Union or on its staff, who is a member of any political organization which supports totalitarian dictatorship in any country, or who by his public declarations indicates his support of such a principle.

Within this catagory we include organizations in the United States supporting the totalitarian governments of the Soviet Union and of the Fascist and Nazi countries, (such as the Communist Party, the German-American Bund and others); as well as native organizations with obvious anti-democratic objectives or practices.

National Institutes on Rehabilitation and Health Services
Sponsored by
Group Health Association of America and National Rehabilitation Association

TERENCE E. CARROLL, DIRECTOR

1714 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

TELEPHONE: 387-4915

January 5, 1966

JAN 7 1966

Mr. James Farmer, Executive Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

On behalf of the Trustees of the National Institutes on Rehabilitation and Health Services, we would like to express our sincere appreciation of your participation as a member of the Arrangements Committee of the recent testimonial luncheon for Louis Hollander, vice president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

We were very honored to have you join with us in this richly deserved tribute to Mr. Hollander for his outstanding contributions to labor health and rehabilitation.

Sincerely,

Terence E Carroll
Terence E. Carroll
Director

RJ:bcs

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Committees

January 12, 1966

Mr. Morris Milgram
Planned Communities, Inc.
Suite 111, 7750 Roosevelt Boulevard
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19152

Dear Mr. Milgram:

Mr. Farmer has asked me to reply to your letter of December 29th, since the press of urgent business in connection with the change in leadership at CORE is keeping him too busy to reply personally.

Mr. Farmer never was able to arrange a meeting with Mr. Carlson - when Mr. Farmer was in Rochester Mr. Carlson was in New York, and vice versa.

Mr. Farmer hopes that he will be able to attend the board meeting on January 26th, but is afraid that his extremely full schedule may make it impossible.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Stedman
Administrative Department

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PC
Planned Communities, Inc.
A subsidiary of Modern Community Developers

Suite 111, 7750 Roosevelt Boulevard
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19152
DE 8-7333 Code 215

Gilbert Gold
Vice President

JAN 3 1966

December 29, 1965

Dear Jim:

I'm not clear whether you did or did not meet with Chet Carlson when you were in Rochester, as I discussed with him and with you. Do let me know.

file

Meanwhile, may I urge that you make plans if you possibly can, to be with us at our January 26 board meeting of MCD-PC at Delson's office, 120 E. 41 st., New York, for lunch, noon to 3 P.M. I expect Chester Carlson will be there at that time.

Best ever,

Morris Milgram

MM:de

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Regrets - Job transition
J.F.

Comm

REFORM JEWISH APPEAL

In behalf of THE UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS *and*
THE HEBREW UNION COLLEGE - JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION

838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021 REGENT 7-8200

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LESTER AVNET
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WILLIAM WARNICK

January 14, 1966

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

JAN 17 1966

Dear Mr. Farmer:

A noteworthy event will take place on Sunday evening, April 17, 1966 at the Americana Hotel when the Reform Jewish Appeal Annual Award Dinner will honor John V. Lindsay, Mayor of the City of New York, and Max M. Fisher, National Chairman of the United Jewish Appeal.

Mayor Lindsay will be presented with the Humanitarian Award for his outstanding record as a U. S. Congressman, the sponsor of vital social legislation, and for his exemplary service to the people of New York.

Mr. Fisher will receive the American Judaism Award for his extraordinary service to the Jewish people and for his endeavors in many fields of human welfare.

This testimonial dinner will be $100 per plate, with proceeds to go to the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, with no fund raising at the function itself.

We are now in the process of formulating a committee of prominent and influential citizens of all faiths who recognize the extraordinary importance of this occasion. I sincerely hope that you will join this committee and fill out the enclosed card, indicating your acceptance, so that we can proceed with plans for the invitations and publicity.

I look forward to a favorable reply from you.

Cordially yours,

Lester Avnet

Lester Avnet
Dinner Chairman

LA:gs
Encl.

508

February 1, 1966

Mr. David Gelber
Newark Community Union Project Radio
471 Clinton Avenue
Newark, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Gelber:

Thank you for your letter of recent date inviting me to join the board of sponsors of the Newark Community Union Project Radio. I am thoroughly sympathetic with this project, but must decline your kind invitation to join the board of sponsors. As you say, sponsorship carries no obligation, but I am making it a policy not to join boards and committees unless I can assume, and have the time to assume, responsibility for the work.

Unfortunately, I will not have the time to work as closely with this project as I would like. However, I shall certainly do all that I can to see that the FCC continues to permit this kind of station in spite of pressure.

Please let me know how I can help on an ad hoc basis as situations and occasions arise.

Very truly yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:nrh

REFORM JEWISH APPEAL • 838 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 • REGENT 7-8200

Annual Award Dinner

honoring HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY • SAMMY DAVIS, JR. • MAX M. FISHER

Conn

February 3, 1966

FEB 4 1966

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ROY WILKINS
EARL WILSON
ROBERT WISHNICK
Dinner Director
CHAIM H. FRIEND

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I want to thank you very much for your response to my invitation to serve on the Annual Award Dinner Committee.

To get the ball rolling and to make plans for a successful and momentous dinner, I am calling a meeting of the Committee for

Wednesday, February 16, 1966

at 4:00 P.M.

in the Board Room of'

Avnet, Inc. - Suite 3720

Time & Life Building

New York City

I sincerely hope that you will make every attempt to attend so that we can have the benefit of your advice and thoughts.

Would you please fill out the enclosed card. I look forward to greeting you on Wednesday.

Best personal regards.

Cordially yours,

Lester Avnet

Lester Avnet
Dinner Chairman

LA:gs
Encl.

Sunday Evening • April 17, 1966 • Americana Hotel

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pov prog complaints

Some Obseration on the New Jersey
Rural Job Corps
New Jersey Office of
Economic Opportunity

By: ROBERT SCHRANK
CONSULTANT
May 24, 1965

General Impression

I would be remiss in my responsibility as a consultant if I did not make a statement regarding my general impression of the program. I found the staff and the trainees the former highly devoted and the latter working with great enthusiasm. There is a real sense of commitment to the program as well as a real desire to improve it. The work supervisors and the counselors are putting in a great amount of time in trying to make the program meaningful under very difficult circumstances. This quality of staff commitment is the most important asset the program has at the present time it is of utmost importance that it be carefully nurtured and not be permitted to wither away in frustration. I address a number of suggestions in this report to what might be done to maintain this high level of staff interest commitment and enthusiasm.

Work Setting

The conservation work of chopping down trees, planting trees, clearing brush and general clean up activities in the State Forest, should be seen as a limited type of work experience. I was aware that the Rural Job Corps is supposed to do conservation work. I would suggest that the term "conservation work" can be interpreted far more broadly than chopping and planting trees. I do not question that the work is useful and is needed. What I would suggest is that the work could be extended into areas that would be more meaningful for the recruits and at the same time be useful to the Conservation Department.

I have the impression that the Park Dept. personnel was very fearful of the Work Corps Youths coming to work in the parks. I have seen this reaction to underprivileged youth - on other occasions. This negative first reaction is a reflection of our society's basic distrustful attitude toward these young people. If one needs an explanation as to why these young people fail, the above-mentioned attitude can be one of the major contributing factors and therefore to be avoided at all cost. It is also interesting to note that once these youths began to work in the State parks, the Park personnel begin to change their attitude. This was clearly expressed when one of the Park employees said, "These are really nice kids. They are trying to work and we have to try to help them." In other words the Park personnel are being pleasantly surprised by the youths who are working in the parks. Based on this more positive image that has developed towards these young people, I would suggest that it might be possible to broaden the type of work that is being done in the parks.

Broadening the Work Experience

For instance, in the Wharton tract, there are hiking trails. These hiking trails have no lean-tos for camping overnight. Would it not make sense to build lean-tos with many of the trees that are being felled in clearing land for fire breaks and roads? There are bridges which need to be built over streams and gullies. There is no reason why the Job Corps could not build these. I am quite sure that the Conservation Department has all the necessary plans for lean-tos and bridges. If not they can be obtained from the Appalachian Trail Club. In the Batsto Village restoration there is a considerable amount of carpentry, masonry, and general rehabilitation work that members of the Job Corps could do. Recruits could be assigned out to work with the craftsmen who are presently working on the restoration project. This greater variety of work experience would give an opportunity for trying out a variety of work skills. There is another benefit in this in that it will reduce the size of work crews giving the work supervisor more opportunity to work with individuals in a small crew. While I strongly urge that an effort be made to improve the content of the work within the conservation area, in the meantime, I would suggest that discussions be held with the work groups on the site about what it is they are doing and why. One of the keys to motivation is and understanding of what one is doing and why. For instance, in the tree planting project in the Wharton Tract there was much uncertainty as to why they worked on planting 40,000 little trees. This work had been going on for 3 weeks and it has become quite boring an monotonous to the group.

It would seem that other conservation work could have been built into this groups activity. For example, some time could have been spent cutting fire breaks, clearing up brush for work on the roads, and if the suggestions of bridges and lean-tos would be included, it would create an even greater variety of activity. I would also suggest that groups doing different work be rotated so that one group is not tree planting three weeks while another is clearing brush for 3 weeks. It would seem to make more sense to have these groups alternate.

Tools

One of the ways that the work can be made more meaningful is by introducing a variety of tools and equipment. Problem solving around the use of the tools can be real learning experience.

I observed the use of axes, grass hooks, rakes and shovels. While these are considered as very basic hand tools, they present very limited challenge and they have a very limited learning built into their use. It is a little ironic in the age of power tools to be limiting the learning experience to hand tools. I would recommend you consider using some power saws, some tractor equipment, power wenches and grading equipment. The purpose of using this equipment is not to speed up the work but rather to give the youth on the project exposure to learning the use of this equipment. There may be some notions that the suggested equipment is dangerous. It is. Let me assure you, as a person with a long engineering background, well versed in safety, I consider the most dangerous piece of equipment to put into a person's hand is an axe or a grass hook. Power equipment, properly supervised, as is true of any equipment, is less dangerous than 18 or 20 youths swinging - 3 feet axes and 6 feet grass hooks in fairly confined area. The handling of power equipment affords the user an opportunity to learn how to use it properly and further there is the whole area of maintaining and learning how to repair the equipment. I might add the observation that the hand equipment I observed in many cases, was in poor condition with loose axe heads and grass hooks with handles not properly attached.

On one work site there was also a shortage of tools which meant that some youths had to stand waiting their turn. Needless to say this can be very demonolizing. The work supervisor indicated that some of this equipment had either gotten lost or was stolen. There was an element of punitiveness toward the loss and breakage of equipment. This is unnecessary since all tool using organization assume loss and breakage. I would urge that you assume loss and breakage of equipment and plan accordingly to replace it. Do not make the youth guilty about the equipment loss or breakage as long as it does not become excessive.

Proposed Extension of Work Program

Since the work experience is central to the young people involved in this program, I would recommend that you consider extending into areas such as Automotive, Carpentry, Masonry, and heavy equipment handling. This recommendation grows out of observations and discussions with the trainees in the program about how they perceive the Rural Job Corps. Almost the total group expressed a real desire to learn work in areas that will help them get a job when they have completed their stay in the

Corps. Automotive was the most popular area. Electricity second, Carpentry, Selling, and Electronics were also of interest. Would it be possible, within the criteria of "conservation work" to maintain the Mechanical and Electrical equipment in the Parks. From the Parks point of view there is a real need. Obtaining surplus equipment from G.S.A. could be a real source of help for this program. The Rural Job Corps is eligible for surplus where State Conservation is not.

The Parks people that I spoke with expressed an interest in an expanded program. It may be quite feasible to build this type of program within the concept of "conservation work." Let me sight an example. The forester at Wharton indicated a critical need for dump truck equipment. Would it be possible for the Rural Work Corps to requisition a dump truck from GSA that could be rebuilt and turned over to the Parks Department for their use. Another possibility might be to use the Conservation Department garage as an Automotive Shop. Here the trainees would have an opportunity to do some Automotive repairs as well as repairs on other equipment used in the Parks.

With winter not far off, and rain having to fall sometime (we are in a three month drought) I would suggest that some planning be done for indoor activities. An inside shop will therefore be needed under any circumstances. I would urge you to begin planning as soon as possible for this weather contingency. While I am aware that you are working on a very tight budget, it might be worthwhile to look into what is available from G.S.A. in terms of equipping for example, an Auto Shop. There are also quite a number of New Jersey based automotive companies who might be willing to contribute equipment and tools to such an operation. I give the Auto Shop an example to indicate what can be done. The concept of expanding the work experience should not be limited to Automotives but should be in a variety of areas which can be very well related to the conservation work in the parks.

I would suggest that you look into quonset buildings, or portable barracks on garages that may be obtained from G.S.A. This equipment would solve the weather problem as well as be erected by the Corps. This expansion in planning for weather problems would help the problem of work content by giving the Corps a much greater variety of activity.

Counseling

The problem of counseling the trainees in the Rural Work Corps is a difficult and yet a challenging one. The counselors do not have an office or a location out of which they can work. The trainees on the other hand are in the field working and moving around to various parts of the State Parks. These two factors present a real problem of organization. I have a general impression that the counselors spend far too much time traveling from one place to another. This results in an inordinate amount of time spent on the roads. This is a poor use of counseling time. I would recommend that the counselors schedule their activities so that they spend a whole day in one area. This could mean they could see trainees individually for vocational planning or in a group around special problems that the group may be having. Counseling could be done either on the buses or in a portable army G.S.A. field office. This field office equipment is on wheels and could be easily moved from one sight to another. Another dilemma the counselors and work supervisors are having is whether or not to counsel on work time. From observing the work groups it is clear that there is enough down time: coffee breaks, lunch, waiting for tools, etc. that would give counselors an opportunity to speak with trainees particularly those who are presenting real problems to the work supervisors. The counselor intervening in these situations could be very helpful to the work supervisor. The work supervisor will have difficulty in playing both work supervisor and counseling role with trainees who are not responding to the work demands.

There is some suggestion that the counselor is responding to emergencies hence all the riding around. Once the counselor has a schedule as to where he is going to be, it would be possible to reach him in an emergency. It would also be possible for the trainees on his caseload to have some idea as to where he is, on what days. This information would help the trainee have an opportunity to speak with his counselor. This knowledge might be helpful in getting through a day because he can speak with his counselor tomorrow. I am suggesting that the counselor be available to the trainees as well as to the work supervisor so that where counselors intervention might be useful the counselor will be available. For counseling to make any sense a youth ought to be able to call and speak to his counselor if he feels the need. The present setup does not answer this need. I would therefore, urge that some system of telephone numbers or answering service be made available to trainees. The trainees should be urged to call their counselor when they have a problem; such as not showing up for work or any other problem that interferes with their functioning in the Corps. It seems to me that unless you close the gap between the counselor and the trainee the role of the counselor will be a very vague one. The counselors are presently operating under the distinct impression that they are to move the trainees toward placement. This also becomes an almost impossible task unless the counselor has some opportunity to get to know the client that he is expected to place.

There seemed to be some opinion that the group counseling sessions could perform the function of getting to know the client. I would suggest that this is unrealistic. The counselor can only get a very general impression of the trainee in the group setting as he interacts with his peers. He cannot get a clear picture of the trainees very specific vocational interests as well as his individual work history. If the counselor is to do meaningful vocational planning, he must arrive at this as a result of a one-to-one relationship with the trainee. The plan I have suggested may not be completely feasible but I would urge that you make some real effort to solve this problem of counselor-trainee availability.

The counselors are highly oriented toward placement. The writer is concerned as to whether or not they can deliver. In some of the discussions that I listened to amongst the trainees themselves, their was a clear opinion that the Job Corps was going to get them jobs. In my talks with the counselors there was the same opinion. Is this intentional, or is it simply a reality to which they feel they must address themselves? If it is expected that the counselors will place the trainees, I would urge that you give the counselors time to do job development. I don't see too much value in a central job development unit because of the scattered location of the trainees homes. The counselors working in the area in which the trainees live can make direct job contacts in these areas for possible placement. Rather than a central job development unit, it would be my view that you hire additional counselors to lighten the caseload to let us say, 35. This would give counselors time to do job development and make them clearly responsible for placement.

Group Counseling

The group counseling sessions like the informal discussions was also completely concerned with jobs. The group meeting evolved around how one goes about getting a job. The group spent time filling out applications and discussing job interviews. The counselors are in need of resource material for these group sessions. In one group meeting I demonstrated techniques of role playing the job interview. Both the counselors and the trainees present seemed to respond well and expressed an interest in the technique of role playing the job interview. It also helped to bring out problems of attitude, appearance, past history, factors that are significant in a job interview. Resource materials such as pamphlets on what is required to be a mechanic, salesman, electrician, would be very helpful in these sessions. This type of material could be used at the group meeting in order to help the trainees obtain a more realistic understanding of what is expected of them on the job. It has been my experience that disadvantage youth have little or no understanding of what is required on a particular kind of job. The group sessions would be a good opportunity to talk about some of the job requirements in various fields of employment. Film strips and movies could be very useful resource material in these group sessions. These audio visual materials are available from many companies as well as State Education Departments and schools.

A system of rotation of this resource material to the various work sites can be set up to make maximum use of it. This resource material is important in making the group counseling sessions meaningful. Unless resource material is made available the counselor will have trouble maintaining interest in group meetings that run from 2-1/2 to 3 hours per week. I would also suggest that resource people be made available to demonstrate methodology in group counseling techniques. During the group counseling I was impressed with the desire of the trainees to deal with their

their problems. There was a real supportive atmosphere. This is an important positive element which is reflective of the beginning enthusiasm of a new program. The enthusiasm will quickly turn to the dust of indifference if the program does not fulfill its promises to the traineee.

Education

I was somewhat troubled with what I saw of the education program; it did not seem to have any of the enthusiasm or interest that was shown in either the counseling or the work setting. It is possible that my sampling was too small or that it was an off-day. However, from looking at material, I would suggest the following: it is too formally structured and it is not related to either the work or counseling. The problem of relating the education to something in the trainee's experience is a difficult one. However, I would make the following recommendations: That a resource person assist the work supervisors supplying them with supplementary materials related to work and counseling that will help to create greater interest in the learning situation. These could be audio visual materials programmed learning, short-term program learning courses, and games which have learning built into them.

The materials presently being used called Board for Fundamental Education reworked so that it had some relatedness to the experience of the trainees. The material as I observed it being used was far too general and unrelated to how the trainees are perceiving the experience in the Corps.

I would also suggest you consider a team learning program instead of the individual effort you now have. In place of the individual working on their lessons, as is presently done, the trainees be divided into teams of three or four. These teams be based on reading levels so that the more advanced member of the team would automatically become a training person for the less advanced and so on. This suggestion grows out of my observation that the youth who failed in school are again failing in the education program and all we are doing is reinforcing the old failure. A team learning concept with incentives to the team that does the best work and not the individual, might create an atmosphere of group effort to learn. The individual effort to learn, which our whole educational system is based; tends to repeat the failure of the school system in which the trainee failed in the first place. There is a strong group feeling amongst the trainees as a result of their spending so much time in isolated areas of the state park, make use of it, experiment with this group learning concept.

The work supervisors who are acting as teachers cannot be expected to also be innovators in education addition to all else they are doing. They are not experienced or trained as teachers; as a result, they tend to stick to the letter of the program fearful of leaving the security of its rigid form. It takes a certain amount of knowledge or experience in teaching in order for a teacher to attempt experimentation or innovation. The work supervisor does not have this experience or knowledge and therefore, needs a lot of backup support and help in making the learning experience more meaningful. The education supervisor should spend as much time as possible in the field with the work supervisors demonstrating instructional techniques that will help in putting across the Basic Education Program. The teaching sessions should be broken up with resource material to break the monotony of the planned program and at the same time assisting the learning processes. One further suggestion in view of the fact that the whole Rural Work Corps is using the same basic education course and if the concept of group learning could be accepted, then competition based on group scoring could be set up through out the State. This should only be done on a group basis. The desired effect is to get the group to help those who are most retarded. If the competition takes any other form, the most retarded will be once again left behind, or dropped out for the second time.

Staff Relationships

There is some uncertainty amongst staff members as to their areas of responsibility. This is common in a new organization, however, the quicker it is cleared the better. The most blatant form of conflict is in the area of who suspends and who disciplines and who does not. The orientation of the administrative personnel that I spoke with said "we do not want another drop-out population from the Rural Job Corps." I would therefore, urge that time not be spent in discussing who throws out but rather on how do we avoid dropping or pushing trainees out. Some supervisors asked the question "how do you get trainees to work" and what do you do if thy refuse to obey or ignore you," etc. I thought it would be useful if I indicated some general suggestion for keeping discipline and motivating a positive approach rather than a punitive approach. I cannot over emphasize the need for a positive approach. The young people you are working with have received endless doses of punitive treatment. They were beat on in school, they were punished at home, in the community and some in penal institution; obviously, it was of little help in developing a positive motivation to work. Punitiveness does little or no good in changing behavior and simply hardens the trainees poor concept of themselves. They have been thoroughly convinced by society that they aren't any good." Punitive treatment will only act as a reinforcer to what is already firmly entrenched. Let me, therefore, suggest the following as possible guidelines for discipline and motivation problems:

1. Praise and social approval may be more effective in promoting good standards of work and conduct than censure, blame and punishment.
2. It is unwise to punish the whole group for the misconduct of an individual. (There was a whole business carried on in one of the groups about a sign which disappeared from a bus for which the whole group was being held responsible for something that no one was sure was done by a member of the group. This should be avoided like the plague.)

3. Sarcasm toward an individual or group does not help to improve individual or group image but only reinforces the negative view.
4. Work supervisors or the counselors should not consider poor motivation or poor conduct as a personal affront. Oft-time it is the only way that the youth knows how to act. Poor work habits or lack of motivation cannot be seen as a rejection of the work supervisor. It may simply be an expression of the inability of the youth to respond. What is needed is help and support in getting him to see the value of responding.
5. Whenever possible the formulation of rules and regulations should be participated in by the people who have to live with them. While this is not always possible, at a minimum, thorough discussion ought to be held with the trainees as to why the rules and regulations exist.
6. Discipline is most difficult to maintain unless the trainees have some sense of the worth of the activity that they are participating in. This is why the work content is so critical to maintaining good discipline.
7. When discipline problems arise the work supervisor and counselor should ask themselves first:
   a. What is wrong with the work setting.
   b. What is wrong with the supervision.
   c. what is wrong with the counseling session.

8. Poor work motivation or lack of discipline can be an expression of problems which have nothing to do with the work setting questions that might be asked: one is the trainee's health good, is it possible that he is sick, is there a critical problem at home that makes him unable to work, is he at the work setting because of pressure rather than a desire to work, or earn money.

9. I would urge that motivation and discipline problems be handled on the basis of programming rather than on the basis of pushing the individual out. I admit that there might be some youth who you cannot serve. Such a decision should only be made if we have asked ourselves all of the above questions and more.

The work supervisor must be in charge of the work site. The counselor is responsible for vocational planning and an individual relationship with the trainee. Basically this is a team effort. It will do no good to try to constantly outline the dividing line of responsibility since obviously, they will cross over and only when the counselor-work supervisor begin to recognize each others abilities will the team effort begin to pay off.

The Rural Work Corps is in its very early stages and therefore enthusiasm is very high. Frustration over minor problems and a lack of interest and support from top administrators can kill that enthusiasm very quickly. I would therefore, urge that the administration takes as many of the recommended steps as possible. This will build support around the field staff which in turn will make them feel a real sense of recognition for the job they are doing. Finally, I would urge that you give the Field staff as much material support in terms of resources and people that can be mustered.

SUMMARY

As I have repeated in various parts of this report, your staff morale, enthusiasm and devotion are very high. It is my view that, in order to maintain this morale, supportive services are needed in the following areas:

1. Work content - increasing the task variability as well as advancing in the type of work we are doing.
2. Introduction of more complicated tools into the work situation as a means of increasing the learning experience.
3. Broadening the work areas within the concept of conservation in order to permit exposure into a greater variety of skills.
4. Immediate preparation for carrying on the program in bad weather as well as for the winter time:
    a. You may have to shift some of the conservation work efforts to indoor activity such as the repair of equipment and the building of new epuipment required in the parks.
5. Reorganize counselors' work schedules so that they are available to the recruits.
6. Clarify responsibility of counselors and work supervisors in order to avoid confusion as to who is responsible for what.
7. Make resource material available to the Education Program - film strips, films, program learning, small books, etc.
8. Make available to the counseling staff information regard-

ing vocational opportunities in the state through research done by counselors in the various areas in which they are serving.

9. Give some training to both counselors and work supervisors on specific questions such as discipline, role playing, learning, etc.

Pov Prog

JUL 26 1965

17 Vernon Street
New Haven, Conn.
23 July 1965

— sendg regional investigators

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Mr. Walter Brooks, Chairman of New Haven CORE, asked that I send you these copies of the complaint to the Office of Economic Opportunity concerning the failure of Community Progress, Inc. to comply with the requirements of the Economic Opportunity Act and the Community Action Program Guide, as Joyce Ware requested in a telephone conversation with Mr. Brooks today.

To date the complaint has been signed by New Haven CORE, the New Haven branch of the Negro-American Labor Council, New Haven Friends of SNCC, the Hill Neighborhood Union (an organization of the residents of one of New Haven's slum ghetto neighborhoods), and several inner-city ministers and Yale University faculty members. Additional signatures will be forthcoming shortly.

Mr. Brooks has indicated that he will telephone your office once you have had a chance to go through these materials. We look forward to receiving your assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Brian Glick

Brian Glick

Walter
776-2915
562-4076-home

letter from J.F. to O.E.O.

— sendg lobbying team to Washington

COMPLAINT TO THE
OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY
REGARDING
THE FAILURE OF
COMMUNITY PROGRESS, INC.
TO COMPLY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF
THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT
AND
THE COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM GUIDE

JULY 23, 1965

Community Progress Incorporated has applied to the Office of Economic Opportunity for federal assistance as a community action agency under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The grant would cover the period from September 1, 1965 to June 30, 1966. The Economic Opportunity Act requires that community action programs be "developed, conducted, and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served."[1] The Community Action Guide sets forth policies and procedures of the Office of Economic Opportunity in providing assistance to communities for community action programs.[2] The Guide states that "to be eligible for Federal assistance, an applicant must have ... a commitment to enlist the participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served in the development, conduct and administration of the proposed program" and must make "adequate provision" for their "participation in policy making."[3] The measures needed to meet these two requirements are specified in Part B, sections 5 and 6 of the Community Action Program Guide.

CPI now and in its pending application does not meet these requirements. Despite requests from representatives of the New Haven NAACP, New Haven CORE, and the Hill Neighborhood Union for increased resident participation, CPI has not amended its application to provide the participation required by law. It has offered only inadequate changes to be initiated at its discretion after its application has been accepted.

Because we believe, with the Office of Economic Opportunity, that "it is through their own effective participation that the residents and groups to be served can most readily achieve the objective of a permanent increase in their capacity to deal with their own problems without further assistance",[4] and that such participation is essential to the maintenance of democratic controls on officials administering government porgrams, we are compelled to file this complaint with the Office of Economic Opportunity. We urge that CPI's pending application for federal funds be refused acceptance until CPI provides in that application for the resident participation required by law.

We believe that, as a minimum, a majority of the Board of Directors of CPI must be elected by residents of the neighborhoods CPI serves and that CPI must take major steps to provide to those residents and the general public objective information about CPI programs and opportunities for voicing proposals and criticisms without threat of sanction. We urge that CPI be required to establish an elected board in each neighborhood it serves which would review programs and suggest innovations. We also urge that CPI be required to make other changes such as holding public hearings on proposed programs, establishing a hearing procedure for aggrieved individuals and organizations, and freeing the persons responsible for evaluating CPI programs from the direction and control of those who plan and administer the programs.

The body of this complaint sets out the basis for those requests and describes them in detail.

PART I
Existing Resident Participation

CPI has used, and indicates in its current application that it will continue to use, only three means of ensuring resident participation in the community action program: employment of "indigenous workers," "generalized neighborhood organization," and "stimulation of program related groups."[5] There are serious drawbacks to each of these methods of participation as they are practiced by CPI. They are not ways of achieving "meaningful participation" through "advice on program policy and ... actual conduct and administration" of CPI programs.[6] They may become devices for fostering a dependency on CPI approval for these who would become involved in community action.

Employment of sizeable numbers of indigenous workers is CPI's major mode of securing participation (as of November, 1964: 67 full time and 95 part time workers).[7] It is its only form of resident participation which satisfies section 5. Employees can be fired, however, and job applicants turned away because of their activities in independent organizations which criticize the city administration and CPI. Other employees can be frightened by direct or indirect threat of discharge into refusing to join such activities. To prevent this abuse of the basically sound practice of employing neighborhood residents, an impartial grievance board should be established to hear complaints from applicants for employment by CPI and from its employees. Since the same kinds of leverage can be used to control the activities of people served by CPI programs, they should be protected by the same impartial hearing procedure.

The other two areas of citizen involvement--"generalized neighborhood organization" and the development of "program related groups"--do not satisfy the intent of section5, especially 5b. The function of the program related groups is to provide "a full measure of neighborhood support"[8] for existing programs, rather than the required "meaningful participation" in "all stages of a community action program, from its inception on."[9] CPI's work with independent neighborhood groups does not satisfy the requirement for "advice on program policy and ... actual conduct and administration." The revitalization of existing organizations, which is the bulk of CPI's neighborhood organization work, has been to a large extent directed at citizen participation in urban renewal planning, which, while creditable, has nothing to do with participation in planning CPI programs.[10] Some neighborhood groups have been created to meet the needs of existing CPI programs: for instance, "In response to an emergency, CPI Neighborhood Services organized an advisory committee to satisfy the citizen participation requirement of the new and unique neighborhood library center."[11] In other areas CPI has lent its organizational support to groups in no way representative of their areas: for instance, in the Hill, an area with large Negro and Puerto Rican minorities, the neighborhood coordinator said of the Hill Civic Association: "It was decided ... to rebuild and strengthen this group rather than encourage the start of new community groups ... Neighborhood services staff also did some selective recruiting from among the Negro community which resulted in about six new Negro members. Although these efforts had some payoff, it is questionable whether the payoff was worth the effort expanded (sic)."[12]

Few if any of the large number of organizations cited as either created or revitalized by CPI organizers have had any meaningful role in planning or administering programs. Rather, they have served as forums for explanation of programs already devised. The approach has been to present to citizens groups programs devised on the outside and to use these groups to drum up support for them: to convince citizens that the programs which have been devised for them are good ones, rather than, as the Economic Opportunity Act intended, to involve them in the creation and execution of those programs.

Although the Economic Opportunity Act and the Guide require that a community action agency take whatever measures are needed for its program to be "developed, conducted, and administered with the maximum feasible participation of the residents of the areas and members of the groups served," CPI has failed to use several "means to ensure" participation by these residents, recommended in the Guide and feasible in New Haven. Below we will suggest several such means in addition to establishing a hearing board.

PART II
Representation on CPI Board: Neighborhoods Served

In addition to the requirements of section 5 which CPI has not met, section 6 sets forth "minimum standards" for representation in policy-making:

> a) Representation from private and public agencies shall include at least one representative of the chief elected official, or officials, of the community, the board of education, the public welfare agency, and the major private social service agencies.
>
> b) Representation from the leadership of important elements in the community, such as labor, business, religious, and minority groups. Particular attention should be paid to ensuring adequate minority group representation in cases where minority group members comprise a large proportion of the population of the "target" areas or groups selected for the community action program.
>
> c) Representation from residents of the areas and members of the groups to be served, including at least one representative selected from each of the neighborhoods or areas in which the community action program will be concentrated.[13]

These provisions were made specifically applicable to CPI by the OEO in Community Action Memo No. 1, dated April 1, 1965. Yet under the pending application the Board of Directors of CPI draws its members only from category (a). Three are selected by the Mayor, one each by the Board of Education, the Redevelopment Agency, the Citizens Action Committee of that agency, Yale University, the United Fund, and the Community Council of Greater New Haven.

The Guide states that "the opportunity for representation shall include either membership by representatives of these three categories on the policy-making or governing body of the community action agency, or, where such membership is not feasible, on a policy advisory committee."[14] The meaning of "feasibility" in this context has been explained by Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, in a letter to Representative Adam Clayton Powell:

> From our first contacts with local community groups, as evidenced by the requirements printed in our community action program guide, we have required substantial and effective representation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served on the governing board of community action agencies. Where such membership is not legal or for other compelling reasons is impossible, such groups are required by our policies to have effective representation on policy advisory boards.[15]

Participation by representatives of these categories on the Board of Directors of CPI is neither illegal nor for any other compelling reason impossible. Community action agencies in Syracuse, Newark, Trenton and Philadelphia have demonstrated the feasibility of such representation by including representatives of areas served on their respective governing bodies. Furthermore, even the inadequate proposal suggested by Mr. Sviridoff, Executive Director of CPI, shows that CPI recognizes that such representation is neither illegal nor impossible.

Mr. Sviridoff described the proposal, called the "Resident Participation Project," in separate meetings with representatives of the New Haven NAACP and representatives of New Haven CORE and the Hill Neighborhood Union. He told the latter groups that under this plan two representatives from each of the seven neighborhoods served would sit on a policy advisory board and in that capacity would elect two members of the board.[16] This proposal is inadequate and defective in two respects: the insufficiency of resident representation and the unsatisfactory selection procedure. Since the Guide requires that the governing board include at least one representative from each area served, the selection of only two such representatives is patently insufficient. The creation of a policy advisory board in no way satisfies the representation requirement of section 6, because, as we have shown, CPI is able to include representatives of areas served directly on its Board of Directors. Nor would the two directors or the advisory board be really representative. The selection procedures for both minimize the participation of residents generally and contravene the recommendations of the OEO. In section 6c the Guide recommends that the process of selection of resident representatives "be designed to encourage the use, wherever feasible, of traditional democratic approaches and techniques such as group forums and discussions, nominations and balloting." CPI's plan represents the narrowest conceivable construction of this provision and in effect would frustrate the purpose of democratic participation. The process of selection of the two board members would have three stages, each of which CPI agents would supervise closely. There is no pretense of democracy or representativeness in the plan: CPI itself would select the membership of the body that would in turn elect the advisory board members. Both the Guide and the purpose of participation itself dictate that selection of representatives of residents served be designed to involve the maximum possible number of those residents. To do this, efforts will have to be made to contact and to introduce into the process those people in the community who are not part of any organized structure and who in the past have remained voiceless because of this lack of effective participation. It will not be sufficient, as in Mr. Sviridoff's proposal, only to involve existing formally or informally organized groups.

CPI can comply with OEO policies only by holding neighborhood elections. In order to insure that representatives elected will truly "command the support or confidence of the group or area that he represents,"[17] every effort must be made to protect the integrity of the electoral process. It is therefore imperative that CPI act with impartiality in all areas concerning the elections: any funds, services, or facilities made available by CPI for election purposes must be offered on an equal basis to all participants. Group forums, discussions and other programs arranged by CPI in connection with the elections should provide ample opportunity for persons and groups with divergent views to participate.

In order to ensure continued responsiveness on the part of Board members to those who elected them, we believe that the terms of office of elected Board members should be of short duration. Participation in planning CPI's programs by those they are designed to serve is long overdue; we urge that neighborhood elections for Board members be held on or before October 1 of this year.* To guarantee as much participation as possible at this time, it will be necessary that the time, places and manner of the election be geared to the needs of the community involved. In particular, there should be an ample number of conveniently located polling places and long polling hours to accommodate those residents of the neighborhood who would not be able to cast a ballot during the normal working day.

To keep the Board members elected by residents responsive to their constituents, CPI should be required to establish neighborhood boards elected by the residents of each of the seven neighborhoods. Their functions would be to review and to propose programs for the area and to take as large a part as possible in the conduct and administration of the programs in their neighborhoods. They would also serve as hearing boards for neighborhood individuals and groups who have problems about CPI programs as they affect them. Beyond this they would increase residents' opportunities to participate in developing and administering CPI programs in manners specifically recommended by the Guide:

> Among the means to ensure participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served are:
>
> > Use of existing and neighborhood organizations and the creation of new representative neighborhood organizations for advice on program policy and, where appropriate, for actual conduct and administration of elements of neighborhood-based programs.
> >
> > The provision of meaningful opportunities for residents, either as individuals or in groups, to protest or to propose additions to or changes in the ways in which a community action program is being planned or undertaken.[18]

To further enable residents of areas served to hold their representatives and CPI itself accountable and to participate effectively in planning and criticizing proposals, more information about CPI programs and their effects is needed. Little objective information or systematic evaluation is now available, nor can it be expected from staff members responsible to program administrators. We suggest that CPI create a research and evaluation unit independent of those who administer the agency's programs.

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* October 1 was selected to avoid conflict with the general election. It is also important that the terms of the newly elected board members begin sufficiently in advance of the time for consideration of a new OEO grant application for them to be familiar with CPI operations.

PART III
Representation on CPI Board: Minority Groups

Besides failing to provide the representation of residents of areas served which is required under section 6c, CPI has not met the requirement of minority group representation set out in section 6b. CPI recognizes that according to the 1960 census, "of New Haven's 23,000 Negroes and estimated 4,000 Puerto Ricans," 95% live in the seven neighborhoods served by CPI and that they represent over 28% of the "90,000 New Haveners" in these neighborhoods.[19] Because Puerto Ricans and, especially, Negroes "comprise a large proportion of the population of the 'target' areas or groups selected for the community action program," as provided under 6b, "particular attention should be paid to ensuring" them "adequate representation" on the Board of Directors of CPI. The Board of Directors described in the current DPI application makes, however, no provision for representation from these groups. The only minority group member of the present Board of Directors is a Negro minister who does not reside in any of the areas CPI serves and who was appointed by the Mayor.

We believe that New Haven's Negroes and Puerto Ricans cannot be represented effectively by persons appointed by the Mayor or by any of the agencies which now select members of the Board of Directors of CPI. It is not possible to determine which, if any, existing organizations are qualified to select such representatives, especially since it is unlikely that a large proportion of New Haven Negroes and Puerto Ricans belong to organized groups. Special elections of certified Negroes and Puerto Ricans by certified Negroes and Puerto Ricans would be offensive. Because so many of the residents of the areas CPI serves are Negroes and Puerto Ricans, minority group representatives who are responsive to the wishes and needs of their groups can most effectively be ensured by expansion of the number of members of the Board of Directors elected by residents of those areas. As a matter of statistics and politics, the probability is very high that such an arrangement would provide substantial minority group representation. And it would do so in a manner supportive of the policies and principles of the EOA and the OEO.

PART IV
Majority Representation of Those Served by CPI

The entrenched policies, attitudes, and patterns of behavior of CPI as an organization demonstrate that full compliance with the principles and policies of the EOA and the OEO is possible only if a majority of the Board of Directors of CPI is elected by residents of the areas CPI serves. In the course of its three-year history, CPI has developed a rationalization of its treatment of the poor which excludes the extent and kind of resident participation we urge. CPI actions and policy statements display a disdainful rejection of the policy of the EOA and the OEO. In a paper prepared for CPI and used this summer for CPI internship orientation, Howard Hallman, until recently Deputy Director, states the position: "For the vast majority of the poor, poverty is a disability that precludes meaningful participation in program planning."[20] Hallman says that "Resident participation is possible among a leadership group, but the rank and file, particularly the poor, the lower-class person, does not participate in organized activities."[21] He rejects active and responsible participation by the poor, which he calls the "populist" approach, in favor of "the democratic elitist tendency ...the tendency for planning and decision making to be done by those of superior ability."[22] He cites CPI as an example of "democratic elitism"[23] and the requirements of the Economic Opportunity Act as an example of the "populism" he rejects:

> Social workers involved in neighborhood organization work, particularly settlement workers, have been advocates of the populist tendency. And now the chorus is being joined by the staff of the Office of Economic Opportunity as it interprets to communities the meaning of "maximum feasible participation" in community action programs.[24]

These views are reiterated in a widely distributed letter written by Richard O. Brooks, who has served CPI as a Special Assistant to the Executive Director and as Director of Program Analysis, discussing what he calls the "Democratic Fallacy."

> There is a dangerous tendency for middle class persons to over-estimate the potentiality for leadership in the poverty group. In areas of deep poverty, such as public housing projects, the potential for leadership is minimal....
>
> The expectation of fostering political leadership within poverty areas demands not only that potential leaders reject the deadening effect of the "culture" of poverty, but also that "potential leaders" forgo the race for economic acquisition and status. Even Churchill had his comfort and whiskey to return to after a painful and tedious evening of "democratic politics." Perhaps, indeed, the Greeks were correct in expecting political activity to accompany a certain economic status allowing for comfort and leisure time.[25]

And in a conversation with John Wilhelm, a Yale undergraduate now working with the Hill Neighborhood Union, Mr. Brooks admitted this winter that the CPI staff have "...a basic skepticism about the potentiality of the poor to participate in community organization over a long period of time." CPI, he noted, has "been accused of being least involved in and least committed to citizen participation" of all the community action programs. "That's probably true," he commented. "We submitted a program with minimal, really minimal, citizen participation."[26]

In view of such views and practices, a change in board composition alone is not enough. Rather, only representation of the residents served in a clear majority would ensure effective representation. The influence of CPI's "democratic elitist" approach has become pervasive among staff and in policies and structure. This pattern of acting on the poor and minimizing their effective participation has gained strength that cannot be overcome by observing the minimum OEO policy requirements for board membership. It is necessary to create a board whose majority effectively and accurately represents the poor.

NOTES

1. Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, section 202a3.
2. Community Action Program Guide, Vol. 1, Part A, section 1.
3. ibid., Vol. 1, Part B, sections 2c and 2d.
4. ibid., Vol. 1, Part B, section 5.
5. Community Progress, Inc.'s pending application for Community Action Program grant for the ten-month period beginning Sept. 1, 1965.
6. CAPG, Vol. 1, Part B, sections 5 and 5b.
7. "Resident Participation in New Haven's Community Action Program," mimeo, Jan., 1965, p. 6. Community Action Program Review (May, 1965) says 101 indigenous workers are employed "in the field" (p. 91); it also says that 726 indigenous workers are employed in the "total Community Action staff," which includes 25 other public and private agencies (pp. 91-92).
8. "Resident Participation in New Haven's Community Action Program," p. 23.
9. CAPG, Vol. 1, Part B, section 5.
10. See, for instance, "Resident Participation in New Haven's Community Action Program," pp. 8, 10, 13, 16, 19-20.
11. ibid., p. 9.
12. ibid., p. 19.
13. CAPG, Vol. 1, Part B, section 6.
14. ibid., Vol. 1, Part B, section 6.
15. The New York Times, May 13, 1965.
16. The New Haven Journal Courier, June 30, 1965, p. 3.
17. CAPG, Vol. 1, Part B, section 6c.
18. ibid., Vol. 1, Part B, section 5.
19. Community Progress, Inc., "Employment" (undated pamphlet)
20. Howard Hallman, "Planning with the Poor," mimeo, p. 6.
21. ibid., p. 5.
22. ibid., p. 7.
23. ibid., p. 8.
24. ibid., p. 3.
25. Richard O. Brooks, Letter to James O. Freedman, mimeo, p. 3.
26. Conversation at CPI offices in February, 1965. A statement describing this discussion is being forwarded to OEO.

COMPLAINT TO THE
OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY
REGARDING
THE FAILURE OF
COMMUNITY PROGRESS, INC.
TO COMPLY WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF
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Community Progress Incorporated has applied to the Office of Economic Opportunity for federal assistance as a community action agency under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The grant would cover the period from September 1, 1965 to June 30, 1966. The Economic Opportunity Act requires that community action programs be "developed, conducted, and administered with the maximum feasible participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served."[1] The Community Action Guide sets forth policies and procedures of the Office of Economic Opportunity in providing assistance to communities for community action programs.[2] The Guide states that "to be eligible for Federal assistance, an applicant must have ... a commitment to enlist the participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served in the development, conduct and administration of the proposed program" and must make "adequate provision" for their "participation in policy making."[3] The measures needed to meet these two requirements are specified in Part B, sections 5 and 6 of the Community Action Program Guide.

CPI now and in its pending application does not meet these requirements. Despite requests from representatives of the New Haven NAACP, New Haven CORE, and the Hill Neighborhood Union for increased resident participation, CPI has not amended its application to provide the participation required by law. It has offered only inadequate changes to be initiated at its discretion after its application has been accepted.

Because we believe, with the Office of Economic Opportunity, that "it is through their own effective participation that the residents and groups to be served can most readily achieve the objective of a permanent increase in their capacity to deal with their own problems without further assistance",[4] and that such participation is essential to the maintenance of democratic controls on officials administering government porgrams, we are compelled to file this complaint with the Office of Economic Opportunity. We urge that CPI's pending application for federal funds be refused acceptance until CPI provides in that application for the resident participation required by law.

We believe that, as a minimum, a majority of the Board of Directors of CPI must be elected by residents of the neighborhoods CPI serves and that CPI must take major steps to provide to those residents and the general public objective information about CPI programs and opportunities for voicing proposals and criticisms without threat of sanction. We urge that CPI be required to establish an elected board in each neighborhood it serves which would review programs and suggest innovations. We also urge that CPI be required to make other changes such as holding public hearings on proposed programs, establishing a hearing procedure for aggrieved individuals and organizations, and freeing the persons responsible for evaluating CPI programs from the direction and control of those who plan and administer the programs.

The body of this complaint sets out the basis for those requests and describes them in detail.

PART I
Existing Resident Participation

CPI has used, and indicates in its current application that it will continue to use, only three means of ensuring resident participation in the community action program: employment of "indigenous workers," "generalized neighborhood organization," and "stimulation of program related groups."[5] There are serious drawbacks to each of these methods of participation as they are practiced by CPI. They are not ways of achieving "meaningful participation" through "advice on program policy and ... actual conduct and administration" of CPI programs.[6] They may become devices for fostering a dependency on CPI approval for these who would become involved in community action.

Employment of sizeable numbers of indigenous workers is CPI's major mode of securing participation (as of November, 1964: 67 full time and 95 part time workers).[7] It is its only form of resident participation which satisfies section 5. Employees can be fired, however, and job applicants turned away because of their activities in independent organizations which criticize the city administration and CPI. Other employees can be frightened by direct or indirect threat of discharge into refusing to join such activities. To prevent this abuse of the basically sound practice of employing neighborhood residents, an impartial grievance board should be established to hear complaints from applicants for employment by CPI and from its employees. Since the same kinds of leverage can be used to control the activities of people served by CPI programs, they should be protected by the same impartial hearing procedure.

The other two areas of citizen involvement--"generalized neighborhood organization" and the development of "program related groups"--do not satisfy the intent of section5, especially 5b. The function of the program related groups is to provide "a full measure of neighborhood support"[8] for existing programs, rather than the required "meaningful participation" in "all stages of a community action program, from its inception on."[9] CPI's work with independent neighborhood groups does not satisfy the requirement for "advice on program policy and ... actual conduct and administration." The revitalization of existing organizations, which is the bulk of CPI's neighborhood organization work, has been to a large extent directed at citizen participation in urban renewal planning, which, while creditable, has nothing to do with participation in planning CPI programs.[10] Some neighborhood groups have been created to meet the needs of existing CPI programs: for instance, "In response to an emergency, CPI Neighborhood Services organized an advisory committee to satisfy the citizen participation requirement of the new and unique neighborhood library center."[11] In other areas CPI has lent its organizational support to groups in no way representative of their areas: for instance, in the Hill, an area with large Negro and Puerto Rican minorities, the neighborhood coordinator said of the Hill Civic Association: "It was decided ... to rebuild and strengthen this group rather than encourage the start of new community groups ... Neighborhood services staff also did some selective recruiting from among the Negro community which resulted in about six new Negro members. Although these efforts had some payoff, it is questionable whether the payoff was worth the effort expanded (sic)."[12]

Few if any of the large number of organizations cited as either created or revitalized by CPI organizers have had any meaningful role in planning or administering programs. Rather, they have served as forums for explanation of programs already devised. The approach has been to present to citizens groups programs devised on the outside and to use these groups to drum up support for them: to convince citizens that the programs which have been devised for them are good ones, rather than, as the Economic Opportunity Act intended, to involve them in the creation and execution of those programs.

Although the Economic Opportunity Act and the Guide require that a community action agency take whatever measures are needed for its program to be "developed, conducted, and administered with the maximum feasible participation of the residents of the areas and members of the groups served," CPI has failed to use several "means to ensure" participation by these residents, recommended in the Guide and feasible in New Haven. Below we will suggest several such means in addition to establishing a hearing board.

PART II
Representation on CPI Board: Neighborhoods Served

In addition to the requirements of section 5 which CPI has not met, section 6 sets forth "minimum standards" for representation in policy-making:

a) Representation from private and public agencies shall include at least one representative of the chief elected official, or officials, of the community, the board of education, the public welfare agency, and the major private social service agencies.

b) Representation from the leadership of important elements in the community, such as labor, business, religious, and minority groups. Particular attention should be paid to ensuring adequate minority group representation in cases where minority group members comprise a large proportion of the population of the "target" areas or groups selected for the community action program.

c) Representation from residents of the areas and members of the groups to be served, including at least one representative selected from each of the neighborhoods or areas in which the community action program will be concentrated.[13]

These provisions were made specifically applicable to CPI by the OEO in Community Action Memo No. 1, dated April 1, 1965. Yet under the pending application the Board of Directors of CPI draws its members only from category (a). Three are selected by the Mayor, one each by the Board of Education, the Redevelopment Agency, the Citizens Action Committee of that agency, Yale University, the United Fund, and the Community Council of Greater New Haven.

The Guide states that "the opportunity for representation shall include either membership by representatives of these three categories on the policy-making or governing body of the community action agency, or, where such membership is not feasible, on a policy advisory committee."[14] The meaning of "feasibility" in this context has been explained by Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, in a letter to Representative Adam Clayton Powell:

> From our first contacts with local community groups, as evidenced by the requirements printed in our community action program guide, we have required substantial and effective representation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served on the governing board of community action agencies. Where such membership is not legal or for other compelling reasons is impossible, such groups are required by our policies to have effective representation on policy advisory boards.[15]

Participation by representatives of these categories on the Board of Directors of CPI is neither illegal nor for any other compelling reason impossible. Community action agencies in Syracuse, Newark, Trenton and Philadelphia have demonstrated the feasibility of such representation by including representatives of areas served on their respective governing bodies. Furthermore, even the inadequate proposal suggested by Mr. Sviridoff, Executive Director of CPI, shows that CPI recognizes that such representation is neither illegal nor impossible.

Mr. Sviridoff described the proposal, called the "Resident Participation Project," in separate meetings with representatives of the New Haven NAACP and representatives of New Haven CORE and the Hill Neighborhood Union. He told the latter groups that under this plan two representatives from each of the seven neighborhoods served would sit on a policy advisory board and in that capacity would elect two members of the board.[16] This proposal is inadequate and defective in two respects: the insufficiency of resident representation and the unsatisfactory selection procedure. Since the Guide requires that the governing board include at least one representative from each area served, the selection of only two such representatives is patently insufficient. The creation of a policy advisory board in no way satisfies the representation requirement of section 6, because, as we have shown, CPI is able to include representatives of areas served directly on its Board of Directors. Nor would the two directors or the advisory board be really representative. The selection procedures for both minimize the participation of residents generally and contravene the recommendations of the OEO. In section 6c the Guide recommends that the process of selection of resident representatives "be designed to encourage the use, wherever feasible, of traditional democratic approaches and techniques such as group forums and discussions, hominations and balloting." CPI's plan represents the narrowest conceivable construction of this provision and in effect would frustrate the purpose of democratic participation. The process of selection of the two board members would have three stages, each of which CPI agents would supervise closely. There is no pretense of democracy or representativeness in the plan: CPI itself would select the membership of the body that would in turn elect the advisory board members. Both the Guide and the purpose of participation itself dictate that selection of representatives of residents served be designed to involve the maximum possible number of those residents. To do this, efforts will have to be made to contact and to introduce into the process those people in the community who are not part of any organized structure and who in the past have remained voiceless bedause of this lack of effective participation. It will not be sufficient, as in Mr. Sviridoff's proposal, only to involve existing formally or informally organized groups.

CPI can comply with OEO policies only by holding neighborhood elections. In order to insure that representatives elected will truly "command the support or confidence of the group or area that he represents,"[17] every effort must be made to protect the integrity of the electoral process. It is therefore imperative that CPI act with impartiality in all areas concerning the elections: any funds, services, or facilities made available by CPI for election purposes must be offered on an equal basis to all participants. Group forums, discussions and other programs arranged by CPI in connection with the elections should provide ample opportunity for persons and groups with divergent views to participate.

In order to ensure continued responsiveness on the part of Board members to those who elected them, we believe that the terms of office of elected Board members should be of short duration. Participation in planning CPI's programs by those they are designed to serve is long overdue; we urge that neighborhood elections for Board members be held on or before October 1 of this year.* To guarantee as much participation as possible at this time, it will be necessary that the time, places and manner of the election be geared to the needs of the community involved. In particular, there should be an ample number of conveniently located polling places and long polling hours to accommodate those residents of the neighborhood who would not be able to cast a ballot during the normal working day.

To keep the Board members elected by residents responsive to their constituents, CPI should be required to establish neighborhood boards elected by the residents of each of the seven neighborhoods. Their functions would be to review and to propose programs for the area and to take as large a part as possible in the conduct and administration of the programs in their neighborhoods. They would also serve as hearing boards for neighborhood individuals and groups who have problems about CPI programs as they affect them. Beyond this they would increase residents' opportunities to participate in developing and administering CPI programs in manners specifically recommended by the Guide:

> Among the means to ensure participation of residents of the areas and members of the groups served are:
>
> > Use of existing and neighborhood organizations and the creation of new representative neighborhood organizations for advice on program policy and, where appropriate, for actual conduct and administration of elements of neighborhood-based programs.
> >
> > The provision of meaningful opportunities for residents, either as individuals or in groups, to protest or to propose additions to or changes in the ways in which a community action program is being planned or undertaken.[18]

To further enable residents of areas served to hold their representatives and CPI itself accountable and to participate effectively in planning and criticizing proposals, more information about CPI programs and their effects is needed. Little objective information or systematic evaluation is now available, nor can it be expected from staff members responsible to program administrators. We suggest that CPI create a research and evaluation unit independent of those who administer the agency's programs.

---

* October 1 was selected to avoid conflict with the general election. It is also important that the terms of the newly elected board members begin sufficiently in advance of the time for consideration of a new OEO grant application for them to be familiar with CPI operations.

PART III
Representation on CPI Board: Minority Groups

Besides failing to provide the representation of residents of areas served which is required under section 6c, CPI has not met the requirement of minority group representation set out in section 6b. CPI recognizes that according to the 1960 census, "of New Haven's 23,000 Negroes and estimated 4,000 Puerto Ricans," 95% live in the seven neighborhoods served by CPI and that they represent over 28% of the "90,000 New Haveners" in these neighborhoods.[19] Because Puerto Ricans and, especially, Negroes "comprise a large proportion of the population of the 'target' areas or groups selected for the community action program," as provided under 6b, "particular attention should be paid to ensuring" them "adequate representation" on the Board of Directors of CPI. The Board of Directors described in the current DPI application makes, however, no provision for representation from these groups. The only minority group member of the present Board of Directors is a Negro minister who does not reside in any of the areas CPI serves and who was appointed by the Mayor.

We believe that New Haven's Negroes and Puerto Ricans cannot be represented effectively by persons appointed by the Mayor or by any of the agencies which now select members of the Board of Directors of CPI. It is not possible to determine which, if any, existing organizations are qualified to select such representatives, especially since it is unlikely that a large proportion of New Haven Negroes and Puerto Ricans belong to organized groups. Special elections of certified Negroes and Puerto Ricans by certified Negroes and Puerto Ricans would be offensive. Because so many of the residents of the areas CPI serves are Negroes and Puerto Ricans, minority group representatives who are responsive to the wishes and needs of their groups can most effectively be ensured by expansion of the number of members of the Board of Directors elected by residents of those areas. As a matter of statistics and politics, the probability is very high that such an arrangement would provide substantial minority group representation. And it would do so in a manner supportive of the policies and principles of the EOA and the OEO.

PART IV
Majority Representation of Those Served by CPI

The entrenched policies, attitudes, and patterns of behavior of CPI as an organization demonstrate that full compliance with the principles and policies of the EOA and the OEO is possible only if a majority of the Board of Directors of CPI is elected by residents of the areas CPI serves. In the course of its three-year history, CPI has developed a rationalization of its treatment of the poor which excludes the extent and kind of resident participation we urge. CPI actions and policy statements display a disdainful rejection of the policy of the EOA and the OEO. In a paper prepared for CPI and used this summer for CPI internship orientation, Howard Hallman, until recently Deputy Director, states the position: "For the vast majority of the poor, poverty is a disability that precludes meaningful participation in program planning."[20] Hallman says that "Resident participation is possible among a leadership group, but the rank and file, particularly the poor, the lower-class person, does not participate in organized activities."[21] He rejects active and responsible participation by the poor, which he calls the "populist" approach, in favor of "the democratic elitist tendency ...the tendency for planning and decision making to be done by those of superior ability."[22] He cites CPI as an example of "democratic elitism"[23] and the requirements of the Economic Opportunity Act as an example of the "populism" he rejects:

> Social workers involved in neighborhood organization work, particularly settlement workers, have been advocates of the populist tendency. And now the chorus is being joined by the staff of the Office of Economic Opportunity as it interprets to communities the meaning of "maximum feasible participation" in community action programs.[24]

These views are reiterated in a widely distributed letter written by Richard O. Brooks, who has served CPI as a Special Assistant to the Executive Director and as Director of Program Analysis, discussing what he calls the "Democratic Fallacy."

> There is a dangerous tendency for middle class persons to over-estimate the potentiality for leadership in the poverty group. In areas of deep poverty, such as public housing projects, the potential for leadership is minimal....
>
> The expectation of fostering political leadership within poverty areas demands not only that potential leaders reject the deadening effect of the "culture" of poverty, but also that "potential leaders" forgo the race for economic acquisition and status. Even Churchill had his comfort and whiskey to return to after a painful and tedious evening of "democratic politics." Perhaps, indeed, the Greeks were correct in expecting political activity to accompany a certain economic status allowing for comfort and leisure time.[25]

And in a conversation with John Wilhelm, a Yale undergraduate now working with the Hill Neighborhood Union, Mr. Brooks admitted this winter that the CPI staff have "...a basic skepticism about the potentiality of the poor to participate in community organization over a long period of time." CPI, he noted, has "been accused of being least involved in and least committed to citizen participation" of all the community action programs. "That's probably true," he commented. "We submitted a program with minimal, really minimal, citizen participation."[26]

In view of such views and practices, a change in board composition alone is not enough. Rather, only representation of the residents served in a clear majority would ensure effective representation. The influence of CPI's "democratic elitist" approach has become pervasive among staff and in policies and structure. This pattern of acting on the poor and minimizing their effective participation has gained strength that cannot be overcome by observing the minimum OEO policy requirements for board membership. It is necessary to create a board whose majority effectively and accurately represents the poor.

NOTES

1. Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, section 202a3.
2. Community Action Program Guide, Vol. 1, Part A, section 1.
3. ibid., Vol. 1, Part B, sections 2c and 2d.
4. ibid., Vol. 1, Part B, section 5.
5. Community Progress, Inc.'s pending application for Community Action Program grant for the ten-month period beginning Sept. 1, 1965.
6. CAPG, Vol. 1, Part B, sections 5 and 5b.
7. "Resident Participation in New Haven's Community Action Program," mimeo, Jan., 1965, p. 6. Community Action Program Review (May, 1965) says 101 indigenous workers are employed "in the field" (p. 91); it also says that 726 indigenous workers are employed in the "total Community Action staff," which includes 25 other public and private agencies (pp. 91-92).
8. "Resident Participation in New Haven's Community Action Program," p. 23.
9. CAPG, Vol. 1, Part B, section 5.
10. See, for instance, "Resident Participation in New Haven's Community Action Program," pp. 8, 10, 13, 16, 19-20.
11. ibid., p. 9.
12. ibid., p. 19.
13. CAPG, Vol. 1, Part B, section 6.
14. ibid., Vol. 1, Part B, section 6.
15. The New York Times, May 13, 1965.
16. The New Haven Journal Courier, June 30, 1965, p. 3.
17. CAPG, Vol. 1, Part B, section 6c.
18. ibid., Vol. 1, Part B, section 5.
19. Community Progress, Inc., "Employment" (undated pamphlet)
20. Howard Hallman, "Planning with the Poor," mimeo, p. 6.
21. ibid., p. 5.
22. ibid., p. 7.
23. ibid., p. 8.
24. ibid., p. 3.
25. Richard O. Brooks, Letter to James O. Freedman, mimeo, p. 3.
26. Conversation at CPI offices in February, 1965. A statement describing this discussion is being forwarded to OEO.

For further information call:
Haywood Burns 787-4869 or 787-3131 x2454

FOR RELEASE FRIDAY, JULY 23, AT 11:00 A.M.

The failure of Community Progress, Inc., to have elected representatives from inner city neighborhoods on its Board of Directors was the subject of a formal complaint filed today by several New Haven organizations and individuals with the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington, D. C.

Timing the complaint with CPI's application for a $1.4 million grant from OEO, the group -- which includes members of New Haven CORE, the Hill Neighborhood Union, the Newhallville Civic Association, Yale Law School faculty, and several inner-city ministers -- is demanding that "as a minimum, a majority of the Board of Directors of CPI must be elected by residents of the neighborhoods CPI serves."

"We urge," the complaint states, "that CPI's pending application for federal funds be refused acceptance until CPI provides in that application for the resident participation required by law."

According to the complaint, CPI is not now or in its pending application meeting federal requirements for resident participation in "the development, conduct and administration" of poverty programs.

CPI, originally sponsored by a two and a half million dollar grant from the Ford Foundation, is now largely financed by Federal

(more)

funds. New Haven's poverty program was one of the first in the country, and has been viewed by many as a model for other urban areas. Mitchell Sviridoff, CPI's Executive Director, is President of the national organization of urban poverty program directors.

The New Haven group's complaint to OEO argues that the only way CPI can comply with OEO policies as set out in a "Community Action Program Guide" issued by federal poverty officials, is by holding neighborhood elections for members of the Board of Directors.

A majority of Board members from inner city neighborhoods is necessary, the complaint says, because of "the entrenched policies, attitudes, and patterns of behavior of CPI."

A former CPI official is quoted as saying that perhaps it is "correct to expect political activity to accompany a certain economic status allowing for comfort and leisure time." Former CPI Deputy Director Howard Hallman is quoted in a policy statement used recently by CPI as having said, "For the vast majority of the poor, poverty is a disability that precludes meaningful participation in program planning."

In addition to neighborhood representatives on CPI's executive body, the complaint urges the creation of neighborhood advisory boards to "review and propose programs for the area and to take as large a part as possible in the conduct and administration of the programs in their neighborhoods."

Other demands include establishing public hearings on CPI programs and a grievance machinery for CPI employees and persons applying

(more)

for jobs through CPI's employment programs.

Members of the groups submitting the complaint met with Sviridoff and CPI Board members before releasing copies to the press at a conference Friday at 11:00 A.M. in the United Church Parish House, 323 Temple Street, in New Haven.

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Pov prog
Complaints

DEC 1 1965

File

November 29, 1965

Mr. Paul C. Ketchersid, Director
Camp Kilmer Job Corps
Edison, New Jersey

Dear Mr. Ketchersid;

The Congress of Racial Equality has deep interest in the operation of the entire anti-poverty program. In view of recent reports, we are especially concerned about the management and operation of the Kilmer job corps program.

Therefore, we respectfully request that representatives from CORE have the opportunity to meet with you on Friday, December 3, 1965, at 10:30a.m.

We would like to specifically discuss the following matters:

1. Job Corps curriculum
2. Organization of trainees
3. Training programs
4. Recruitment procedures
5. Hiring policies and practices
6. Job Corps discipline

Please advise me as to whether the above time is acceptable to you.

Very truly yours,

Robert Curvin

Robert Curvin
Vice-chairman
Northeast Region

Home:
106 Huntington Terrace
Newark, N.J. 07112
Wa-3-8183
Business:
217 W. 125th St.
New York, N. Y. 10027
666-2241

cc:R. Sargent Shriver
Otis Singletary
James Farmer

RC/jr

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SYRACUSE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ASSOC

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NATIONAL CORE JOINS SYRACUSE CORE IN SUPPORTING YOUR STAND FOR INDEPENDENCE. ONLY THROUGH POWER TO THE POOR CAN THE POOR THEMSELVES SOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS. WE HAVE URGED SERGEANT SHRIVER TO REPEAL DEATH SENTENCE EMBODIED IN INSISTANCE SYRACUSE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ASSOC BE UNDER MAYORS COMMITTEE. WE ARE WITH YOU.

DATE 132 DEC 5 943PEST

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TEL NO 222-0446

DEST'N SYRACUSE NY

SIGNATURE

JAMES FARMER
NATIONAL DIRECTOR
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

CFN FURN

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CORE
38 PARK ROW NYC

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DIRECTOR OFFICE OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

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O.E.O. INSISTANCE THAT SYRACUSE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION FUTURE FUNDING BE UNDER THE UMBRELLA OF MAYORS COMMITTEE WILL RESULT IN EMASCULATING EFFECTIVE COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION. IT HAS BEEN THE CONSISTENT PRACTICE OF THE MAYORS COMMITTEE TO UNDERCUT PARTICIPATION OF THE POOR. THIS ACTION DIRECTLY CONTRAVENES YOUR STRONG STAND UPHOLDING "MAXIMUM FEASIBLE PARTICIPATION" AT LOCAL POLICY LEVEL. STRONGLY URGE RECONSIDERATION AND ALLOWING INDEPENDENT FUNDING THUS MAKING POSSIBLE VIABLE EXISTANCE OF SYRACUSE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

SIGNATURE

JAMES FARMER
NATIONAL DIRECTOR
CONGRESS OF
RACIAL EQUALITY

CFN FURN

BD CC 3Q27040
CORE
38 PARK ROW NYC

WU 550 (1-52)

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE

a national organization with affiliated local groups working
to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

DEC 10 1965

OEO Complaints

December 8, 1965

Dr. Otis Singletary, Director
Job Corps
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington 25, D.C.

Dear Sir:

On December 3, 1965, Mr. Alan Gartner, Director of Community Relations, and I met with Mr. Paul C. [illegible], Director of the Job Corps Center at Camp Kilmer, to discuss recent reports concerning conditions at the Kilmer center.

At this meeting we requested permission to organize a CORE chapter for corpsmen at the Kilmer center. Mr. [illegible] indicated that it was not within his province to grant such a request and advised us that such a decision would have to be made by OEO administration in Washington.

Therefore, we request an opportunity to discuss this matter with you in the very near future.

It would be possible for us to meet in Washington on December 15th or 17th.

We are aware that you are leaving OEO shortly and if this matter is to be handled by someone else kindly have that person contact us.

Please advise us as to whether it is possible to meet on the above dates.

Very truly yours,

Robert Curvin
Vice Chairman
Northeast Region

cc:
Mr. Sargent Shriver
Mr. Paul [illegible]
Dr. Frank Johnson
Mr. James Farmer

Business:
217 West 125th St.
New York City 10027
212 666-8241

Home:
156 Huntington Terr.
Newark, N.J.
201 Wa-3-0183

RC/jr

Pov
Prog.,
Complaints

Mr. Eugene H. Nickerson
County Executive of Nassau County
County Executive Building
West Street
Mineola, New York

Dear Mr. Nickerson:

As you are undoubtedly aware, the Long Island chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality fully supports the legal service program proposed for the indigent in Nassau County.

The national organization is particularly concerned that in a community larger than many states in the United States, an essential component of any comprehensive anti-poverty effort has been opposed for reasons inconsistent with national policy as reflected in the Federal Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and the most fundamental precept of democracy.

To assert that representatives of minority organizations and the poor must be excluded from the policy-making body of any institution is discriminatory and un-American. It is particularly reprehensible to have such anopinion voiced by members of a profession which historically has been most concerned with the protection of minority rights.

The Congress of Racial Equality stands by your side in attempting to ensure the poor and impoverished a voice in influencing public policy. We will do all in our power to help you attain this lofty and essential goal.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:ns

James Farmer

OK

Dear Mr. Nickerson:

As you are undoubtedly aware, the Long Island Branch of the Congress of Racial Equality fully supports the legal service program proposed for the indigent in Nassau County.

The national organization is particularly concerned that in a community larger than many states in the United States, an essential component of any comprehensive anti-poverty effort has been opposed for reasons inconsistent with national policy as reflected in the Federal Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, and the most fundamental precept of democracy.

To assert that representatives of minority organizations and the poor must be excluded from the policy-making body of any institution is discriminatory and unamerican. It is particularly reprehensible to have such an opinion voiced by members of a profession which historically has been most concerned with the protection of minority rights.

The Congress of Racial Equality stands by your side in attempting to ensure the poor and impoverished a voice in influencing public policy. We will do all in our power to help you attain this lofty and essential goal.

To be sent to:

(a) Eugene H. Nickerson, County Executive of Nassau County
County Executive Building
West Street
Mineola, New York

Copies w. covering letter to

(b) Arthur Kaye, President
Bar Association, Nassau County
Fifteenth and West Streets
Mineola, New York

(c) George J. Beldock, Presiding Justice
Appellate Division, Second Department
45 Monroe Place
Brooklyn, New York

(d) Clinton Bamberger, Director of Legal Services Division
Office of Economic Opportunity
1200 - 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

N. A. A. C. P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

10 Columbus Circle, New York, N. Y. 10019

JUdson 6-8397

December 13,1965

DEC 14 1965

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York,New York

Dear Jim:

Enclosed is a draft of a letter that I am asking you to send to Eugene Nickerson and the other three individuals. I have been trying to get you on the phone to discuss the matter and it has so far been impossible. I hope you can take a look at the enclosed and send it off. It represents an important program which I understand is already backed by CORE.

It would be most appropriate if you would send a letter to Nickerson and carbons to the other three individuals accompanied by a covering note.

Sincerely,

Jack Greenberg
Director--Counsel

Contributions are deductible for U. S. income tax purposes

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DE

DEC 20 1965

OEO - complaints

The Telegram We Can't Afford To Send

DEEPLY REGRET YOU RECEIVED REPLY TELEGRAM FROM SARGENT SHRIVER WHICH GLOSSED OVER AND DISTORTED, REPEAT, DISTORTED THE POSITION OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR COUNCIL AGAINST POVERTY IN SYRACUSE, NEW YORK.

HERE ARE THE FACTS: ALTHOUGH MONEY HELPS, IT IS NOT THE MOST IMPORTANT THING. IF OEO DOES, AS SHRIVER CONTENDS "HAVE CONFIDENCE IN THE VALIDITY OF OUR ORGANIZATIONS" IT WOULD BE CLEAR AS TO WHY WE--THROUGH SYRACUSE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION--MUST BE FUNDED DIRECTLY. THE SIMPLE SUGGESTION THAT WE FOLLOW NATIONAL POLICY BY APPLYING TO THE CRUSADE FOR OPPORTUNITY MISSES THE POINT. THE CRUSADE HAS NEITHER THE CONFIDENCE NOR THE RESPECT OF THE MAJORITY OF POOR PEOPLE IN SYRACUSE BECAUSE OF ITS CLOSE TIES TO CITY HALL. A FINANCIAL LIFELINE TO THE CRUSADE WOULD MEAN FOR US A SPIRITUAL DEATHLINE. IT WOULD ONLY PROMISE MANIPULATION AND DOMINATION NOT THE FREEDOM AND AUTONOMY WE NEED.

WE ARE NOT FOLLOWING A NO-WIN POLICY IN THE WAR ON POVERTY. WHY DOES SHRIVER WANT US TO? WHEN WE MET WITH HIM, WE TRIED TO CONVEY THE SERIOUSNESS OF OUR PURPOSE AND THE DEPTH OF OUR COMMITTMENT. WHY WOULD HE HAVE US TAKE THE PATH TO DEMORALIZATION AND DEATH THROUGH DEPENDENCE ON A NON-REPRESENTATIVE AND CONTROLLED AGENCY.

CRUSADES WENT OUT YEARS AGO, BUT WE CAN WIN THIS WAR. WHEN WE ASK FOR COURAGEOUS CONFIDENCE, WE DON'T WANT TECHNICALITIES. THERE IS ONLY ONE WAY FOR OEO TO SHOW ITS COMMITTMENT: REFUND OUR ORGANIZERS DIRECTLY.

HELP US GET THIS MESSAGE TO OTHERS. SUPPORT US IN OUR FIGHT.

PEOPLE'S WAR COUNCIL AGAINST POVERTY

N. A. A. C. P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

10 Columbus Circle, New York, N. Y. 10019

JUDSON 6-8397

OEO
Compl

December 21, 1965

DEC 23 1965

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Jim:

Could you please send me a copy of the letter which you sent in connection with the Legal Services Program in Nassau County?

Nancy,
Please
send

Sincerely,

Jack Greenberg
Director--Counsel

Sent
12/28

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President
HON. FRANCIS E. RIVERS

Secretary
DR. GEORGE D. CANNON

Executive Officers

Director-Counsel
JACK GREENBERG

Acting Associate Counsel
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8 FROM CORE ON LINE

Evening Star 1/7/66

Rights Worker Fired, HEW Picketed

Eight members of the Washington branch of CORE picketed the main Health, Education and Welfare building today in protest of the dismissal of an employe who had been active in the civil rights movement.

The worker, Miss Anna Holden, 37, of the 5000 block of New Hampshire Avenue NW, was dismissed after a year in the Equal Educational Opportunities Program. She claimed today that during her one-year probationary period which began last Jan. 11, she had been complimented several times on the quality of her work.

David Seeley, acting director of the program, said that he recommended Miss Holden's dismissal because of "a lack of objectivity and a tendency to allow her emotional reactions on matters affecting civil rights to cloud sound judgment . . ."

Miss Holden, who is white, was national secretary of the Congress of Racial Equality from 1957 to 1962 and then became a regional representative to CORE's national action committee.

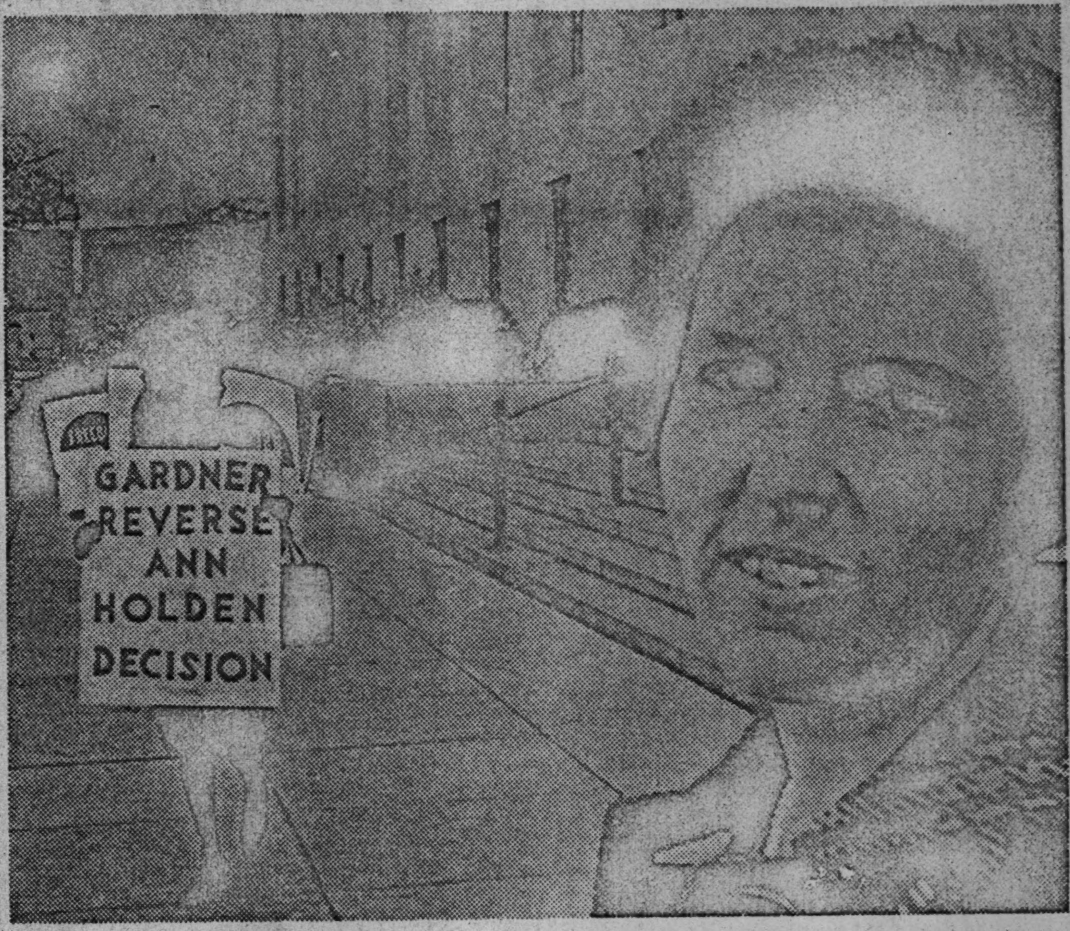
Much of her work with the national civil rights organization was done while she was employed as a research sociologist at Fisk University and the University of Michigan.

She joined the Equal Educational Opportunities Program as an "educational research and program specialist." The job was given to her for a year, she said, at the end of which program officials were to decide whether to employ her permanently.

Miss Holden said she told program officials when they hired her that she was active in civil rights but that none of them ever expressed any objections to this. She said that during her membership in Washington CORE she picketed on occasion but was never involved in anything that conflicted with department work.

She said that even Seeley told her during the course of the

See PICKETS, Page A-6



—Star Photographer Paul Schmick

Anna Holden joins the CORE picket line in her behalf in front of HEW.

PICKETS

Continued From Page A-1

year that she had done good work. Seeley said today that he talked with her on Dec. 23 and told her she had "not universally done bad work" and that she was an intelligent person who could do "certain kinds of work well."

In a memorandum given by Seeley on Dec. 23 to the personnel office, these factors were listed as: "Unwillingness or inability to accept direction exception with manifest resentment and bad grace.

"On one fairly substantial project, hostile and bitter response to cooperation with staff assigned to gather information from files assigned to her charge.

"A lack of objectivity and a tendency to allow her emotional reactions on matters affecting civil rights to cloud judgment on how to handle inquiries or proposals assigned to her for staff work."

Miss Holden said no one told her she would not get a permanent appointment until a few weeks ago and "the first inkling I had was on Dec. 21." At that time Seeley told her, she said, that she was being dismissed not because of her work but, she said, because of "a personality problem."

Two days later, Seeley sent his recommendations for her dismissal to Charles Bryant, director of personnel for the U.S. Office of Education. Miss Holden was dismissed Monday.

Since then CORE has sent a telegram to Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare John Gardner asking him to rescind the letter terminating Miss Holden's employment and reverse what a CORE spokesman called "a policy that pro-civil rights attitudes and activities disqualify persons from the civil rights staff at the department."

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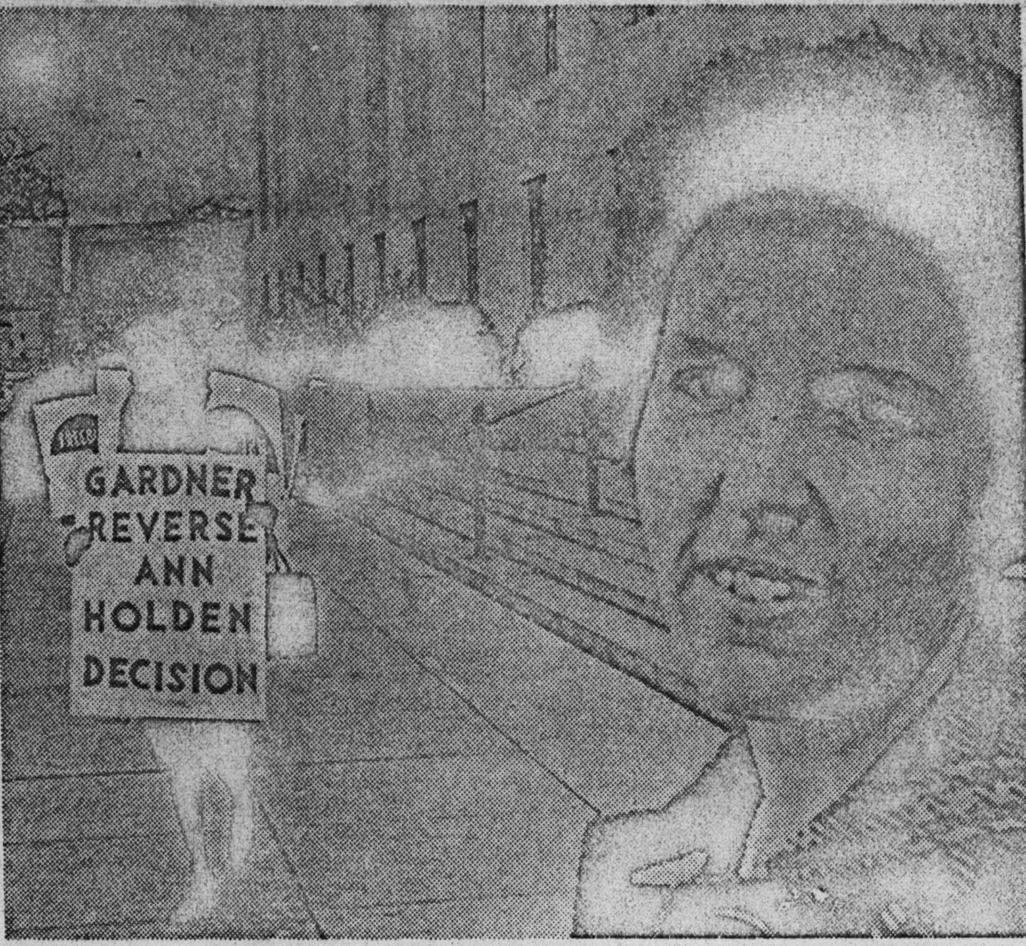

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THE WASHING

ASHINGTON AFRO-AMERICAN, JANUARY 15, 1966

MISS ANNA HOLDEN

Claims rights work caused her firing

By MARY STRATFORD

An appeal by Miss Anna Holden from her dismissal from the Office of Equal Education Opportunities, U. S. Office of Education, has been turned down by the parent agency, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW).

Miss Holden, who believes her civil rights activities led to her termination from the post as an education and program specialist, said she plans further appeals.

* * *

THE CONTROVERSIAL dismissal which has stirred protests from several organizations and individuals was upheld by HEW in a letter received by Miss Holden Tuesday stating her "notice of termination fully complied with the requirements of the Civil Service Commission."

Miss Holden had requested a review and hearing and asked to be given the particulars of the reasons for her dismissal from the GS-11 post.

* * *

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* * *

IN HIS letter recommending Miss Holden's dismissal, David Seeley, acting director of the Office of Equal Educational Opportunities, gave as reasons her failure to cooperate with other staff members in gathering information from the files assigned to her and her failure to use sound judgment in handling inquiries and proposals assigned to her for staff work.

He also stated she has a tendency to allow her emotional reaction on matters affecting civil rights to cloud her judgment in answering inquiries or proposals assigned to her.

Refuting the "failure to cooperate" charge, three-fourths of Miss Holden's co-workers at HEW signed a petition supporting her.

"Each of us knows her, either personally or by reputation, to be cooperative and obective in gathering information for members of the staff and for educators with whom the staff has put her in contact.

"Indeed, she has often worked long into the evening on her own time to fill urgent requests for information. The library which she has developed has been invaluable to many of us in the pursuit of our professional duties."

* *

TWO RELIGIOUS leaders spoke in support of Miss Holden. Father Samuel K.

(Continued on Page 2)

–Miss Holden

(Continued from Page 1)

said "It is of growing concern that laws, official government statements and policies are now 'pro civil rights,' but the people who are most qualified to carry them out are too often kept out or pushed aside."

The Rev. Channing Philips, pastor, Lincoln Temple, United Church of Christ stated he is troubled by "the incongruity of an ageny charged with responsibility to enforce the specifics of a civil rights law not wishing to employ staff who attempt to perform their duties in a positive manner."

Washington CORE members demonstrated at the agency last Friday in protest against the firing. Miss Holden is chairman of CORE's housing committee.

Other agencies which have supported her include the American Civil Liberties Union, Americans for Democratic Action, the United Auto Workers, Ann Arbor CORE and Ann Arbor Democratic Party.

Miss Holden is a former national secretary of CORE, and former midwest regional representative for the CORE National Action Council. She was chairman of the Ann Arbor, Mich. CORE for two years and was also chairman of the Nashville Tenn. CORE.

She received her B.A. degree in sociology from Florida State University, her M.A. degree from the University of North Carolina and is studying for a doctorate degree at the University of Michigan.

Washington Afro-American

4 JANUARY 15, 1966

Miss Holden's Firing

There is a note of irony in the firing of Miss Ann Holden from her job with the Office of Equal Educational Opportunities, because, as her supervisors noted among their other reasons for releasing her, she had a tendency to allow her "emotional reactions" over civil rights, to cloud her judgement.

How strange it is indeed that an office — whose very name would indicate its concern in this area — would release an employee because that employee is too concerned. Strange indeed are the ways of government.

The treatment meted out to Miss Holden forces us to ask the question —what type of employee does the office want? Should the employee be anti - civil rights, or should he just not care about the issue one way or the other? Whatever the answer, it is clear that Miss Holden, a veteran of the civil rights wars, did not fit into the scheme of things.

The betrayal of this type of attitude on the part of the administrators of the office, is reason to pause and wonder aloud whether the powers that rule it are for the cause, or against it.

If they are for what is right and just, they have a very odd way of showing this. Miss Holden's firing might have been justified on other grounds — which is a question we are not prepared to discuss — but to drag in her involvement with the rights issue as a justification, raises doubt about the office's sincerity, and its ability to recognize a paramount fact—that bringing about equality does require "involved" people, and the more "involved," the quicker will come equality.

The office blundered badly in firing Miss Holden and accusing her of being too emotional about civil rights. Little can be expected from an agency with such a narrow-minded attitude.

1/8/66

Miss Holden Files Appeal On Dismissal

Evening Star

An education specialist said today she has filed an appeal with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare protesting her dismissal from the agency.

Miss Anna Holden, 37, a former national officer of CORE, charged that the reason cited for her dismissal was "a complete dodge" used as part of an attempt to try to rid the agency of persons strongly committed to civil rights.

She said that she had filed an appeal yesterday to HEW Secretary John Gardner asking for reinstatement to her post in the Office of Education's equal educational opportunities program. She was a probationary GS-11 specialist.

Miss Holden, who is white, said that in her opinion there "has been an increasing unwillingness by the department to carry out the purposes of the Civil Rights Act."

"I think the agency's public record in obtaining desegregation of schools demonstrates that it has not been effective in this field."

David Seeley, acting director of the equal educational opportunities program, has said that he recommended Miss Holden's dismissal because of "a lack of objectivity and a tendency to allow her emotional reactions on matters affecting civil rights to cloud sound judgment . . ."

Commenting on Miss Holden's charges today, Seeley denied that her discharge was "a dodge" to get rid of a strong civil rights advocate or that HEW officials have not shown faith in trying to carry out the purpose of the Civil Rights Act.

"A great deal of progress has been made in desegregating schools since the Civil Rights Act was passed, but we are not satisfied," Seeley said. "I don't see how anyone could be happy about the fact that humdreds of thousands of kids are still not enjoying their full rights, but this is an involved and complicated issue."

JET, v.29, No. 16, Jan. 27, 1966, p11

White Rights Advocate Fired From HEW Post

Civil rights and civil liberties organizations are protesting the firing of a former CORE representative from the Health, Education and Welfare Dept.'s Equal Educational Opportunity (EEO) program. Anna Holden, 37, a white educational research and program specialist, lost her $9,000-a-year job despite high professional qualifications and experience because of her "lack of objectivity and emotional reactions on matters affecting civil rights," according to David Seeley, acting director of the EEO. HEW officially said that Miss Holden was fired for "inadequate performance of duties assigned to her," but her competence was strongly defended in a petition by other staff workers. Miss Holden claims that her dismissal is part of a HEW attempt to suppress people with active concern about civil rights, noticeable in the department ever since the "Chicago incident" when federal funds were temporarily withheld from the Chicago school system.

W Post p. C4
1/11/66

'Cynicism' Is Denied By Seeley

David S. Seeley, acting director of the Office of Equal Education Opportunity, denied yesterday a charge of "cynicism" about integration.

"I'm sure I never expressed cynicism about integration or I would not be working for it," he said, He noted that as an undergraduate at Yale he was president of the college NAACP chapter and that he has consistently advocated racial justice.

The charge arose from Seeley's dismissal of Anna Holden, a former national secretary of CORE, for "letting her emotional reactions on matters affecting civil rights cloud sound judgment."

The charge was made by the Rev. Channing E. Phillips, minister of Lincoln Temple United Church of Christ, at a press conference also conducted by the Rev. Samuel K. Frazier, associate vicar of St. Philip's Episcopal Church.

Mr. Phillips said that Seeley, in a panel talk at Plymouth Congregational Church a year ago, "publicly expressed cynicism about the ability of integration to work in the United States."

The minister, who heard the talk, added, "You begin to question the ability of an agency to enforce civil rights laws when the director of that agency is cynical about the workability of integration and fires those workers who pursue it positively."

Seeley recalled that his talk was on the importance of integration and that he said "it would be a tough struggle and there were many forces working against it."

9/27/64

Anna Holden (Miss)
5061 New Hampshire Ave. NW, #101
Washington, D. C.

Phone: 726-0059

__Most recent employment:__ Child-Rearing Study, Health and Welfare Council of the National Capitol Area, 1101 M St. NW, Washington, D. C. 1963-1964. Analysis of neighborhood and community data gathered in 5-year study of family life among low-income families of the District of Columbia; editing of field materials and staff reports prepared in connection with study. The study was funded under a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health.

__References:__

(1) Dr. Hylan Lewis, Director, Community Services Projects, Howard University, Washington, D. C.

(2) Dr. Stephen Withey, Co-Director, Inter-Center Program for Research on Family, Children and Youth, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

(3) Dr. Ronald Lippitt, Co-Director, Inter-Center Program for Research on Family, Children and Youth, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

(4) Dr. Herman Long, President, Talladega College, Talladega, Ala.

(5) Dr. Preston Valien, U. S. Office of Education, Division of Higher Education, Washington, D. C.

June 1, 1963

Name: Anna Holden (Miss)
Address: 502 E. Kingsley, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Age: 34 **Place of birth:** Ocala, Fla.

Educational Background

Ocala High School, Ocala, Fla. 1942-1946. College preparatory course.

Florida State University, Tallahassee, Fla. 1946-1950. A. B., March, 1950. Undergraduate major, social sciences with concentration in sociology ; second major, journalism. One quarter graduate work, sociology, Spring, 1950.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. 1950-1951; Summer, 1954. M. A., June, 1955. Major, sociology; minor, anthropology.

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1959-1960. One year, Ph. D. program in sociology.

Work Experience

Editorial Assistant, Flint Youth Study, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan. Current, since 1960. Editorial work and writing for monograph series reporting data gathered in 5-year delinquency study conducted in Flint, Mich. under grant from National Institute for Mental Health.

Teaching Fellow, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, 1959-1960. Course, "Marriage," for undergraduates not majoring in sociology.

Research Associate, Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn. Summer, 1958-Summer, 1959. Supervision of data processing on current study, data analysis and editorial work.

Research Associate, Department Social Sciences, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn. 1955-1958. Field studies of three community desegregation crises: bus boycott, Montgomery, Ala.; school crises, Clinton, Tenn. and Little Rock, Ark. Teaching Assistant, undergraduate sociology course, "Methods of Social Research"

Part-time interviewing with market research companies, 1956-1958. Institute for Motivational Research, Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y.; Center for Research in Marketing, N. Y., N. Y.; Alfred Politz Research, N. Y.

Research and Information Assistant, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga. 1951-1955. Mail surveys; research and reference work for speeches, publications and program material; field work with community self-survey program. Focus of Council's interest: racial desegregation in South.

Graduate Research Assistant, Department of Sociology, University of North Carolina. Documentary research on Indians of Robeson County, N. C. 1950-1951

Professional Affiliations

American Sociological Association, National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials

Academic Honors and Honorary Societies

Degree, Florida State University, cum laude; Phi Beta Kappa, Phi Kappa Phi, Alpha Lamba Delta (freshman women), Phi Alpha Theta (history) and Alpha Kappa Delta (sociology)

Publications

(with George S. Mitchell) "Money Income of Negroes in the United States," Journal of Negro Education, v. 22 (Summer, 1953), 333-342

"Negro Family Income in the Southern States," New South, Oct.-Nov., 1953

"The Color Line in Southern Libraries," New South, Jan., 1954

"State Parks for Negroes--New Tests of Equality," New South, Apr.-May, 1954

(with Preston and Bonita Valien) "Clinton, Tenn.: School Desegregation Crisis." Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith, 515 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y. 1957

"A First Step Toward School Integration." Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York 38, N. Y. June, 1958

(Ed.) "Human Relations and the Moral Challenge. A Condensation of Presentations at the 15th Annual Institute of Race Relations, Fisk University, June 30-July 12, 1958." Race Relations Department, Fisk University, Nashville 8, Tenn. 1959

"A Call to Catholics," Interracial Review, v. 35 (June, 1962), 140-143

Reports

Series from the Montgomery, Ala. bus protest study: (1) "Behind the Bus Boycott," 31 pp. (2) "Official White Community Leadership," 28 pp. (3) "Positive Action in the White Community," 32 pp., presented at the 1956 Race Relations Institute, Fisk University, as part of a panel on the Montgomery protest and (4) "Southern Editors View the Boycott," 34pp. Unpublished.

Publications in Preparation

Flint Youth Study Monograph Series: (tentative titles) Monograph 1, The Apprehended Delinquent in Flint (with Stephen Withey and Ronald Lippitt)--Chapter 2, "Juvenile Offenders Apprehended by the Police"; Chapter 3, "The Juvenile Repeater"; Chapter 4, "The First Serious Apprehension and Its Impact"; Chapter 5, "Explorations of the Impact of Differential Social Settings and Patterns of Acquaintance"

Monograph 3, Peer, Parent and Self Concepts-- (with Charles Seashore) Chapter 2, "Conscience Development and Internalization of Norms Among Adolescent Boys"

Volunteer Experience in Civil Rights

Nashville (Tenn.) Committee on Racial Equality (CORE). Member, 1956-1959;chairman, 1957-1959.

Ann Arbor (Mich.) Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Member, since 1960; on Steering Committee, since summer, 1960; chairman, 1961, 1962.

Ann Arbor Area Fair Housing Association. Organizer; secretary, since 1961. The Ann Arbor Area Fair Housing Association is a direct action organization which merged with Ann Arbor CORE, fall, 1962. The merged group is an affiliate of national CORE.

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Secretary, national CORE, 1957-1962; Midwest Regional Representative to CORE National Action Council, 1963

Significant Action Projects

School desegregation: Nashville CORE coordinated a campaign for immediate, total desegregation of schools in which 45 organizations participated. When a stair-step plan was adopted, CORE surveyed 11 districts affected by desegregation contacted several hundred parents, 1957-1959, in efforts to persuade them to send their children to neighborhood schools, furnished escorts for Negro parents and children during periods of violence and tension, helped with transfer problems, checked on parents and children in integrated schools all through the year and brought parents together for morale purposes.

Housing: The Ann Arbor Area Fair Housing Association launced the first direct action housing project in Michigan, Jan., 1962, when negotiations failed to change the rental policy of Pittsfield Village, the largest rental development in Ann Arbor. Owned and managed by a leading Detroit realty firm, Pittsfield Village was desegregated after 7 months of daily demonstrations in Ann Arbor, 6 weeks of sympathy picketing in Detroit, support from 13 Detroit organizations, and economic sanctions from Detroit in the form of suspension of an urban renewal contract and a resolution before Detroit Common Council to cancel city contracts with firms practicing discrimination.

AAFHA-CORE has since desegregated a large rental and sale development and is coordinating weekly picketing of City Hall in support of a strong fair housing ordinance. With other groups, AAFHA-CORE has drafted a model ordinance.

Public Accommodations: CORE has successfully resolved cases of discrimination in a local dress shop, a pizza restaurant and a reducing salon; spearheaded a successful campaign to eliminate advertisement with race labels from the Ann Arbor News; and successfully prosecuted the first cases of discrimination under the state public accommodations act to receive a guilty verdict in Washtenaw County in at least 20 years. A "Freedom Ride" to nearby Dearborn, summer, 1961, resulted in desegration of about 25 restaurants.

Leadership role and skills developed in above projects and others: (1) setting up test cases, especially in public accommodations and housing; (2) negotiations with owners and managers; (3) organization of direct action training workshops with projects in housing, public accommodations and employment; (4) organization of direct action demonstrations, including picketing, sit-ins, vigils, and marches; (5) preparation of interpretive materials, including statements, leaflets, open letters to newspapers and leaflets; (6) organization of community surveys relevant to problems using volunteer interviewers; and (7) interpreting action to community through speeches and presentations at public hearings.

Recepient, Achievement Award, Young Democrats of Michigan, May 6, 1961

July 1, 1962

JUL 30 1965

Revised Constitution

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality

Article I. Name

This organization shall be known as the Congress of Racial Equality, Inc., and shall be abbreviated as CORE.

Article II. Purposes and Nature

Section 1. The purpose for which this organization has been formed and for which it exists is to abolish discrimination based upon skin color, race, religion or national origin, stressing nonviolent, direct action methods.

Section 2. CORE is a national multiracial membership organization composed of affiliated chapters, and of direct national individual associate (contributing) members. It shall represent the affiliated chapters and associate members on a national level and give voice to their convictions and ideals.

Article III. Membership

Section 1. Any person holding active membership in any affiliated chapter, all National Officers and members of the National Action Council are active members.

Section 2. Any person who supports national CORE financially is a national associate member unless he wishes to be considered only a contributor.

Section 3. Active membership shall not be available to any person who (a) associates himself with any other group or organization which expounds a philosophy which is inimical or in contradiction to the fundamental principles of CORE; (b) persistently violates the CORE Rules for Action; or (c) attempts to subvert the CORE group through allegiance to other groups or organizations.

Section 4. The Steering Committee, as it deems necessary, may hold a hearing on the eligibility for continued membership of any active member. The Steering Committee must inform the affiliated chapter in question of its intent and must request a written statement from the affiliated chapter. If his membership in CORE is found to be in violation of the restrictions contained in this article, the Steering Committee shall then remove him from membership and exclude him from participation in National and local CORE groups. Within thirty (30) days after receipt of this decision by the Steering Committee to remove him from active membership, he shall have the right to file an appeal to the next meeting of the National Action Council or Convention, and the decision of that Council or Convention shall be final.

Section 5. Any active member removed from an affiliated chapter for whatever reason may appeal such removal to the Steering Committee and the next Council or Convention, whose decision shall be final. The Steering Committee must inform the affiliated chapter in question of its intent and must request a written statement from the affiliated chapter.

Article IV. Affiliations

Section 1. Local action groups may be affiliated by the Annual Convention, the National Action Council, or the Steering Committee. In order to apply for affiliation, a local group must have been in existence at least one month and have ten members. Its application must be accompanied by the affiliation form, and an acceptable constitution, and payment of non-refundable ten dollars fee. Each affiliating group shall be known as the Committee of Racial Equality and shall be abbreviated CORE, or as a chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and each group must accept the CORE Rules for Action and the National Constitution. At least one representative of National CORE (two when possible) shall visit the prospective group and report on it to the national organization before affiliation. In the case of a metropplitan area, where a new group applies and one or more CORE Chapters is already affiliated, the existing CORE Chapter(s) shall be given an opportunity to make a statement relating to the application for affiliation of the new group.

Section 2. National CORE, or any of its affiliated chapters, may cooperate with other organizations, but may not affiliate with any organization when such affiliation requires National CORE or any of its chapters to relinquish their autonomy.

Article V. Disaffiliation

Section 1. Affiliated Chapters may be disaffiliated by the Steering Committee if the group has ceased to carry on CORE-type action; fails to file reports with National CORE; takes action not in accordance with CORE Rules for Action; acts in violation of this constitution; fails to support National CORE by not remitting monies due; falls below ten active members; or consistently takes position on matters not directly pertaining to race relations.

Section 2. Such suspension may be appealed to the next National Action Council meeting or Convention.

Section 3. Any affiliated Chapter upon failure for two years to submit monies due National CORE shall be declared delinquent and ineligible to vote at Convention.

Article VI. Officers and Duties

Section 1. The National officers of CORE shall be: Chairman, First and Second Vice-Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer, elected by the Convention, and the CORElator Editor.

Section 2. Duties of the Officers:

(a) Chairman: The Chairman shall preside at all Conventions and Council meetings. He shall appoint all committees at the National Council and Annual Convention, and he shall be ex-officio member of all committees except the nominating committee.

(b) First and Second Vice-Chairman: The First Vice-Chairman shall preside in the absence of the Chairman and the Second Vice-Chairman shall preside in the absence of the Chairman and the First Vice-Chairman. They shall perform such other duties as may be delegated to them by the Chairman.

(c) Secretary: The Secretary shall be responsible for keeping a record of all Council meetings and Conventions.

(d) Treasurer: The Treasurer shall be responsible for handling all funds in accordance with generally accepted accounting standards. He shall make regular reports to the Steering Committee, the National Action Council, and present a general report covering receipts and expenditures for the fiscal year to the Annual Convention.

(e) CORElator Editor: The CORElator Editor shall edit the official news bulletin of CORE and be responsible for distribution to affiliated chapters, associate members and interested individuals.

Article VII. Nominations and Elections

Section 1. The Chairman, First and Second Vice-Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer ~~shall~~ shall be elected by the Annual Convention. The CORElator Editor shall be appointed by the National Action Council.

Section 2. Nominations for the officers to be elected at the Annual Convention shall be made by a nominating committee and by nominations from the floor.

Section 3. Elections shall be by secret ballot and by a majority of votes cast.

Article VIII. The Convention

Section 1. The Convention shall be composed of the National officers and delegates from affiliated chapters.

Section 2. The Convention shall meet annually.

Section 3. Each affiliated chapter shall have five votes at Convention. No one delegate may cast more than three votes. Voting delegates must be active members of the affiliated chapter for which they cast their vote (s).

Section 4. The Convention is the highest governing body in CORE.

Article IX. National Action Council

Section 1. The National Action Council shall consist of: The National Director; The National Officers; two representatives from each of five geographical regions for two year terms, no two of whom may be from the same metropolitan area. At any Convention when two representatives from one region are elected, the candidate receiving the most votes shall serve for a two year term, while the next highest candidate shall serve for a one year term; in any case a majority vote shall be necessary to elect a representative. The aforementioned seventeen members of the National Action Council will elect five additional members, no two from the same chapter, to the National Action Council; at least three of the five must be active members of affiliated chapters. Their term will be one year.

Section 2. The National Action Council shall be the governing body of CORE between Conventions.

Section 3. The National Action Council shall be empowered to fill vacancies in office, and shall meet twice a year, and more often at the call of the National Chairman, or the National Director, or one-third of the affiliated chapters.

Section 4. Five geographical regions shall be established by a majority vote at Convention.

Article X. Steering Committee

Section 1. A Steering Committee of the National Action Council shall consist of the membership of the National Action Council. The Steering Committee shall meet at the call of the National Director or the National Chairman. The Steering Committee shall meet not less than eight times a year and shall be the governing body of CORE betwee National Action Council meetings and Conventions.

Article XI. National Advisory Committee

Section 1. The National Advisory Committee shall consist of individuals who will lend their advice, prestige and influence to promote the growth and welfare of CORE.

Section 2. Membership shall be conferred by either the Convention, the National Action Council or the Steering Committee. Members may be removed by action of the Convention.

Article XII. Staff

Section 1. The staff shall consist of all persons receiving full-time salary from CORE.

Section 2. The National Action Council shall appoint a National Director, who shall be the chief executive officer of CORE and be responsible for direction and coordination of staff and program.

Section 3. All other professional staff personnel shall be appointed by the Steering Committee on recommendation of the National Director.

Article XIII. Parliamentary Procedure

All decisions at duly constituted meetings of the National Organization shall be by Roberts Rules of Order Revised, except as otherwise specifically modified in this Constitution, and the Chairman shall appoint a parliamentarian at Conventions and Council meetings.

Article XIV. Quorum

A Quorum for the transaction of business at a Council or Convention shall consist of not fewer than one-third of the delegates seated at the Council or Convention. This rule may be suspended by the Chairman. All business considered when this rule is suspended may be reconsidered by a simple majority vote when there is a regular quorum.

Article XV. Finances

Section 1. The fiscal year of the Natinnal Organization shall commence on June 1st of each year and end on May 31st of the following calendar year.

Section 2. All local affiliated Chapters shall have the same fiscal year as the National Organization.

Section 3. Each affiliated local chapter shall pay a $10.00 annual affiliation fee and ten per cent of its gross income to the National Organization within thirty (30) days after the close of the fiscal year.

Article XVI. Amendments

Section 1. This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the accredited delegates present and voting at the Annual Convention.

Section 2. This Constitution and any amendments thereto shall become effective immediately upon adoption unless otherwise provided in the amendment.

Article XVII. Constitution of Local Chapters

Section 1. Each affiliated Chapter shall operate under a constitution that may not be in conflict with the National Constitution.

Section 2. Local constitutions shall define the process for granting active and associate membership. (a) Active membership must be approved by not less than a majority vote of the members of an affiliated chapter. (b) An active member must have an understanding of the nature of CORE and the Rules for Action.

The following regional breakdown of CORE Chapters was adopted by the 1962 Convention:

Northeast

North Central

Southeast

South Central

Far West

Check Marvin for States, etc.

North East: N.Y.; N.J., Conn., R.I.; Mass, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, Penn, N

North Central: Mich, Mo, Neb, Kans, Iowa, Minn, Wisc, Ill, Ind.

South East: Wash, D.C.; Fla; Md; Delaware; Va; W.Va; N.Car, S.Car, Ga.

South Central: Ky, La, Tenn, Ark, Ohio, Okla. Miss, Ala. Texas

Far West: Calif. Colo, Ariz, Wash, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, North Dak, South Dak, Wyo, New Mex, Utah, Nev,

Glenda

2/21

#6

CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.
February 13, 1964

CORE

Constitutional Changes Required to Implement
The Committee's Recommendations on Convention Voting

Article IV. Affiliation

Section 1. Local action groups may be affiliated by the annual Convention, the National Action Council or the Steering Committee. In order to apply for affiliation, a local group must have been in existence at least one month and must have ten members. Its application must be accompanied by the affiliation form, an acceptable constitution, and payment of a non-refundable ten dollar fee. Before the National Action Council or Steering Committee may consider such an application for affiliation, it must have a report and positive recommendation in writing from the director of organization.

Section 2. Each affiliating group shall be known as the Committee of Racial Equality and shall be abbreviated OCRE, or as a chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and each group must accept the CORE Rules for Action and the National Constitution. At least one representative of National CORE (two when possible) shall visit the prospective group and report on it to the director of organization before affiliation.

Section 3. In the case of a city, where a chapter applies and one or more CORE chapters is already affiliated, the existing CORE chapter(s) shall be given an opportunity to make a statement relating to the application for affiliation of the new group, and

(continued)

the new group may be affiliated only by a 2/3 majority of those members voting at a meeting of the National Action Council or National Convention. This section shall not apply to college campus chapters.

Section 4. National CORE, or any of its affiliated chapters, may cooperate with other organizations, but may not affiliate with any organization when such affiliation requires National CORE or any of its chapters to relinquish their autonomy.

Article VIII. The Convention

Section 1. The Convention is the highest governing body of CORE.

Section 2. The Convention shall be composed of the national officers, delegates from the affiliated chapters and members of the National Action Council, provided that no person can vote in more than one of these capacities.

Section 3. The Convention shall meet annually.

Section 4. Each affiliated community chapter shall have a maximum of three votes at the Convention and shall be guaranteed that maximum except where there are multiple chapters within a city. No one delegate may cast more than two votes. Each college campus chapter shall have one vote at the National Convention. College campus chapters shall not be included in any formula which limits the number of potential votes in a city or in a metropolitan area, and there shall be no limitation of the number of campus chapters which may be affiliated.

(a) There shall be a limitation of potential votes which the combined community chapters of any city may cast at the National Convention. The schedule for determining potential votes within a city shall be as follows:

(continued)

Population	Potential Convention Votes
Up to 500,000	3
500,000 to 1,000,000	6
1,000,000 to 2,000,000	9
2,000,000 to 4,000,000	12
4,000,000 to 6,000,000	15
Over 6,000,000	18

(b) When the affiliation of a new chapter would increase the number of votes within a city beyond the constitutional limit, then the National Action Council shall distribute the votes in whole numbers among the chpaters in that city based proportionally upon the number of active members in the chapters, but in no event shall any chapter have less than one or more than three votes.

Section 5. Voting delegates must be active members of the affiliated chapter for which they cast their vote(s).

That ends the constitutional changes which would be necessary to implement the Committee's report.

Constitution

MEMORANDUM

TO: NAC

February 20, 1964

FROM: Carl Rachlin

RE: Proposed Constitutional Clause
Re: Trusteeship

1 - When requested by the presiding officer of any chapter, or by a majority of the governing board of any chapter, or by petition of 25 of the active members of any chapter,

or

2 - When a chapter, in a public activity, has acted in violation of the CORE Rules for Action,

or

3 - When a chapter has come under the domination of a group whose aims are inimical to the best interests of CORE and the civil rights movement,

or

4 - Where the officers or members of the chapter are so divided internally as to be unable to conduct the affairs of the chapter, or to act effectively,

or

5 - Where the finances of the chapter are not in reasonable good order, or are not kept in accordance with reasonable bookkeeping practices.

In such circumstances, and upon the recommendation of the National Director, orally or in writing, two-thirds of the Steering Committee or a majority of the NAC may direct the National Director to place the chapter in temporary trusteeship. The National Director may appoint such deputy or deputies to act in his place and stead. The trustee or trustee(s) shall:

1 - Have and assume all the powers of all the officers of said chapter as set forth in the chapter constitution, or any by-laws, or other empowering document of said chapter; and in order to carry out said duty, he shall keep all necessary records and accounts and appoint such necessary assistants as to assist him to carry out these functions, and expend necessary funds for such purpose.

2 - At any time hereafter, and upon the recommendation of the National Director, the Steering Committee may terminate the terms of any officers of the chapter and direct the National Director to conduct elections in the New York chapter, under such terms and conditions as he may determine with due regard to the preservation of all rights of the members of said chapter.

2/21

Constitution

MEMORANDUM

TO: National Action Council February 21, 1964

FROM: Gordon R. Carey, Assistant to the National Director

Re: By-laws

At a recent meeting of the Steering Committee I was authorized to search through all records of official CORE policy meetings and extract the by-laws which have been passed but never catalogued Most of the by-laws which are to follow were not passed in the form of by laws, but were passed as policy of the organization. They have been extracted from Convention, Council, Executive Committee and/or National Action Committee or Steering Committees dating back to 1945. Some minutes have unfortunately been lost, but our records are fairly complete.

I have done some editing but in no case have changed the meaning or intent. Editing has simply been to correct the grammar or for example to insert "Steering Committee" in place of "National Action Committee."

The by-laws as extracted are:

I Regional Organization. Regional Organization may be established within the organizational framework of the National CORE organization Chapters in any region desiring to form a regional organization will inform the National Office of their plans with details of the planned organization. If a regional group of chapters applies to the National Office for such regional organization, and the National Action Council does not give its approval,

(continued)

then further action by the regional group will be postponed until the next Convention. (Convention 1950)

II Local Chapter Policy.

1. All chapters must submit to national CORE for approval the names by which they will be identified. (Action Committee 1961)

2. An individual who lives in one area and works in another may affiliate with either CORE chapter he desires, rather than being confined to the chapter of his residential area. (Action Committee, October 12, 1961)

3. Every affiliated chapter must report annually at least three months prior to Convention, a list of all chapter members, officers, committees and must include an outline of chapter policy and practice for granting active membership. Such a report will include the most recent revision of the chapter constitution and by-laws. (National Action Council Feb. 1964)

4. No local chapter is to engage in joint activity with other organizations unless that joint activity has been discussed and approved at a duly constituted meeting of the local CORE chapter. (Convention 1957)

5. Literature of other organizations cannot be distributed at CORE meetings, except with the consent of the chapter. (Convention 1957)

6. Local chapters are to issue active membership only after prospective members have been screened, the screening procedure to be established in the local constitution. (Convention 1957)

7. All CORE chapters endorsing issues or lending organizational support must do so in their own name and not in the name of the Congress of Racial Equality. (National Action Council 1963)

8. Before any local chapter may become incorporated, it must be in touch with the General Counsel; those chapters already incorporated must send a copy of their corporation charter to the General Counsel. (National Action Council 1963)

(continued)

9. If local chapters hire staff persons, National CORE may not subsidize such persons. (National Action Council, November 1963)

10. Local chapters are requested to investigate the need to register as a membership organization under local state law, and when this has been determined, they are to communicate this information to the General Counsel. (National Action Council, November 1963)

11. In the event of complaints received within 30 days of alleged irregularities in the conduct of an election wherein chapter or unit officers are involved, the National Director, or his agent, may after investigation, cause to be held, under his supervision, new elections if one or more of the following circumstances hold:

1 - requested by the candidates
2 - requested by 30% of the active members in good standing
3 - requested by the Director of Organization
4 - indicated in trusteeship situations

(National Action Council, Nov. 1963)

12. All CORE activities on a nation-wide basis, whether initiated by national CORE or a local chapter must be originally coordinated through the national office. (National Action Council, December 1962)

13. Forms shall be sent to the chapters for a formal report to the Convention that shall include budgets, projects, officers, and other pertinent information. Reports to the National Action Council will remain informal. (National Council, February 1961)

III Multiple chapters. The National Action Council may direct the chapters in a city to establish a coordinating body which will not affect the status or autonomy of any chapter but which may prohibit a chapter from taking unilateral action in city-wide affairs without approval of the majority of the chapters within that city. Such a coordinating council may also be directed to meet regularly to exchange information, to seek cooperation and to negotiate differences which may arise among the various chapters.

(continued)

IV International Fraternal Affiliations. The Office and the National Action Committee are authorized to investigate and establish fraternal relationships with race relations groups outside the continental limits of the United States. (Convention 1960)

V National Projects

1. Projects may be developed on a national level and presented to the local chapters for their action, as needed. Decision for participation is to rest with the local chapter. (Convention 1957)

2. CORE recognizes and affirms the right of all local CORE chapters to initiate and carry out projects in their own area within the framework of CORE Rules for Action. Whenever a local chapter participates in a national project, that chapter accepts the national organization's program of action. (Steering Committee, October 26, 1962)

VI National Officers. The National Action Council is authorized to handle any situation which may arise involving any difficulty with any of the national officers without waiting until the next Convention. Any charges against any officer will be sent to the officer involved and to all local chapters, and every effort will be made to get the officer present at the meeting where the affair will be discussed. (Convention 1950)

VII High School Students. High school students may generally be used in local projects, depending on local circumstances. It is CORE policy that persons under 18 years of age be used only on projects within their state. It is general CORE policy not to affiliate high school groups to the national body. However, there are three circumstances in which high school groups might be associated with CORE:

1. Organizations that are primarily, but not exclusively made up of high school students may apply for affiliation on the same basis as any other chapter.

2. High school branches may be organized by already

(continued)

existing chapters. In this case, the high school group would become a part of the older CORE chapter and would not affiliate with the national organization. Certain specifications or suggestions would have to be worked out for the relationship between the high school chapter and the community CORE group.

3. Other high school groups which want to work with CORE must receive permission from CORE in order to call themselves a student committee in support of CORE or by some similar name and then may cooperate with national and local CORE without affiliation. (National Council, February 1962)

VIII National Convention.

1. That the nominating committee nominate at least two persons for each office and that they be listed in alphabetical order. (Convention 1963)

2. There should be a form of certification of delegates to the Convention; and there shall be a credentials committee chaired by the secretary. (National Action Council, December 1962)

IX Steering Committee.

1. The Steering Committee shall continue to meet on the last Friday of the month. (National Action Council, November 1963)

2. Six National Action Council members must be in attendance in order to hold an official Steering Committee meeting. (National Action Council, July 1962)

3. Minutes of the Steering Committee shall be mailed to affiliated local chapters. (National Action Committee, Jan. 1958)

X National Constitution. The Constitution must be re-issued every time it is amended. (Convention 1958)

XI Political Restrictions.

1. Persons owing allegiance to Communist, facist and/or

(continued)

totalitarian philosophies shall be excluded from active membership. (Convention 1957)

2. No chapter shall be accepted as an affiliate of the' Congress of Racial Equality, if it is known to be Communist controlled. If a member chapter becomes Communist controlled during its period of affiliation, such a group will be dropped from membership in the federation of CORE. (Convention 1948)

3. CORE chapters may not involve their organizations in political campaigns; all political work must be carried on as individuals. CORE members have the right to engage in political activities as individuals, but CORE as an organization is non-political. (Convention 1959)

XII Task Force. The Task Force shall be a permanent part of CORE and it shall be expanded at the discretion of the National Director. (Steering Committee April 26, 1963)

XIII Finances.

1. CORE shall not make substantial contribution to other organizations, except under unusual circumstances. (Convention 1957)

2. The treasurer shall prepare forms to be sent to all chapters as the basis for a uniform accounting system. (Convention 1954)

3. Chapters are free to contribute to their regional organizations after obligations to the National organization are met. (Convention 1950)

4. Only those persons authorized by the national office may collect funds in the name of CORE, and all chapters are given blanket authorization to collect funds. The national office shall make an effort to inform local chapters of persons authorized to raise money in their local area. (National Council February 1962)

5. When the national office of CORE provides local chapters with a major outside speaker or performer for a benefit, then the national office shall receive 2/3 of the net procedes from the benefit. The national office shall provide transportation from

(continued)

its share and the local chapter shall provide hospitality. The remittance to the national office can be charged against the 10% tax. (Steering Committee, August 5, 1963)

XIV Press Relations. All press releases on national projects must be cleared with the national office.
(National Action Committee, January 26, 1962)

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The following policy decisions were made at various national meetings as indicated. They do not appear to in the nature of bylaws, but should, in my opinion, be considered to reflect the policy of the organization.

Staff.

1. Rates and salaries paid to the staff is left to the discretion of the Steering Committee. (Convention 1957)

2. No person in the employ of CORE may receive personal gifts, either money, goods, or services for speaking, preaching or as personal contributions in any way connected with the employee's role in CORE; and any such gifts are considered as a mtter of policy not to have been received by the employee individually but by the organization as a contribution. The restriction is to include income received by employees from writing while they are employed by CORE. (National Action Council, November 1963 & Steering Committee, August 30, 1963)

3. All staff members should be sent into the field periodically. (Action Committee, July 25, 1963)

4. At least two annual staff meetings are to be scheduled. (Action Committee, July 25, 1960)

5. There shall be at least one annual visit by a field secretary to each CORE chapter. Where new groups are formed during the stay of one field secretary, it is desirable to have

(continued)

another field secretary make a subsequent visit.
(Action Committee, October 1958)

CORE List. Normally the CORE list will not be exchanged with groups with similar purposes unless such action is authorized by the Steering Committee. (National Council, February 1959)

Chapter Policy.

1. No CORE group should support or give the appearance of supporting "separate but equal" facilities. (Convention 1959)

2. Each local chapter shall be requested to donate 20% of its gross income to the national office. (Convention 1949)

3. The national office may request that each local chapter submit its own mailing list to the national office so that a communication may be sent along with the first fall issue of the CORElator inquring whether they wish to be place on the national list. National CORE shall have the right to solicit funds from those persons replying no more than twice a year; such appeals would be coordinated with the local financial efforts, so that there would not be two appeals going out at the same time.
(Convention 1949)

4. CORE will encourage college students to work first toward the development of community-wide chapters of CORE. Recognizing unique situations, we will consider the affiliation of autonomous campus chapters. Even when a community chapter exists, we will still consider autonomous campus affiliation if the students desire. In any case, students working in CORE should make the strongest efforts at close working cooperation with the adult community. It is generally agreed that the staff should work toward increased activities on college campuses both North and South. We should investigate the possibility of having a staff representative concentrating on increased student participation in CORE. it is also suggested that the CORE staff develop an informal, consulting committee of student leaders from non-CORE organizations to share student concerns. It is also deemed desirable to hold student conferences on a regional or even on a nation-wide basis. (National Council, February 1962)

5. Any affiliated local chapter can ask the national

(continued)

office to transmit a request for supplementary assistance from other affiliates. (Convention 1958)

Miscellaneous Policy.

1. It is strongly urged that at least one month before a National Convention, the National Director submit to at least three officers of all local chapters a proposed Convention agenda and any proposed constitution or policy changes proposed by the national office or by a chapter. Local CORE groups shall forward their recommendations to the national office at least six weeks prior to each Convention. (Convention 1960)

2. The Steering Committee is authorized to set up branch offices as the need arises, with the advice of representatives chosen by the region under consideration. First consideration in setting up a branch office should be given to the West coast. (Convention 1960)

3. On pamphlets other than the basic literature, the names of writers are to be given: this permits some personal expression of opinion. (Convention 1958)

4. The national office is authorized to ask national associate members to write letters, etc., either on national race relations matters or in aid of a particular project. (Convention 1958)

5. The Steering Committee shall procede with promotion of holiday cards. (Convention 1957)

6. National CORE is empowered to make an award, the nature of which to be determined by the National Action Council or the Steering Committee, to any CORE chapter at anytime upon completion of a project that it is felt is deserving. (Convention 1951)

7. The CORElator shall be printed, if possible, but it shall have last priority on national funds. (Convention 1949)

8. The statement "In Regard to Communism" was approved at the 1948 Convention. It will not be reprinted here.

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9. Policy that CORE may not endorse political candidates on either local or national level reaffirmed.
(National Action Council, November 1963)

10. CORE shall make an annual contribution of $1,000 to the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. (National Action Council, Nov. 1963)

11. The national office and the national treasurer shall have no authority to authorize loans to individuals.
(National Council, February 1959)

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

of the

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

revised July, 1964

Article I. Name

This organization shall be known as the Congress of Racial Equality, Inc., and shall be abbreviated as CORE.

Article II. Purposes and Nature

Section 1. The purpose for which this organization has been formed and for which it exists is to abolish discrimination based upon skin color, race, religion or national origin, stressing nonviolent, direct action methods.

Section 2. CORE is a national multiracial membership organization composed of affiliated chapters, and of direct national individual associate (contributing) members. It shall represent the affiliated chapters and associate members on a national level and give voice to their convictions and ideals.

Article III. Membership

Section 1. Any person holding active membership in any affiliated chapter, all National Officers and members of the National Action Council are active members.

Section 2. Any person who supports national CORE financially is a national associate member unless he wishes to be considered only a contributor.

Section 3. Active membership shall not be available to any person who:

a) associates himself with any other group or organization which expounds a philosophy which is inimical or in contradiction to the fundamental principles of CORE;

b) persistently violates the CORE Rules for Action; or

c) attempts to subvert the CORE group through allegiance to other groups or organizations.

Section 4. a) The National Action Council or its Steering Committee may hold a hearing on the eligibility for continued membership of any active member and shall be empowered to make such rules and regulations as it may deem necessary for the conduct of such a hearing.

b) At least two weeks prior to such a hearing, the National Director must inform the active member in writing of the charges against him and must request a written statement from the member and from the chapter of which he is a member. The said member shall have the right to present testimony and witnesses in his behalf.

c) If his membership in CORE is found to be in violation of the restrictions contained in this article, the Steering Committee or the National Action Council shall remove him from membership and exclude him from participation in national and local CORE groups. Within thirty (30) days after receipt of the decision by the Steering Committee or National Action Council to remove him from membership, he shall have the right to file notice of appeal in writing to the National Chairman at the National CORE Office and make his appeal to the National Action

Council if excluded by the Steering Committee, or to the Convention if excluded by the National Action Council, and the decision of the Convention shall be final.

Section 5. Any active member removed from an affiliated chapter by that chapter for whatever reason has the right first to appeal that ruling to the Regional Action Council of the region where the chapter is located, and may then further appeal such removal to the Steering Committee, then to the next meeting of the National Action Council, and then to the Convention, whose decision shall be final. The Regional Action Council must inform the affiliated chapter of its intent to hold such a hearing and must request a written statement and presentation of witnesses from the affiliated chapter.

Article IV. Affiliation

Section 1. Local action groups may be affiliated by the annual Convention, the National Action Council, or the Steering Committee. In order to apply for affiliation, a local action group must: 1) give written notice to the Director of Organization of intent to organize and apply for affiliation as a CORE chapter; 2) operate for ninety (90) days following the filing of the notice of this intent; and 3) have at least ten (10) active members. Its application for affiliation must be accompanied by the affiliation form, an acceptable constitution, and payment of a non-refundable ten dollar fee. Before the National Action Council or the Steering Committee may consider such an application for affiliation, it must have a report and recommendation in writing from the Director of Organization. The National Action Council or Steering Committee must take action on the application within sixty (60) days after the receipt of the application for affiliation. Any local action group which applies for affiliation is to receive a written copy of the report submitted by the National Office, stating whether affiliation has been recommended or not. If affiliation is not recommended, the report should state clearly why and should offer suggestions for correction. Once affiliation has been denied, the local action group shall have the right to request another visit from a Field Secretary. If the visit is not granted within three months after the request, the local action group shall have the right to appeal to the National Action Council.

Section 2. Each affiliating group shall be known as the Committee of Racial Equality and shall be abbreviated as CORE, or a chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and each group must accept the CORE Rules for Action and the national CORE constitution. At least one representative of National CORE shall visit the prospective group and report on it to the Director of Organization before affiliation.

Section 3. In the case of a city where a local action group applies for affiliation and one or more CORE chapters is already affiliated, the existing CORE chapter(s) shall be given the opportunity to make a statement and present witnesses relating to the application for affiliation of the new group, and the new group may be affiliated only by a 2/3 majority of those members voting at a meeting of the National Action Council or by the National Convention.

Section 4. National CORE, or any of its affiliated chapters, may cooperate with other organizations, but may not affiliate with any organization when such affiliation requires National CORE or any of its chapters to relinquish their autonomy.

Article V. Disaffiliation and Suspension

Section 1. An affiliated local chapter may be disaffiliated by the Steering Committee or the National Action Council if: the chapter has ceased to carry on nonviolent direct action; or takes action not in accordance with CORE Rules for Action; or acts in violation of the local or national Constitution; or acts in violation of the by-laws of the national organization; or fails to follow the duly authorized instructions of the National Action Council, the Steering Committee, or the National Director; or falls below ten active members; or consistently takes positions on matters not directly pertaining to the civil rights struggle for justice and human dignity.

Section 2. Such disaffiliation by the Steering Committee may be appealed to the next meeting of the National Action Council and then to the convention, and such disaffiliation by the National Action Council may be appealed to the next convention. The decision of the convention shall be final.

Section 3. An affiliated chapter may be suspended by the National Director acting upon the unanimous instruction of the National Chairman and the National Vice-Chairmen for any one or more of the following reasons: 1) violation of the CORE Rules for Action; 2) acts in violation of the local constitution, national constitution or by-laws; 3) failure to follow the duly authorized instructions of the National Action Council, Steering Committee, or the National Director; 4) consistently takes positions on matters not directly pertaining to the civil rights struggle for justice and dignity. If the National Chairman or either of the National Vice-Chairmen are members of the chapter in question, his vote shall not be necessary to instruct the National Director regarding suspension of that affiliated chapter. Such suspension shall be in effect until the next meeting of the National Action Council or its Steering Committee, but shall in no case exceed a period of thirty (30) days. The suspension may be extended for a maximum of an additional thirty (30) days by the National Action Council or its Steering Committee. During the term of such a suspension, the chapter shall engage in no public activities and make no public statements without the written consent of the National Director.

Section 4. Any affiliated local chapter upon failure for two years to submit constitutional assessments due national CORE shall be declared delinquent and ineligible to vote at convention.

Article VI. Trusteeship

Section 1. An affiliated local chapter may be placed under trusteeship: 1) when requested by a majority of the governing board of that chapter or by petition of 30% of the active members of the chapter; or 2) when a chapter, in a public activity has acted in violation of the CORE Rules for Action; or 3) when a chapter has come under the domination of a group or organization which expounds a philosophy which is inimical or in contradiction to the fundamental principles of CORE; or 4) where the officers or members of the chapter are so divided as to be unable to conduct the affairs of the chapter; or 5) where the finances of the chapter are negligently handled, or there is a misuse of funds, or the finances of the chapter are not kept in accordance with reasonable bookkeeping practices.

Section 2. Such trusteeship may be invoked, following a hearing, by a 2/3 vote of the Steering Committee or by a majority of the National Action Council upon the written recommendation of the National Director. At least two weeks prior to the hearing, the chapter must be presented in writing with the charges. The chapter shall have the right to present testimony and witnesses in its own behalf at this hearing.

Section 3. The trustee shall be the National Director and he may appoint any deputy or deputies to act in his place and stead. The trustee shall:

a) have and assume all the powers of all the officers of said chapter as set forth in the chapter constitution, or any bylaws, or any other empowering document of said chapter; and in order to carry out said duty, he shall keep all necessary records and accounts and appoint such necessary assistants as to assist him to carry out these functions; and expend necessary funds for such purpose;
b) be empowered to request the Steering Committee to terminate the terms of any officers of the chapter and to conduct elections in the chapter, under such terms and conditions as may be determined with due regard to the preservation of all rights of the members of said chapter;
c) demand that all membership lists, records, books of accounts, bank books, and cash and other assets of said chapter be turned over to the National Director and that the present holders of them shall sign or execute any and all documents and assignments necessary for the National Director to carry out his duties hereunder;
d) use full power to preserve the assets of said chapter, pay all its debts now or in the future and to collect sums due and owing from all sources either from members or otherwise, to receive all gifts or donations, whether in money or property, and to deposit or place same in a bank of his own choosing, and in his name as Trustee; that he shall dispense all necessary sums in his capacity as Trustee. The authorization for the disposition of all chapter funds shall only be at the direction of the National Director;
e) advise with and make recommendations to the Steering Committee as to any problems existing and the extent to which he has received or failed to receive all necessary cooperation to carry out his duties hereunder.

Section 4. Such trusteeship shall last for ninety (90) days from the date of the resolution instituting the trusteeship unless sooner terminated by the Steering Committee or the National Action Council upon the recommendation of the National Director. At the first and each subsequent meeting of the National Action Council following the imposition of the trusteeship, it must be submitted for National Action Council action, and the chapter shall have the right to present testimony and witnesses.

Article VII. Officers and Duties

Section 1. The national officers of CORE shall be: Chairman, First and Second Vice-Chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer.

Section 2. Duties of the officers:

a) **Chairman:** The chairman shall preside at all conventions and Council meetings. He shall appoint all committees at the National Action Council and annual convention, and he shall be ex-officio member of all committees except the nominating committee. The chairman shall, upon the disability or vacancy of the national directorship, be empowered to act in his behalf until such time as the disability shall be removed or the vacancy filled by the National Action Council.

b) **First and Second Vice-Chairman:** The First Vice-Chairman shall preside in the absence of the Chairman and the Second Vice-Chairman shall preside in the absence of the Chairman and the First Vice-Chairman. They shall perform such other duties as may be delegated to them by the Chairman.

c) **Secretary:** The secretary shall be responsible for keeping a record of all council meetings and conventions. The secretary shall be responsible for the dissemination of Steering Committee, National Action Council, and Convention minutes to all affiliated chapter officers, up to five.

d) **Treasurer:** The Treasurer shall be responsible for handling all funds in accordance with generally accepted accounting standards. He shall make regular reports to the Steering Committee, the National Action Council, and present a general report covering receipts and expenditures for the fiscal year to the Annual Convention.

Article VIII. Nominations and Elections

Section 1. The Chairman, First and Second Vice-Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer shall be elected by the Annual Convention.

Section 2. Nominations for the officers to be elected at the Annual Convention shall be made by a nominating committee and by nominations from the floor.

Section 3. Elections shall be by secret ballot and by a majority of votes cast.

Article IX. The Convention

Section 1. The Convention is the highest governing body of CORE.

Section 2. The Convention shall be composed of the national officers, delegates from the affiliated chapters and members of the National Action Council, provided that no person can vote in more than one of these capacities.

Section 3. The Convention shall meet annually.

Section 4. Each affiliated community chapter shall have a maximum of three votes at the Convention and shall be guaranteed that maximum except where there are multiple chapters within a city. The chapter may apportion its votes, in whole numbers, as it chooses. Each college campus chapter shall have one vote at the National Convention. College campus chapters shall not be included in any formula which limits the number of potential votes in a city, except that the total votes allocated to college chapters in a city shall not exceed one half of the total number of votes allocated to community chapters in that city.

a) There shall be a limitation of votes which the community chapters of any city may cast at the National Convention. The schedule for determining potential votes within a city shall be as follows:

Population	Potential Convention Votes
Up to 2,000,000	10
Over 2,000,000	20

b) When the affiliation of a new chapter would increase the number of votes within a city beyond the constitutional limit, then the National Action Council shall distribute the votes in equal whole numbers among the chapters in that city, but in no event shall any community chapter have less than one or more than three votes.

Section 5. Voting delegates must be active members of the affiliated chapter for which they cast their vote(s).

Article X. National Action Council

Section 1. The National Action Council shall consist of:

- a) The National Chairman
- b) The National Director
- c) Other National Officers:
  - 1) First Vice-Chairman
  - 2) Second Vice-Chairman
  - 3) Secretary
  - 4) Treasurer
- d) The Regional Vice Chairman from each of the five (5) geographical regions.
- e) Two (2) representatives from each of the five geographical regions.
- f) Four (4) additional members elected by the aforementioned twenty-one (21) National Action Council Members, at a meeting directly following the National Convention.

Section 2. There will be a regional Vice-Chairman from each region elected by a majority vote of the National Convention, whose term shall be two (2) years.

Section 3. Both regional representatives shall serve for a one year term. A majority vote of the convention shall be necessary to elect a representative.

Section 4. Of the four additional members elected by the National Action Council, all must be active members of affiliated chapters and no two shall be from the same chapter. Their term shall be one year.

Section 5. The National Action Council shall be the governing body of CORE between conventions.

Section 6. Multiple Chapters. In a city with three or more affiliated chapters the National Action Council may direct the chapters in that city to establish a coordinating body which will not affect the status or autonomy of any chapter except that it may prohibit a chapter from taking unilateral action in city-wide affairs without approval of the majority of the chapters within that city. Such a coordinating council may also be directed to meet regularly to exchange information, to seek cooperation and to negotiate differences which may arise among the various chapters.

Section 7. The National Action Council shall be empowered to fill vacancies in office and shall meet in January, April, during the week preceding the National Convention, and October, of each year, and more often if required at the call of any one of the following:

a) National Chairman
b) National Director
c) 1/3 of the affiliated chapters
d) 1/3 of the National Action Council

Article XI. Steering Committee

Section 1. A Steering Committee of the National Action Council shall consist of the following:

a) National Chairman
b) National Director
c) Other National Officers
    1. First Vice-Chairman
    2. Second Vice-Chairman
    3. Secretary
    4. Treasurer
d) The Regional Vice-Chairmen
e) Other members of the National Action Council in attendance.

Section 2. Eight National Action Council members must be in attendance in order to hold an official Steering Committee meeting.

Section 3. The Steering Committee shall meet not less than eight times a year, whenever practicable, on the last Saturday of the month of February, March, May, June, August, September, November, and December, and shall be the governing body of CORE between National Action Council meetings and conventions. Additional meetings of the Steering Committee may be called by the National Chairman or the National Director.

Section 4. In order to assure greater participation of National Officers and Regional Vice-Chairmen in important deliberative sessions, commensurate with their responsibility for National CORE policy, National CORE shall provide, if necessary, transportation and lodging for the following:

- a) The National Chairman
- b) The National Director
- c) Other National Officers
  1. First Vice-Chairman
  2. Second Vice-Chairman
  3. Secretary
  4. Treasurer
- d) The Regional Vice-Chairmen
- e) Any staff members whose attendance is deemed necessary by the National Director.

Article XII. Regional Action Council

Section 1. There shall be established in each of the five geographical regions of CORE a Regional Action Council consisting of the regional vice-chairman, the regional representatives, the senior field secretary in the region who shall be an ex-officio member, and four members who are active members of affiliated chapters in the region, no more than one from the same city, elected by the delegates from the region at the National Convention, each delegate having the same number of votes as he has at the convention.

Section 2. The Regional Action Council shall serve to coordinate activities within the region; to initiate regional projects; to set up regional conferences; and to facilitate communication within the organization. The Regional Action Council shall also investigate and attempt to resolve within the region disputes within chapters and between chapters. Further, the Regional Action Council shall have the power of initial review and the power to uphold or reverse expulsion of member(s) by chapters within the region, and shall be available for advisory action to the National Action Council and its Steering Committee regarding chapter disaffiliations and chapter trusteeships.

Section 3. The Regional Action Council shall be a subsidiary to the National Action Council and its Steering Committee. The Regional Action Council shall meet the second week of each month at such time and place as it designates, and shall report monthly its proceedings to the National Action Council and its Steering Committee.

Article XIII. National Advisory Committee

Section 1. The National Advisory Committee shall consist of individuals who will lend their advice, prestige and influence to promote the growth and welfare of CORE.

Section 2. Membership shall be conferred by either the Convention, the National Action Council or the Steering Committee. Members may be removed by action of the Convention.

Article XIV. Staff

Section 1. The Staff shall consist of all persons receiving a full-time salary from CORE.

Section 2. The National Action Council shall appoint a National Director, who shall serve at its pleasure, and who shall be the chief executive officer of CORE and be responsible for direction and coordination of staff and program.

Section 3. All other professional staff personnel shall be appointed by the Steering Committee on recommendation of the National Director.

Section 4. No professional staff member may be an active member of an affiliated chapter or hold any elective office in CORE. Professional staff shall be admitted to any chapter meeting at which they shall have authorized business.

Article XV. Parliamentary Procedure

All decisions at duly constituted meetings of the National Organization shall be by Roberts Rules of Order Revised, except as otherwise specifically modified in this Constitution, and the Chairman shall appoint a parlimentarian at Conventions and Council meetings.

Article XVI. Quorum

A Quorum for the transaction of business at a Council or Convention shall consist of not fewer than one-third of the delegates seated at the Council or Convention. This rule may be suspended by the Chairman. All business considered when this rule is suspended may be re-considered by a simple majority vote when there is a regular quorum.

Article XVII. Finances

Section 1. The fiscal year of the National Organization shall commence on July 1 of each year and end on May 31 of the following calendar year.

Section 2. All local affiliated Chapters shall have the same fiscal year as the National Organization.

Section 3. Each affiliated local chapter shall pay a $10.00 annual affiliation fee and ten percent of its gross income to the National Organization within thirty (30) days after the close of the fiscal year.

Article XVIII. Amendments

Section 1. This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the accredited delegates present and voting at the Annual Convention.

Section 2. This Constitution and any amendments thereto shall become effective immediately upon adoption unless otherwise provided in the amendment.

Article XIX. By-Laws

By-Laws of the Congress of Racial Equality may be adopted by a majority vote of the Convention or by a 2/3 majority of the National Action Council. Prior to the adoption of a by-law by the National Action Council, the National Action Council must notify the chapters at least two weeks prior to its consideration. The by-laws shall be appended to the Constitution annually, after being approved by the Convention.

Article XX. Constitution of Local Chapters

Section 1. Each affiliated chapter shall operate under a constitution which has been approved by the Director of Organization, and which shall not be in conflict with the National Constitution or the CORE Rules for Action. Each revision of a local chapter constitution must be sent to the Director of Organization who shall determine whether it is in conflict with the National Constitution or CORE Rules for Action.

Section 2. Local constitutions shall define the process for granting active and associate memberships:

a) Active membership must be approved by not less than a majority of the members of an affiliated chapter at a regularly scheduled meeting of the general membership.
b) An active member must have an understanding of the nature of CORE and the CORE Rules for Action.

Section 3. Each local chapter constitution shall have a clause reading, "Any provision of this constitution which is in conflict with the constitution of National CORE shall be invalid."

Article XXI

If any part of this constitution conflicts with the laws of the United States or of any State, the remainder parts of this constitution shall be unaffected thereby and remain in full force and effect.

BY-LAWS
# of the
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
(As compiled by the National Action Council)

I. REGIONAL ORGANIZATION. Regional Organization may be established within the organizational framework of the National CORE organization. Chapters in any region desiring to form a regional organization will inform the National Office of their plans with details of the planned organization. If a regional group of chapters applies to the National Office for such regional organization, and the National Action Council does not give its approval, then further action by the regional group will be postponed until the next Convention. (CONVENTION 1950)

II. LOCAL CHAPTER POLICY.

1. All chapters must submit to national CORE for approval the names by which they will be identified. (Action Committee 1961)

2. An individual who lives in one area and works in another may affiliate with either CORE chapter he desires, rather than being confined to the chapter of his residential area. (Action Committee, October 12, 1961)

3. Every affiliated chapter must report annually at least three months prior to Convention, a list of all active chapter members, officers, committees and must include an outline of chapter policy and practice for granting active membership. Such a report will include the most recent revision of the chapter constitution and by-laws. (National Action Council Feb. 1964)

4. No local chapter is to engage in joint activity with other organizations unless that joint activity has been discussed and approved at a duly constituted meeting of the local CORE chapter. (Convention 1957)

5. Local chapters are to issue active membership only after prospective members have been screened, the screening procedure to be established in the local constitution. (Convention 1957)

6. All CORE chapters endorsing issues or lending organizational support must do so in their own name and not in the name of the Congress of Racial Equality. (National Action Council 1963)

7. In the event of complaints received within 30 days of alleged irregularities in the conduct of an election wherein chapter or unit officers are involved, the National Director, or his agent, may after investigation, cause to be held, under his supervision, new elections if one or more of the following circumstances hold:

1. requested by the candidates
2. requested by 30% of the active members in good standing
3. requested by the Director of Organization
4. indicated in trusteeship situations

(National Action Council, Nov. 1963)

III. NATIONAL PROJECTS

1. Projects may be developed by the national organization and presented to the chapters for implementation as needed. Any chapter may refrain from participating in such a national project; but when a chapter does participate it must accept the national organization's program of action. In no case may a chapter take action contrary to the policy of the project, and in no case may a chapter publicly oppose such a project. (Steering Committee, June 19, 1964)

2. All CORE activities on a nation-wide basis, whether initiated by national CORE or a local chapter must be originally coordinated through the national office. (National Action Council, December 1962)

3. All press releases on national projects must be cleared with the national office. (National Action Committee, January 26, 1962)

IV. HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS. High school students may generally be used in local projects, depending on local circumstances. It is CORE policy that persons under 18 years of age be used only on projects within their state. It is general CORE policy not to affiliate high school groups to the national body. However, there are three circumstances in which high school groups might be associated with CORE:

1. Organizations that are primarily, but not exclusively made up of high school students may apply for affiliation on the same basis as any other chapter.

2. High School branches may be organized by already existing chapters. In this case, the high school group would become a part of the older CORE chapter and would not affiliate with the national organization. Certain specifications or suggestions would have to be worked out for the relationship between the high school chapter and the community CORE group.

3. Other high school groups which want to work with CORE must receive permission from CORE in order to call themselves a student committee in support of CORE or by some similar name and then may cooperate with national and local CORE without affiliation.

(National Council, February 1962)

V. NATIONAL CONVENTION

1. That the nominating committee nominate at least two persons for each office and that they be listed in alphabetical order.

(Convention 1963)

2. There should be a form of certification of delegates to the Convention; and there shall be a credentials committee chaired by the secretary. (National Action Council, December 1962)

VI. NATIONAL CONSTITUTION. The constitution must be re-issued every time it is amended. (Convention 1958)

VII. POLITICAL RESTRICTIONS.

1. Persons owing allegiance to Communist, fascist and/or totalitarian philosophies shall be excluded from active membership. (Convention 1957)

2. No chapter shall be accepted as an affiliate of the Congress of Racial Equality, if it is known to be Communist controlled. If a member chapter becomes Communist controlled during its period of affiliation, such a group will be dropped from membership in the federation of CORE. (Convention 1948)

3. CORE chapters may not involve their organizations in political campaigns; all political work must be carried on as individuals. CORE members have the right to engage in political activities as individuals, but CORE as an organization is non-political. (Convention 1959)

VIII. FINANCES.

1. CORE shall not make substantial contributions to other organizations, except under unusual circumstances. (Convention 1957)

2. Only those persons authorized by the national office may collect funds in the name of CORE, and all chapters are given blanket authorization to collect funds. The national office shall make an effort to inform local chapters of persons authorized to raise money in their local area. (National Council, February 1962)

cover page

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~~REVISED~~ CONSTITUTION + By-Laws of the

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality

Revised July, 1964

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- a) associates himself with any other group or organization which expounds a philosophy which is inimical or in contradiction to the fundamental principles of CORE;
- b) persistently violates the CORE Rules for Action; or
- c) attempts to subvert the CORE group through allegiance to other groups or organizations.

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- a) The National Action Council or its Steering Committee may hold a hearing on the eligibility for continued membership of any active member and shall be empowered to make such rules and regulations as it may deem necessary for the conduct of such a hearing.
- b) At least two weeks prior to such a hearing, the National Director must inform the active member in writing of the charges against him and must request a written statement from the member and from the chapter of which he is a member.
- c) The said member shall have the right to present testimony and witnesses in his behalf.
- c) If his membership in CORE is found to be in violation of the restrictions contained in this article, the Steering Committee or the National Action Council shall remove him from membership and exclude him from participation in national and local CORE groups. Within thirty (30) days after receipt of the decision by the Steering Committee or National Action Council to remove him from membership, he shall have the right to file notice of appeal in writing to the National Chairman at the National CORE Office and make his appeal to the National Action Council if excluded by the Steering Committee, or to the Convention if excluded by the National Action Council, and the decision of the of the Convention shall be final.

X insert

Section 5. Any active member removed from an affiliated chapter by that chapter for whatever reason has the right first to appeal that ruling to the Regional Action Council of the region where the chapter is located, and may then further appeal such removal to the Steering Committee, then to the next meeting of the National Action Council, and then to the Convention, whose decision shall be final. The Regional Action Council must inform the affiliated chapter of its intent to hold such a hearing and must request a written statement and presentation of witnesses from the affiliated chapter.

Article IV. - Affiliation

Section 1. Local action groups may be affiliated by the annual Convention, the National Action Council, or the Steering Committee. In order to apply for affiliation, a local action group must: 1) give written notice to the Director of Organization of intent to organize and apply for affiliation as a CORE chapter; 2) operate for ninety (90) days following the filing of the notice of this intent; and 3) have at least ten (10) active members. Its application for affiliation must be accompanied by the affiliation form, an acceptable constitution, and payment of a non-refundable ten dollar fee. Before the National Action Council or the Steering Committee may consider such an application for affiliation, it must have a report and recommendation in writing from the Director of Organization. The National Action Council or Steering Committee must take action on the application within sixty (60) days after the receipt of the application for affiliation. Any local action group which applies for affiliation is to receive a written copy of the report.submitted by N.O. the National Office, stating whether affiliation has been recommended or not. If affiliation is not recommended, the report should state clearly why and should offer suggestions for correction. Once affiliation has been denied, the local action group shall have the right to request another visit from a Field Secretary. If the visit is not granted within three months after the request, the local action group shall have the right to appeal to the National Action Council.

Section 2. Each affiliating group shall be known as the Committee of Racial Equality and shall be abbreviated as CORE, or a chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and each group must accept the CORE Rules for Action and the national CORE constitution. At least one representative of National CORE shall visit the prospective group and report on it to the Director of Organization before affiliation.

Section 3. In the case of a city where a local action group applies for affiliation and one or more CORE chapters is already affiliated, the existing CORE chapter(s) shall be given the opportunity to make a statement and present witnesses relating to the application for affiliation of the new group, and the new group may be affiliated only by a 2/3 majority of those members voting at a meeting of the National Action Council or by the National Convention.

Section 4. National CORE, or any of its affiliated chapters, may cooperate with other organizations, but may not affiliate with any organization when such affiliation requires National CORE or any of its chapters to relinquish their autonomy.

Insert A

redo all of article V section I

Article V. - Disaffiliation and Suspension

~~Section 1. An affiliated local chapter may be disaffiliated by the Steering Committee or the National Action Council if: the chapter has ceased to carry on nonviolent directiaction; or acts in violation of the by-laws of the national organization; or fails below ten active members; or co consistently takes positions on matters not directly pertaining to the civil rights struggle for justice and human dignity.~~

Section 2. Such disaffiliation by the Steering Committee may be appeals to the next meeting of the National Action Council and then to the convention, and such disaffiliation by the National Action Council may be appealed to the next convention. The decision of the convention shall be final.

Section 3. An affiliated chapter may be suspended by the national director acting upon the unanimous instruction of the national chairman and the national vice-chairman for any one or more of the following reaons:

Chairmen (plural)

insert A

Article V: Disaffiliation and Suspension

Section 1. An affiliated local chapter may be disaffiliated by the Steering Committee or the National Action Council if: the chapter has ceased to carry on nonviolent direct action; or takes action not in accordance with CORE Rules for Action; or acts in violation of the local or national Constitution; or acts in violation of the by-laws of the national organization; or fails to follow the duly authorized instructions of the National Action Council, the Steering Committee, or the National Director; or falls below ten active members; or consistently takes positions on matters not directly pertaining to the civil rights struggle for justice and human dignity.

1) violation of the CORE Rules for Action; 2) acts in violation of the local constitution, national consitution or by-laws; 3) failure to follow the duly authorized instructions of the National Action Council, Steering Committee, or the national director; 4) consistently takes positions on matters not directly part pertaining to the civil rights struggle for justice and dignity. If the national chairman or either of the national vice-chairmen are members of the chapter in chapter in question, his vote shall not be necessary to instruct the national director regarding suspension of that affiliated chapter. Such suspension shall be in effect until the next meeting of the National Action Council or its Steering Committee, ~~During the term of such a suspension, the chapter shall engage in no public activities and make no public statements without~~ but shall in no case exceed a period of thirty (30) days. The suspension may be extended for a maximum of an additional thrity (30) days by the National Action Council or its Steering Committee. During the term of such a suspension, the chapter shall engage in no public activities and make no public statements without the written consent of the national director.

Section 4. Any affiliated local chapter upon failure for two years to submit [illegible] constitutional assessments due national CORE shall be declared delinquent and ineligible to vote at convention.

Article VI. / Trusteeship

Section 1. An affiliated local chapter may be placed under trusteeship: 1) when requested by a majority of the governing board of that chapter or by petition of 30% of the active members of the chapter; or 2) when a chapter, in a public activity has acted in violati violation of the CORE Rules for Action; or 3) when a chapter has come under the domination of a group or organization which expounds a philosophy which is inimical or in contradiction to the fundamental principles of CORE; or 4) where the officers or members of the chapter are so divided as to be unable to conduct the affairs of the chapter; or 5) where the finances of the chapter are negligently handled, or there is a misuse of funds, or the finances of the chapter are not kept in accordance with reasonable bookkeeping practices.

Section 2. Such trusteeship may be invoked, following a hearing, by a 2/3 vote of the Steering Committee or by a majority of the National Action Council upon the written recommendation of the National Director. At least two weeks prior to the hearing, the chapter must be presented in writing with the charges. The chapter shall have the right to present testimony and witnesses in its own behalf at this hearing.

Section 3. The trustee shall be the National Director and he may appoint any deputy or deputies to act in his place and stead. The trustee shall:

a) have and assume all the powers of all the officers of said chapter as set forth in the chapter constitution, or any by-laws, or any other empowering document of said chapter; and in order to carry out said duty, he shall keep all necessary records and accounts and appoint such necessary assistants as to assist him to carry out these functions; and expend necessary funds for such purpose;

b) be empowered to request the Steering Committee to terminate the terms of any officers of the chapter and to conduct elections in the chapter, under such terms and conditions as may be determined with due regard to the preservation of all rights of the members of said chapter;

c) demand that all membership lists, records, books of accounts, bank books, and cash and other assets of said chapter be turned over to the National Director and that the present holders of them shall sign or execute any and all documents and assignments necessary for the National Director to carry our his duties hereunder;

d) use full power to preserve the assets of said chapter, pay all its debts now or in the future and to collect sums due and owing from all sources either from members or otherwise, to receive all gifts or donations, whether in money or property, and to deposit or place same in a bank of his own choosing, and in his name as Trustee; that he shall dispense all necessary sums in his capacity as Trustee. The authorization for the disposition of all chapter funds shall only be at the direction of the national director;

e) advise with and make recommendations to the Steering Committee as to any problems existing and the extent to which he has received or failed to receive all necessary cooperation to carry out his duties hereunder.

Section 4. Such trusteeship shall last for ninety (90) days from the date of the resolution instituting the trusteeship unless sooner terminated by the Steering Committee or the National Action Council upon the recommendation of the national director. At the first and each subsequent meeting of the National Action Council following the imposition of the trusteeship, it must be submitted for National Action Council action, and the chapter shall have the right to present testimony and witnesses.

Article VII, / Officers and Duties

Section 1. The national officers of CORE shall be: Chairman, First and Second Vice-Chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer.

Section 2. Duties of the officers:

a) Chairman: The chairman shall preside at all conventions and Council meetings. He shall appoint all committees at the National Action Council and annual convention, and he shall be ex-officio member of all commitees except the nominating committee. The chairman shall, upon the disability or vacancy of the national directorship, be empowered to act in his behalf until such time as the disability shall be removed or the vacancy filled by the National Action Council.

b) First and Second Vice-Chairman: The First Vice-Chairman shall preside in the absence of the Chairman and the Second Vice-Chairman shall preside in the absence of the Chairman and the First Vice-Chairman. They shall perform such other duties as may be delegated to them by the Chairman.

c) Secretary: The secretary shall be responsible for keeping a record of all council cil meetings and conventions. The secretary shall be responsible for the dissemination of Steering Committee, National Action Council, and Convention minutes to all affiliated chapter officers, up to five.

d) Treasurer: The Treasurer shall be responsible for handling all funds in accordance with generally accepted accounting standards. He shall make regular reports to the Steering Committee, the National Action Council, and present a general report covering receipts and expenditures for the fiscal year to the Annual Convention.

Article VIII, / Nominations and Elections

Section 1. The Chairman, First and Second Vice-Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer shall be elected by the Annual Convention.

Section 2. Nominations for the officers to be elected at the Annual Convention shall be made by a nominating committee and by nominations from the floor.

Section 3. Elections shall be by secret ballot and by a majority of votes cast.

Article IX. - The Convention

Section 1. The Convention is the highest governing body of CORE.

Section 2. The Convention shall be composed of the national officers, delegates from the affiliated chapters and members of the National Action Council, provided that no person can vote in more than one of these capacities.

Section 3. The Convention shall meet annually.

Section 4. Each affiliated community chapter shall have a maximum of three votes at the Convention and shall be guaranteed that maximum except where there are multiple chapters within a city. The chapter may apportion its votes, in whole numbers, as it chooses. Each college campus chapter shall have one vote at the National Convention. College campus chapters shall not be included in any formula which limits the number of potential votes in a city, except that the total votes allocated to college chapters in a city shall not exceed one half of the total number of votes allocated to community chapters in that city.

a) There shall be a limitation of votes which the community chapters of any city may cast at the National Convention. The schedule for determining potential votes within a city shall be as follows:

Population	Potential Convention Votes
Up to 2,000,000	10
Over 2,000,000	20

b) When the affiliation of a new chapter would increase the number of votes within a city beyond the constitutional limit, then the National Action Council shall distribute the votes in equal whole numbers among the chapters in that city, but in no event shall any community chapter have less than one or more than three votes.

Section 5. Voting delegates must be active members of the affiliated chapter for which they cast their vote(s).

Article X. - National Action Council

Section 1. The National Action Council shall consist of:

A. The National Chairman
B. The National Director
C. Other National Officers:
  1) First Vice-Chairman
  2) Second Vice-Chairman
  3) Secretary
  4) Treasurer
D. The Regional Vice Chairman from each of the five (5) geographical regions.
E. Two (2) representatives from each of the five geographical regions.
F. Four (4) additional members elected by the aforementioned twenty-one (21) National Action Council Members, at a meeting directly following the National Convention.

Section 2. There will be a regional Vice-Chairman from each region elected by a majority vote of the National Convention, whose term shall be two (2) years.

Section 3. Both regional representatives shall serve for a one year term. A majority vote of the convention shall be necessary to elect a representative.

Section 4. Of the four additional members elected by the National Action Council, all must be active members of affiliated chapters and no two shall be from the same chapter. Their term shall be one year.

Section 5. The National Action Council shall be the governing body of CORE between conventions.

Section 6. Multiple Chapters. In a city with three or more affiliated chapters the National Action Council may direct the chapters in that city to establish a coordinating body which will not affect the status or autonomy of any chapter except that it may prohibit a ~~chapter~~* from taking unilateral action in city-wide affairs without ~~the~~ approval of the majority of the chapters within that city. Such a coordinating council may also be directed to meet regularly to exchange information, to seek cooperation and to negotiate differences which may arise among the various chapters.

*chapter >

Section 7. The National Action Council shall be empowered to fill vacancies in office and shall meet in January, April, during the week preceeding the National Convention, and October, of each year, and more often if required at the call of any one of the following:

A. National Chairman
B. National Director
C. 1/3 of the affiliated chapters
D. 1/3 of the National Action Council

Article XI. Steering Committee

Section 1. A Steering Committee of the National Action Council shall consist of the following:

A. National Chairman
B. National Director
C. Other National Officers
    1. First Vice-Chairman
    2. Second Vice- Chairman
    3. Secretary
    4. Treasurer
D. The Regional Vice-Chairmen
E. Other members of the National Action Council in attendance.

Section 2. Eight National Action Council members must be in attendance in order to hold an official Steering Committee meeting.

Section 3. The Steering Committee shall meet not less than eight times a year, whenever practicable, on the last Saturday of the month of February, March, May, June, August, September, November, and December, and shall be the governing body of CORE between National Action Council meetings and conventions. Additional meetings of the Steering Committee may be called by the National Chairman or the National Director.

Section 4. In order to assure greater participation of National Officers and Regional Vice-Chairmen in important deliberative sessions, commensurate with their responsibility for National CORE policy, National CORE shall provide, if necessary, transportation and lodging for the following:

A. The National Chairman
B. The National Director
C. Other National Officers
    1. First Vice-Chairman
    2. Second Vice-Chairman
    3. Secretary
    4. Treasurer
D. The Regional Vice-Chairmen
E. Any staff members whose attendance is deemed necessary by the National Director.

Article XII. - Regional Action Council

Section 1. There shall be established in each of the five geographical regions of CORE a Regional Action Council consisting of the regional vice-chairman, the regional representatives, the senior field secretary in the region who shall be an ex-officio member, and four members who are active members of affiliated chapters in the region, no more that one from the same city, elected by the delegates from the region at the National Convention, each delegate having the same number of votes as he has at the convention.

Section 2. The Regional Action Council shall serve to coordinate activities within the region; to initiate regional projects; to set up regional conferences; and to facilitate communication within the organization. The Regional Action Council shall also investigate and attempt to resolve within the region disputes within chapters and between chapters. Further, the Regional Action Council shall have the power of initial review and the power to uphold or reverse expulsion of member(s) by chapters within the region, and shall be available for advisory action to the National Action Council and its Steering Committee regarding chapter disaffiliations and chapter trusteeships.

Section 3. The Regional Action Council shall be a subsidiary to the National Action Council and its Steering Committee. The Regional Action Council shall meet the second week of each month at such time and place as it designates, and shall report monthly its proceedings to the National Action Council and its Steering Committee.

Article XIII. - National Advisory Committee

Section 1. The National Advisory Committee shall consist of individuals who will lend their advice, prestige and influence to promote the growth and welfare of CORE.

Section 2. Membership shall be conferred by either the Convention, the National Action Council or the Steering Committee. Members may be removed by action of the Convention.

Article XIV. - Staff

Section 1. The Staff shall consist of all persons receiving a full-time salary from CORE.

Section 2. The National Action Council shall appoint a National Director, who shall serve at its pleasure, and who shall be the chief executive officer of CORE and be responsible for direction and coordination of staff and program.

Section 3. All other professional ataff personnel shall be appointed by the Steering Committee on recommendation of the National Director.

Section 4. No professional staff member may be an active member of an affiliated chapter or hold any elective office in CORE. Professional staff shall be admitted to any chapter meeting at which they shall have authorized business.

Article XV. - Parliamentary Procedure

All decisions at duly constituted meetings of the National Organization shall be by Roberts Rules of Order Revised, except as otherwise specifically modified in this Constitution, and the Chairman shall appoint a parlimentarian at Conventions and Council meetings.

Article XVI. - Quorum

A Quorum for the transaction of business at a Council or Convention shall consist of not fewer than one-third of the delegates seated at the Council or Convention. This rule may be suspended by the Chairman. All business considered when this rule is suspended may be ~~reconsidered~~ re-considered by a ~~single~~ simple majority vote when there is a regular quorum.

Article XVII. - Finances

Section 1. The fiscal year of the National Organization shall commence on July 1 of each year and end on May 31 of the following calendar year.

Section 2. All local affiliated Chapters shall have the same fiscal year as the National Organization.

Section 3. Each affiliated local chapter shall pay a $10.00 annual affiliation fee and ten percent of its gross income to the National Organization within thirty (30) days after the close of the fiscal year.

Article XVIII. - Amendments

Section 1. This Consitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the accredited delegates present and voting at the Annual Convention.

Section 2. This Constitution and any amendments thereto shall become effective immediately upon adoption unless otherwise provided in the amendment.

Article XIX. - By-Laws

National Action Council

By-Laws of the Congress of Racial Equality may be adopted by a majority vote of the Convention or by a 2/3 majority of the National Action Council. Prior to the adoption of a by-law by the NAC, the NAC must notify the chapters at least two weeks prior to its consideration. The by-laws shall be appended to the Constitution annually, after being approved by the Convention.

spell

Article XX - Constitution of Local Chapters

Section 1. Each affiliated chapter shall operate under a constitution which has been approved by the Director of Organization, and which shall not be in conflict with the National Constitution or the CORE Rules for Action. Each revision of a local chapter constitution must be sent to the Director of Organization who shall determine whether it is in conflict with the National Constitution, or CORE Rules for Action.

Section 2. Local constitutions shall define the process for granting active and associate memberships.
a) Active membership must be approved by not less than a majority of the members of an affiliated chapter at a regularly scheduled meeting of the general membership.
b) An active member must have an understanding of the nature of CORE and the CORE Rules for Action.

Section 3. Each local chapter constitution shall have a clause reading, "Any provision of this constitution which is in conflict with the constitution of National CORE shall be invalid."

Article XXI

If any part of this constitution conflicts with the laws of the United States or of any State, the remainder parts of this constitution shall be unaffected thereby and remain in full force and effect.

BY-LAWS
# of the
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
(As compiled by the National Action Council)

I. REGIONAL ORGANIZATION. Regional Organization may be established within the organizational framework of the National CORE organization. Chapters in any region desiring to form a regional organization will inform the National Office of their plans with details of the planned organization. If a regional group of chapters applies to the National Office for such regional organization, and the National Action Council does not give its approval, then further action by the regional group will be postponed until the next Convention. (CONVENTION 1950)

II. LOCAL CHAPTER POLICY.

1. All chapters must submit to national CORE for approval the names by which they will be identified. (Action Committee 1961)

2. An individual who lives in one area and works in another may affiliate with either CORE chapter he desires, rather than being confined to the chapter of his residential area. (Action Committee, October 12, 1961)

3. Every affiliated chapter must report annually at least three months prior to Convention, a list of all active chapter members, officers, committees and must include an outline of chapter policy and practice for granting active membership. Such a report will include the most recent revision of the chapter constitution and by-laws. (National Action Council Feb. 1964)

4. No local chapter is to engage in joint activity with other organizations unless that joint activity has been discussed and approved at a duly constituted meeting of the local CORE chapter. (Convention 1957)

5. Local chapters are to issue active membership only after prospective members have been screened, the screening procedure to be established in the local constitution. (Convention 1957)

6. All CORE chapters endorsing issues or lending organizational support must do so in their own name and not in the name of the Congress of Racial Equality. (National Action Council 1963)

7. In the event of complaints received within 30 days of alleged irregularities in the conduct of an election wherein chapter or unit officers are involved, the National Director, or his agent, may after investigation, cause to be held, under his supervision, new elections if one or more of the following circumstances hold:

(continued)

1. requested by the candidates
2. Requested by 30% of the active members in good standing
3. requested by the Director of Organization
4. indicated in trusteeship situations

(National Action Council, Nov.1963)

~~III. MULTIPLE CHAPTERS. In a city with three or more affiliated chapters the National Action Council may direct the chapters in that city to establish a coordinating body which will not affect the status or autonomy of any chapter except that it may prohibit a chapter from taking unilateral action in city-wide affairs without approval of the majority of the chapters within that city. Such a coordinating council may also be directed to meet regularly to exchange information, to seek cooperation and to negotiate differences which may arise among the various chapters. (Steering Committee, June 19, 1964)~~

III ~~II.~~ NATIONAL PROJECTS

1. Projects may be developed by the national organization and presented to the chapters for implementation as needed. Any chapter may refrain from participating in such a national project; but when a chapter does participate it must accept the national organization's program of action. In no case may a chapter take action contrary to the policy of the project, and in no case may a chapter publicly oppose such a project. (Steering Committee, June 19, 1964)

2. All CORE activities on a nation-wide basis, whether initiated by national CORE or a local chapter must be originally coordinated through the national office. (National Action Council, December 1962)

3. All press releases on national projects must be cleared with the national office. (National Action Committee, January 26, 1962)

IV ~~III.~~ HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS. High school students may generally be used in local projects, depending on local circumstances. It is CORE policy that persons under 18 years of age be used only on projects within their state. It is general CORE policy not to affiliate high school groups to the national body. However, there are three circumstances in which high school groups might be associated with CORE:

1. Organizations that are primarily, but not exclusively made up of high school students may apply for affiliation on the same basis as any other chapter.

(continued)

2. High School branches may be organized by already existing chapters. In this case, the high school group would become a part of the older CORE chapter and would not affiliate with the national organization. Certain specifications or suggestions would have to be worked out for the relationship between the high school chapter and the community CORE group.

3. Other high school groups which want to work with CORE must receive permission from CORE in order to call themselves a student committee in support of CORE or by some similar name and then may cooperate with national and local CORE without affiliation. (National Council, February 1962)

V ~~VI.~~ NATIONAL CONVENTION

1. That the nominating committee nominate at least two persons for each office and that they be listed in alphabetical order. (Convention 1963)

2. There should be a form of certification of delegates to the Convention; and there shall be a credentials committee chaired by the secretary. (National Action Council, December 1962)

~~VII. STEERING COMMITTEE.~~

~~1. The Steering Committee shall continue to meet on the last Friday of the month. (National Action Council, November 1963)~~

~~2. Six National Action Council members must be in attendance in order to hold an official steering Committee meeting. (National Action Council, July 1962)~~

~~3. Minutes of the Steering Committee shall be mailed to affiliated local chapters. (National Action Committee, Jan. 1958)~~

VI ~~VIII~~. NATIONAL CONSTITUTION. The constitution must be reissued every time it is amended. (Convention 1958)

VII ~~IX~~. POLITICAL RESTRICTIONS.

1. Persons owing allegiance to Communist, fascist and/or totalitarian philosophies shall be excluded from active membership. (Convention 1957)

2. No chapter shall be accepted as an affiliate of the Congress of Racial Equality, if it is known to be Communist controlled. If a member chapter becomes Communist controlled during its period of affiliation, such a group will be dropped from membership in the federation of CORE. (Convention 1948)

(continued)

3. CORE chapters may not involve their organizations in political campaigns; all political work must be carried on as individuals. CORE members have the right to engage in political activities as individuals, but CORE As an organization is non-political. (Convention 1959)

VIII FINANCES.

1. CORE shall not make substantial contributions to other organizations, except under unusual circumstances. (Convention 1957)

2. Only those persons authorized by the national office may collect funds in the name of CORE, and all chapters are given blanket authorization to collect funds. The national office shall make an effort to inform local chapters of persons authorized to raise money in their local area. (National Council, February 1962)

~~NOTE: This compilation is complete as of January 1, 1964.~~

file
CORE
constitution

14 August 1964

Miss Genevieve Hughs
2126 Roosevelt
Berkeley, California

Dear Genevieve:

I know that some time ago you were interested in the problem of forming up certain National Office powers in the Constitution. The Constitution was quite drastically amended at the Kansas City Convention and has just come off the press. I am enclosing a copy which I think you will find of interest.

I hope you are doing well and that some of the problems that you raised in regard to West Coast CORE chapters have been taken care of at least to a degree. It is good to know that you are still part of the CORE family.

Best wishes,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP
ENC.

Passed

MEMORANDUM

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York City, N. Y. 10038
22 September 1964

TO: Affiliated CORE Chapters

FROM: Gordon R. Carey, Assistant to the National Director

Re: Proposed By-Law

Article XIX of the National Constitution entitled By-laws reads:

> "By-laws of the Congress of Racial Equality may be adopted by a majority vote of the Convention or by a 2/3 majority of the National Action Council. Prior to the adoption of a by-law by the National Action Council, the National Action Council must notify the chapters at least two weeks prior to its consideration. The by-laws shall be appended to the Constitution annually, after being approved by the Convention."

The following proposed by-law will be brought before the October meeting of the National Action Council for consideration:

> "No chapter, nor any officer or officers, nor any member or members thereof, nor anyone on their behalf, shall form or cause to be formed a corporation, in any jurisdiction whatsoever, which includes in its name or title, or any part thereof, the words "CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY", "COMMITTEE OF RACIAL EQUALITY", "CORE" or any combination of words the first letters of which spell "C.O.R.E.", and any such corporation presently and or hereafter in existence shall be dissolved by the chapter or chapters so affected."

This memorandum serves to comply with notice as required by the Constitution. Any chapter wishing to express opinions on the proposed by-law should send its views to the national office marked to my attention. In the event that the by-law is passed, it will be noted in the minutes of the meeting sent to the chapter.

File copy

Revised Constitution

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality

Article I. Name

This organization shall be known as the Congress of Racial Equality, Inc., and shall be abbreviated as CORE.

Article II. Purposes and Nature

Section 1. The purpose for which this organization has been formed and for which it exists is to abolish discrimination based upon skin color, race, religion or national origin, stressing nonviolent, direct action methods.

Section 2. CORE is a national multiracial membership organization composed of affiliated chapters, and of direct national individual associate (contributing) members. It shall represent the affiliated chapters and associate members on a national level and give voice to their convictions and ideals.

Article III. Membership

Section 1. Any person holding active membership in any affiliated chapter, all National Officers and members of the National Action Council are active members.

Section 2. Any person who supports national CORE financially is a national associate member unless he wishes to be considered only a contributor.

Section 3. Active membership shall not be available to any person who (a) associates himself with any other group or organization which expounds a philosophy which is inimical or in contradiction to the fundamental principles of CORE; (b) persistently violates the CORE Rules for Action; or (c) attempts to subvert the CORE group through allegiance to other groups or organizations.

Section 4. The Steering Committee, as it deems necessary, may hold a hearing on the eligibility for continued membership of any active member. The Steering Committee must inform the affiliated chapter in question of its intent and must request a written statement from the affiliated chapter. If his membership in CORE is found to be in violation of the restrictions contained in this article, the Steering Committee shall then remove him from membership and exclude him from participation in National and local CORE groups. Within thirty-(30)-days after receipt of the decision by the Steering Committee to remove him from active membership, he shall have the right to file an appeal to the next meeting of the National Action Council or Convention, and the decision of the Council or Convention shall be final.

Section 5. Any active member removed from an affiliated chapter for whatever reason may appeal such removal to the Steering Committee and the next Council or Convention, whose decision shall be final. The Steering Committee must inform the affiliated chapter in question of its intent and must request a written statement from the affiliated chapter.

Article IV. Affiliations

Section 1. Local action groups may be affiliated by the Annual Convention, the National Action Council, or the Steering Committee. In order to apply for affiliation, a local group must have been in existence at least one month and have ten members. Its application must be accompanied by the affiliation form, and an acceptable constitution, and payment of non-refundable ten dollars fee. Each affiliating group shall be known as the Committee of Racial Equality and shall be abbreviated CORE, or as a chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and each group must accept the CORE Rules for Action and the National Constitution. At least one representative of National CORE (two when possible) shall visit the prospective group and report on it to the national organization before affiliation. In the case of a metropolitan area, where a new group applies and one or more CORE chapters is already affiliated, the existing CORE Chapter(s) shall be given an opportunity to make a statement relating to the application for affiliation of the new group.

Section 2. National CORE, or any of its affiliated chapters, may cooperate with other organizations, but may not affiliate with any organization when such affiliation requires National CORE or any of its chapters to relinquish their autonomy.

Article V. Disaffiliation

Section 1. Affiliated Chapters may be disaffiliated by the Steering Committee if the group has ceased to carry on CORE-type action; fails to file reports with National CORE; takes action not in accordance with CORE Rules for Action; acts in violation of this constitution; fails to support National CORE by not remitting monies due; falls below ten active members; or consistently takes position onmatters not directly pertaining to race relations.

Section 2. Such suspension may be appealed to the next National Action Council meeting or Convention.

Section 3. Any affiliated Chapter upon failure for two years to submit monies due National CORE shall be declared delinquent and ineligible to vote at Convention.

Article VI. Officers and Duties

Section 1. The National officers of CORE shall be: Chairman, First and Second Vice-Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer, elected by the Convention, and the CORElator Editor.

Section 2. Duties of the Officers:

(a) Chairman: The Chairman shall preside at all Conventions and Council meetings. He shall appoint all committees at the National Council and Annual Convention, and he shall be ex-officio member of all committees except the nominating committee.

(b) First and Second Vice-Chairman: The First Vice-Chairman shall preside in the absence of the Chairman and the Second Vice-Chairman shall preside in the absence of the Chairman and the First Vice-Chairman. They shall perform such other duties as may be delegated to them by the Chairman.

(c) **Secretary:** The Secretary shall be responsible for keeping a record of all Council meetings and Conventions.

(d) **Treasurer:** The Treasurer shall be responsible for handling all funds in accordance with generally accepted accounting standards. He shall make regular reports to the Steering Committee, the National Action Council, and present a general report covering receipts and expenditures for the fiscal year to the Annual Convention.

(e) **CORElator Editor:** The CORElator Editor shall edit the official news bulletin of CORE and be responsible for distribution to affiliated chapters, associate members and interested individuals.

Article VII. Nominations and Elections

Section 1. The Chairman, First and Second Vice-Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer shall be elected by the Annual Convention. The CORElator Editor shall be appointed by the National Action Council.

Section 2. Nominations for the officers to be elected at the Annual Convention shall be made by a nominating committee and by nominations from the floor.

Section 3. Elections shall be by secret ballot and by a majority of votes cast.

Article VIII. The Convention

Section 1. The Convention shall be composed of the national officers, delegates from affiliated chapters and members of the National Action Council, provided that no person can vote in more than one of these capacities.

Section 2. The Convention shall meet annually.

Section 3. Each affiliated chapter shall have five votes at Convention. No one delegate may cast more than three votes. Voting delegates must be active members of the affiliated chapter for which they cast their vote(s).

Section 4. The Convention is the highest governing body of CORE.

Article IX. National Action Council

Section 1. The National Action Council shall consist of: The National Director; The National Officers; two representatives from each of five geographical regions for two year terms, no two of whom may be from the same metropolitan area. At any Convention when two representatives from one region are elected, the candidate receiving the most votes shall serve for a two year term, while the next highest candidate shall serve for a one year term; in any case a majority vote shall be necessary to elect a representative. The aforementioned seventeen members of the National Action Council will elect five additional members, no two from the same chapter, to the National Action Council; at least three of the five must be active members of affiliated chapters. Their term will be one year.

Section 2. The National Action Council shall be the governing body CORE between Conventions.

Section 3. The National Action Council shall be empowered to fill vacancies in office, and shall meet twice a year, and more often at the call of the National

Chairman, or the National Director, or one-third of the affiliated chapters.

Section 4. Five geographical regions shall be established by a majority vote at Convention.

Article X. Steering Committee

Section 1. A Steering Committee of the National Action Council shall consist of the membership of the National Action Council. The Steering Committee shall meet at the call of the National Director or the National Chairman. The Steering Committee shall meet not less than eight times a year and shall be the governing body of CORE between National Action Council meetings and Conventions.

Article XI. National Advisory Committee

Section 1. The National Advisory Committee shall consist of individuals who will lend their advice, prestige and influence to promote the growth and welfare of CORE.

Section 2. Membership shall be conferred by either the Convention, the National Action Council or the Steering Committee. Members may be removed by action of the Convention,

Article XII. Staff

Section 1. The Staff shall consist of all persons receiving a full-time salary from CORE.

Section 2. The National Action Council shall appoint a National Director, who shall be the chief executive officer of CORE and be responsible for direction and coordination of staff and program.

Section 3. All other professional staff personnel shall be appointed by the Steering Committee on recommendation of the National Director.

Article XIII. Parlimentary Procedure.

All decisions at duly constituted meetings of the National Organization shall be by Roberts Rules of Order Revised, except as otherwise specifically modified in this Constitution, and the Chairman shall appoint a parlimentarian at Conventions and Council meetings.

Article XIV. Quorum

A Quorum for the transaction of business at a Council or Convention shall consist of not fewer than one-third of the delegates seated at the Council or Convention. This rule may be suspended by the Chairman. All business considered when this rule is suspended may be re-considered by a single majority vote when there is a regular quorum.

Article XV. Finances

Section 1. The fiscal year of the National Organization shall commence on July 1 of each year and end on May 31 of the following calendar year.

Section 2. All local affiliated Chapters shall have the same fiscal year as the National Organization.

Section 3. Each affiliated local chapter shall pay a $10.00 annual affiliation fee and ten per cent of its gross income to the National Organization within thirty (30) days after the close of the fiscal year.

Article XVI. Amendments

Section 1. This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the accredited delegates present and voting at the Annual Convention.

Section 2. This Constitution and any amendments thereto shall become effective immediately upon adoption unless otherwise provided in the amendment.

Article XVII. Constitution of Local Chapters

Section 1. Each affiliated Chapter shall operate under a constitution that may not be in conflict with the National Constitution.

Section 2. Local constitutions shall define the process for granting active and associate membership. (a) Active membership must be approved by not less than a majority vote of the members of an affiliated chapter. (b) An active member must have an understanding of the nature of CORE and the Rules for Action.

BY - LAWS

1. Prior to the time the Nominating Committee formulates its recommendations, and not later than the day before elections are held, the Nominating Committee shall hold at least one meeting, open to all delegates, at which time delegates shall have the opportunity to make recommendations to the Committee. The time and place of this meeting shall be posted and announced.*

2. That the Nominating Committee nominate at least two persons for each office, and than they be listed in alphabetical order.

* By-Law #1: Binding for 1964 Convention only, and thereafter be judged workable or not.

CORE
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, NYC 38

SAMPLE CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS FOR LOCAL CORE GROUPS

(NOTE: To facilitate rapid adoption of a working constitution for each local group, the National CORE convention of 1958 discussed a basic local constitution. On the basis of that discussion, the following skeleton constitution has been prepared by the National Chairman, with minor additions by the National Office. All local affiliates must accept the National Constitution including its RESTRICTION ON MEMBERSHIP, and all new groups are required to adopt the fiscal year beginning June 1 and ending May 31 to coincide with the fiscal year of the National organization, unless excused for some compelling reason. A local affiliate may not reduce its membership requirements below the standard set in the National's RESTRICTION ON MEMBERSHIP, but it may, if it desires, make additional requirements. No local affiliate is required to accept any person as an active member merely because that person was formerly accepted as such by any other CORE affiliate.)

The following in other respects is suggestive rather than required. However, it is important to stress that CORE grows through its action program. Therefore, it is strongly suggested to all new groups that the pattern herein be rapidly adopted and that long constitutional discussions be deferred until the group is well organized in all other respects; there is always more time for constitutional amendments, etc., to be adopted later once the action program is firmly established.

****

ARTICLE I. NAME

The name of the group shall be____________________Chapter, Congress of Racial Equality, or _________________Committee of Racial Equality. (NOTE: Another name which is consistent with CORE's purpose is acceptable. The name should, if possible, have initials which form CORE)

ARTICLE II. PURPOSE

CORE is an organization of individuals, preferably interracial, working to abolish distinctions based on skin color, religion and national origin.

ARTIVLE III. MEMBERSHIP

Any person vitally interested in the program of CORE and who meets its qualifications is eligible for membership in CORE.

(a) To become an Active member of CORE a person (1) must have been a probate member for ________weeks or a friend of CORE regularly attending meetings and demonstrations for ______weeks, (2) be sponsored by a member and be interviewed and instructed by the membership committee, (3) agree to abide by the Constitution and the CORE Rules for Action, (4) must be accepted by two-thirds vote, taken by secret ballot, of the members present and voting.

(b) The CORE group shall consist of Active members, probate members and friends of CORE. A probate member is a person seeking full membership; a friend of CORE shall be a person who participates in demonstrations, tests and meetings, or gives financial assistance, but does not desire to become an active CORE member.

(c) Only Active members of CORE may hold office. Only Active members may vote for officers and on questions involving (1) CORE policy, (2) acceptance of new members, (3) amendments or changes in Constitution and By-Laws.

(d) In matters involving direct action projects, all persons who have been accepted by participants by the CORE group are entitled to vote on procedires. tactocs.; only active members may vote should the group consider that matters of policy are involved.

Membership may be revoked if three members so request, and, after a hearing, two-thirds of the members voting, vote for expulsion. Any person so expelled may appeal within thirty days to the National Office for referral of his case to the next meeting of the National Action Council or Convention of CORE.

(NOTE: Should any person be admitted to active membership by a local group and his membership found to be conflict with the RESTRICTION ON MEMBERSHIP in the National Constitution, it shall be held that his admission was through error and therefore void.)

ARTICLE IV. DUES AND FINANCES

1. Dues shall be in the amount pledged by each member.

2. The fiscal year shall begin on June 1st and ending on the following May 31st.

3. Additional funds shall be raised through fund appeals, donations, social and other activities.

ARTICLE V. OFFICERS AND ELECTIONS

1. The officers of __________(CORE) shall consist of Chairmen, Vice-Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer. (Other officers may be added as the group grows and the need arises.)

2. Officers of CORE shall be elected for a term of ______months, and the election of officers shall be held on the second week of every______month, (or on the _____week of--list specific month if elections are annual.)

3. The duties of the officers shall be as follows:

(a) The Chairman shall predide at meetings and shall have the authority to appoint committees, to appoint spokesmen for the group action projects, and to cast the deciding vote in the event of a tie.

(b) The Vice-Chairman shall take over the duties of the Chairman in the event of his absence. The Vice-Chairman shall be Chairman of the Membership Committee.

(c) The Secretary shall take minutes of meetings and keep a record of all CORE activities and shall be responsible for all correspondence.

(d) The Treasurer shall be responsible for keeping a financial record and making reports at regular intervals (preferably at every meeting), for keeping dues records and collecting dues from each member, and for maintaining a bank account and issuing checks. (NOTE: Some groups require the Chairman to sign the checks also.)

4. Notice of elections must be sent to the membership at least two weeks before the said election, and two notifications are preferable.

5. A Nominating Committee appointed by the Chairman shall prepare a slate of officers. Additional nominations may be made from the floor. Election shall be by secret ballot. A plurality (majority) of votes cast shall constitute an election. (NOTE: if majority is used then provision must be made for a run-off election.)

6. There must be a quorum present before action can be taken on any matter which requires the vote of active members only. A quorum shall consist of those present at a regularly announced meeting (OR_______ members in good standing.)

7. In the event an office becomes vacant it shall be filled by special election unless a regular election will be held in six weeks. In the latter case the Chairman may appoint a person to fill an unexpired term.

ARTICLE VI. MEETINGS

1. CORE meetings are not open to the public and only Active members, probate members, friends of CORE and individuals invited by a member have the right to attend. During discussion on any application by a probate member for full membership, all persons not active members in good standing shall be asked to leave the room.

2. The distribution of political and/or religious literature and the literature of other groups is prohibited immediately before, during or immediately after CORE meetings and demonstrations. However, any representative of another organization invited to speak before CORE may distribute the literature of the organization he represents.

ARTICLE VII. AMENDMENTS

Notice of changes in this Constitution must be sent to the membership for two consecutive weeks before such changes are to be voted upon. Amendments shall be incorporated into this Constitution upon approval by a majority (two-thirds may be stipulated if the group desires) of the members voting.

(Art. V, sec 3 cont.)

1) violation of the CORE Rules for Action; 2) acts in violation of the local constitution, national constitution or by-laws; 3) failure to follow the duly authorized instructions of the National Action Council, Steering Committee, or the national director; 4) consistently takes positions on matters not directly ~~relating~~ pertaining to the civil rights struggle for justice and dignity. If the national chairman or either of the national vice-chairmen are mebers of the chapter in question, his vote shall not be necessary to instruct the national director regarding suspension of that affiliated chapter.
Such suspension shall be in effect until the next meeting of the National Action Council or its Steering Committee, but shall in no case exceed a period of thirty(30) days. The suspension may be extended for a maximum of an additional thirty(30) days by the National Action Council or its Steering Committee. During the term of such a suspension, the chapter shall engage in no public activities and make no public statements without the written consent of the national director.

Sec. 4
Any affiliated local chapter upon failure for two years to submit constitutional assessments due national CORE shall be declared delinquent and ineligible to vote at convention.

Article VI Trusteeship

Sec. 1An affiliated local chapter may be placed under trusteeship: 1) when requested by a majority of the governing board of that chapter or by petition of 30% of the active members of the chapter; or 2) when a chapter, in apublic activity has acted in violation of the CORE Rules for Action;or 3) when a chapter has come under the domination of a group or organization which expounds aphilosophy which is inimical or in contradiction to the fundemental principles of CORE; or 4) where the officers or members of the chapter are so divided as to be unable to conduct the affairs of the chapter; or 5) where the finances of the chapter are negligently handled, or there is a misuse of funds, or the finances of the chapter are not kept in accordance with reasonable bookkeeping practices.

Sec. 2
(see attached sheet)

Sec.3
(see attached sheet)

(the addition to sec. 3 d is as follows:
The authorization for the disposition of all chapter funds shall
= only be at the direction of the national director.)

Sec. 4
Such trusteeship shall last for ninety(90) days from the date of the resolution instituting the trusteeship unless sooner terminated by the Steering Committee or the National Action Council upon the recommendation of the national director. At the first and each subsequent meeting of the National Action Council following the imposition od the trusteeship, it must be submitted for National Action Council action, and the chapter shall have the right to present testimony and witnesses.

Section 2. Such trusteeship may be invoked, following a hearing, by a 2/3 vote of the Steering Committee or by a majority of the National Action Council upon the written recommendation of the National Director. At least two weeks prior to the hearing the chapter must be presented in writing with the charges. The chapter shall have the right to present testimony and witnesses in its own behalf at this hearing.

Section 3. The trustee shall be the National Director and he may appoint any deputy or deputies to act in his place and stead. The trustee shall:

(a) have and assume all the powers of all the officers of said chapter as set forth in the chapter constitution, or any by-laws, or any other empowering document of said chapter; and in order to carry out said duty, he shall keep all necessary records and accounts and appoint such necessary assistants as to assist him to carry out these functions; and expend necessary funds for such purpose;

(b) be empowered to request the Steering Committee to terminate the terms of any officers of the chapter and to conduct elections in the chapter, under such terms and conditions as may be determined with due regard to the preservation of all rights of the members of said chapter;

(c) demand that all membership lists, records, books of accounts, bank books and cash and other assets of said chapter be turned over to the National Director and that the present holders of them shall sign or execute any and all documents and assignments necessary for the National Director to carry out his duties herunder;

(d) use full power to preserve the assets of said chapter, pay all it debts now or in the future and to collect sums due and owing from all sources either from members or otherwise, to receive all gifts or donations, whether in money or property, and to deposit or place same in a bank of his own choosing, and in his name as Trustee; that he shall dispense all necessary sums in his capacity as Trustee. ~~The authorization for the disposition of all the funds shall only be at the direction of the Natl Dir.~~

(e) advise with and make recommendations to the Steering Committee as to any problem existing and the extent to which he has received or failed to receive all necessary cooperation to carry out his duties hereunder.

or NAC

Section 4. Such trusteeship shall last for 90 days from the date of the resolution instituting the Trusteeship unless sooner terminated by the Steering Committee upon the recommendation of the National Director. ~~Upon the recommendation of the National Director all powers granted herein may further be extended by the aforesaid Steering Committee.~~

At the first & each subsequent mtg of the NAC following the imposition of the trusteeship, it must be submitted for NAC action, and the chapter shall ~~be~~ have the right to present testimony & witnesses.

Article VII Officers and Duties

Sec. 1 The national pfficers of CORE shall be: Chairman, First and Second Vice Chairman, Secretary, and Treasurer.

Sec. 2
Duties of the officers:

a) Chairman; The chairman shall preside at all conventions and Council meetings, He shall appoint all committees at the National Action Council and annual convention, and he shall be ex-officio member of all committee except the nominating committee. The chairman shall, upon the disability ot vacancy of the national directorship, be empowered to act in his behalf until such time as the disability shall be removed or the vacancy filled by the National Action Council.

b) (same as old Art VI~~I~~, sec. 2 b)

c) Secretary. The secretary shall be responsible for keeping a record of all council meetings and conventions. The secretary shall be responsible for the dissemination of Steering Committee, National Action Council, and convention minutes to all affiliated chapter officers, up to five.

d) (same as old Art. VI, sec 2 d)

Article VIII Nominations and elections - No changes

Article IX The Convention
(see attached sheet)

Article X National Action Council
(see attached sheet)

~~the change in sec 2 is in the last clause which should read:~~
~~"whose term shall be two years.")~~

Sec 3 should read:

> "Both regional representatives shall serve for a one year term. A majority vote of the convention shall be necessary to elect a representative."

Article XI Steering Committee
(see attached sheet)

Article XII Regional Action Councils
(see attached sheet)

Article XIII National Advisory Committee
(same as old article XI)

Article XIV Staff
Sec. 1 (same as old Article XII, sec 1)
Sec 2 strike present section and substitute:as on attached sheet)
Sec 3 (same as old article XII, sec 3)
Sec. 4 add new article as on attached sheet

ARTICLE IX THE CONVENTION

Section 1. The Convention is the highest governing body of CORE.

Section 2. The Convention shall be composed of the national officers, delegates from the affiliated chapters and members of the National Action Council, ~~provided that~~ provided that no perdon can vote in more than one of these capacities.

Section 3 The Convention shall meet annually.

Section 4. Each affiliated community chapter shall have a maximum of three votes at the Convention and shall be guaranteed that maximum except where there are multiple chapters within a city. The chapter may apportion its votes, in whole numbers, as it chooses. Each college campus chapter shall have one vote ,e at the National Convenion. College campus chapters shall not be included in any formula which li mits the number of potential votes in a city, except that the total votes allocated to college chapters in a city shall not exceed one half of the total number of votes allocated to community chapters in that city.

(a) There shall be a limitation of votes which the community chapters of any city may cast at the National Convention. The schedule for determing potential votes within a city shall be as follows ;

Population	Potential Convention Votes
Up to 2,000,000	10
Over 2,000,000	20

(b) When the affiliation of a new chapter would increase the number of votes within a city beyond the constitutional limit, then the National action Council shall distribute the votes in equal whole numbers among the chapters in that city, but in no event shall any community chapter have less than one or more than three votes.

Section 5. Voting delegates must be active members of the affiliated chapter for which they cast their vote (s).

ARTICLE X NATIONAL ACTION COUNCIL

Section 1. The National Action Council shall consist of:

- A. The National Chairman
- B. The National Director
- C. Other National Officers
  - 1. First Vice-Chairman
  - 2. Second Vice-Chairman
  - 3. Secretary
  - 4. Treasurer
- D. The Regional Vice Chairman from each of the five (5) geographical Regions.
- E. Two(2) representatives from each of the five geographical regions.
- F. Four (4) additional members elected by the afore memtioned twenty one ~~(2~~ (21) National Action Council Members, at a meeting directly following the National Conevntion.

Section 2. There will be a regional Vice-Chairman from each region elected by a majority vote of the National Convention, whose term shall be ~~one~~ 2 years

Section 3. ~~At any convention, when two representatives from one region are~~ e~~lected, the candidate receiving the most votes shall serve for a two ye~~ar ~~term, while the next highest candidat~~e Both the Regional representatives shall serve for a one year term, ~~in any case~~ A majority vote of the convention shall be necessary to elect a representative.

Section 4. Of the four additional members elected by the National Action Council, all must be active members of affiliated chapters and no two shall be from the same chapter. Their term will be one year.

ASection 5. The National Action Council shall be the governing body of CORE between conventions.

Section 6. Multiple Chapters. In a city with three or more affiliated chapters the National Action Council may direct the chapters in that city to establish a cooridinating body which will not affect the status or autonomy of any chapter except that it may prohibit a chapter from taking unilateral action in city-wide affairs without approval of the majority of the chapters within that city.

Such a coordinating council may also be directed to meet regularly to exchange iformation, to seek cooperation and to negotiate differences which may arise among the various chapters.

Section 7. The National Action Council shall be impowered to fill vacancys [illegible] 7? in office and shall meet in Jan, April, during ~~two~~ the week~~s~~ preceeding the National Convention ~~of each~~, and Oct. of each year, and more often if required at the call of any one of the following:

A. National Chairman B. Nat. Dir C. 1/3 of the aff. chaps D. 1/3 of the NAC

ARTICLE XI~~I~~ STEERING COMMITTEE

Section 1. A Steering Committee of the National Action Council shall consist of the following:

- A. The National Chairman
- B. The National Director
- C. Other National Officers
  - 1. First Vice-Chairman
  - 2. Second Vice-Chairman
  - 3. Secretary
  - 4. Tresurer
- D. The Regional Vice-Chairmen
- E. Other members of the National Action Council in attendance.

Section 2. Eight National Action Council members must be in attendance in order to hold an official Steering Committee meeting.

Section 3. The Steering Committee shall meet not less than eight times a year, whenever practicable, on the last Saturday of the month of February, March, May, June, August, September, November, and December and shall be the governing body of CORE between National Action Council meetings and conventions. Additional meetings of the Steering Committee may be called by the National Chairman ~~if~~ or the National Director.

Section 4. In order to assure greater participation of National officers and Regional Vice- Chairman in important deliberative sessions, commensurate with their responsibility for National CORE policy, National CORE shall provide, if necessary, transportation and lodging for the following:

- A. The National Chairman
- B. The National Director
- C. Other National Officers
  - 1. First Vice-Chairman
  - 2. Second Vice-Chairman
  - 3. Secretary
  - 4. Treasurer
- D. The Regional Vice-Chairmen
- E. Any staff members whose attendance is deemed necessary by the National Director.

Article XII Regional Action Council

Section 1 There shall be established in each of the five geographical regions of CORE a Regional Action Council consisting of the regional vice-chairmanm the regional representatives, the senior field secretary in the region who shall be an ex officio member, and 4 members who are active members of affiliated chapters in the region, no more than one from the same city elected by the delegates from the region at the National Convention, each delegate having the same number of votes as he has at the convention.

Section 2 The Regional Action Council shall serve to coordinate activities within the region; to initiate regional projects; to set up regional conferences; and to facilitate communication within the organization.

The Regional Action Council shall also investiggte and attempt to resolve within the region disputes within chapters and between chapters.

Further, the Regional Action Council shall have the power of initial review and the power to uphold or reverse the expulsion of member(s) by chapters within the region, and shall be available for advisory action to the National Action Council and its Steering Committee regarding chapter disaffiliations and chapter trusteeships.

Section 3 The Regional Action Council shall be a subsidiary to the National Action Council and its Steering Committee. The Regional Action Council shall meet the second week of each month as such time and places as it designates, and shall report its monthly proceedings to the National Action Council and its Steering Committee.

Article XIII - Nat. Ad. Committee

Artile ~~XII~~ XIV STAFF

Section 2 The National Action Council shall appoint a National Director, who shall serve at its pleasure, and who shall be the chief exectuive officer of CORE and be responsible for direction and coordination of staff and program.

Section 4 No professional stafff member may be an active member of an affilated chapter or hold any elective office in CORE. Professional staff shall be admitted to any chaoter meeting at which they shall have authorized business.

Article XV same as old art XIII Parl Proced ✓

Article XVI same as old Art XIV Quorum ✓

Article XVII same as old Art XV Finances ✓

Article XVIII same as old Article XVI Amendments

~~Article XIX~~
~~Sec 1~~
~~Each affiliated local chapt~~

Article XIX By-Laws
(see attached sheet)

Article XX Constitution of Local Chapters
Sec. 1 (see attached sheet)

Sec. 2 Local constitutions shall define the process for granting active and associate mebership.
a) Active membership must be approved by not less than a majority of the members of an affiliated chapter at a regularly scheduled meeting of the General membership
b) An active member must have an understanding of the nature of CORE and the CORE Rules for Action.

Sec. 3 Each local chapter constitution shall have a clause reading, "Any provision of this constitution which is in conflict with the cpnstitution of national CORE shall be invalid.

Article XXI
Sec. 1
If any part of this constitution conflicts with the laws of the United States or of any state, the reaminder parts of this constitution shall be unaffected thereby and remain in full force and effect.

Section 1

ARTICLE XIX By-Laws

By-Laws of the Congress of Racial Equality may be adopted by a majority vote of the Convention or by a 2/3 majority of the National Action Council. Prior to the adoption of a by-law by the NAC, the NAC must notify the chapters at least two weeks prior to its consideration. The by-laws shall be appended to the Constitution annually, after being approved by the Convention.

ARTICLE XX Constitution of Local Chapters

Section 1. Each affiliated chapter shall operate under a constitution which has been approved by the Director of Organization, and which shall not be in conflict with the National Constitution or the CORE Rules for Action. Each revision of a local chapter constitution must be sent to the Director of Organization who shall determine whether it is in conflict with the National Constitution, or CORE Rules for Action.

Section 2. Local constitutions shall define the process for granting active and associate membership.

(a) Active membership must be approved by not less than a majority vote of the members of an affiliated group. d at a reg sched mtg.

(b) An active member must have an understanding of the nature of CORE and the CORE Rules for Action.

Sec 3

XXI

CORE, Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y.
CO 7-6270

CORE National Convention, 1965, Durham North Carolina Constitutional Changes

Article II, Sec. I

Strike present insert:

The purpose for which this organization has been formed and for which it exists is to abolish racial discrimination and all resulting inequalities based upon skin color, class, race, religion, or national origin, stressing non-violent, direct-action methods, political and economic methods, and community organization.

Article IV, Sec. 1 (new title - Affiliation & Evaluation)

Strike present insert:

Local action groups may be affiliated by the annual convention, the National Action Council, or the Steering Committee. In order to apply for affiliation, a local action group must:

1. Give written notice to the Director of Organization of intent to organize and apply for affiliation as a CORE chapter;

2. Operate for ninety (90) days following the filing of this notice of intent;

3. Have demonstrated an understanding of the apparent and expressed needs of the community;

4. Include minorities (Spanish speaking, Chinese and Japanese Americans, Indians, Negroes, etc.) from the affected communities, who shall substantially constitute the leadership and participate in the formulation of the program. Chapters in areas in which there are no minority communities are not governed by this requirement;

5. Engage in active programs that meet the needs of the community;

6. Be flexible enough to deal with community issues of varied natures; and

7. Have at least ten active members.

Its application for affiliation must be accompanied by the affiliation form, an acceptable constitution, and payment of a non-refundable ten dollar fee. The National Action Council or the Steering Committee must take action on the application within sixty (60) days after receipt of the application for affiliation. Any local action group which applies for affiliation is to receive a written copy of the report submitted by the National Office, stating whether affiliation has been recommended or not. If affiliation is not recommended, the report should state clearly why and should offer suggestions for correction. Once affiliation has been denied, the local action group shall have the right to request another visit from a Field Secretary. If the visit is not granted within three months after the request, the local action group shall have the right to appeal to the National Action Council. Where special purpose chapters exist, they will be affiliated on the basis of their special purpose.

Article IV, Sec. 5

The Department of Organization shall conduct a review of existing CORE chapters within the first (11) eleven months preceeding a CORE convention in order to determine whether they have met and are meeting the following requirements:
1. That they have demonstrated an understanding of the apparent and expressed needs of the community.
2. That they include minorities (Spanish speaking, Chinese and Japanese Americans, Indians, Negroes, etc.) from the affected communities, who shall substantially constitute the leadership and participate in the formulation of the program. Chapters in areas where there are no minority communities are not governed by this requirement.
3. That the chapter engage in active programs that meet the needs of the community.
4. That the chapter be flexible enough to deal with community issues of varied natures.

After review is completed by staff, recommendations shall be submitted to the Regional Action Council (with copies to the National Action Council and the Steering Committee). Regional Action Council recommendations, if any, shall be available for advisory action to the National Action Council and the Steering Committee. This process shall be completed within thirty (30) days.
Where special purpose chapters exist, they shall be evaluated on the basis of their special purpose.

Article V, Sec. 5

Reviews conducted by the Department of Organization of existing CORE chapters shall be available to the National Action Council and the Steering Committee in matters regarding chapter disaffiliation or suspension. Regional Action Council recommendations, if any, shall also be available for advisory action to the National Action Council and the Steering Committee.

Article VI, Sec. 1

add after ". . . bookkeeping practices."

Reviews conducted by the Department of Organization of existing CORE chapters shall be available to the National Action Council and the Steering Committee in matters regarding trusteeship action. Regional Action Council recommendations, if any, shall also be available for advisory action to the National Action Council and the Steering Committee.

Article VI, Sec. 5

Any CORE chapter under trusteeship must be notified no later than 90 days, in writing, of the disposition of the trusteeship by the National CORE office.

Article X, Sec. 1, Paragraph E
Strike present
Insert: There shall be three (3) representatives from each of the five geographical regions.

Article X, Sec. 1, Paragraph F
Strike present

Article X, Sec. 2
Strike present
Insert: There will be a regional vice-chairman from each region elected by a majority vote of the delegates to the National Convention from that region, whose term shall be two (2) years and when a majority of accredited delegates from any region

are not present at the National Convention, the regional vice-chairman may be elected at a National Action Council meeting held within two months after the convention.

Article X, Sec. 3
Strike present
Insert: Regional representatives shall serve for a one-year term. A majority vote of the delegates of the National Convention from that region shall be necessary to elect representatives.

Article X, Sec. 4

Strike present

Article X, Sections 5-7, to be renumbered 4-6

Article XII, Sec. 2
Strike present
Insert: The Regional Action Council shall serve to coordinate activities within the region, to initiate regional projects, to set up regional conferences and facilitate communications within the organization. The Regional Action Council may also investigate and attempt to resolve within the region, disputes within chapters and between chapters. Further, the RAC has the power of initial review and the power to uphold or reverse expulsion of members of chapters within the region and shall be available for advisory action to the National Action Council and its Steering Committee regarding chapter disaffiliation and chapter trusteeships.

Article XII, Sec. 3
Strike present
Insert: The RAC shall be a subsidiary body to the NAC and its steering committee. The RAC shall meet bi-monthly at such time and place as it designates and shall report its proceedings to the NAC and its steering committee.

Article XVII, Sec. 1

(the dates for the fiscal year should be "commence on June 1" and "end on May 31")

Article XVII, Sec. 3
Strike Present
Insert: Each affiliated local chapter shall pay a $100.00 annual affiliation fee, $50.00 to National CORE and $50.00 to the Regional Office, and ten percent of its gross income to National CORE within

thirty (30) days after the close of the fiscal year.

By Law VII, 3
Strike present
Insert: CORE chapters may involve their organization in political campaigns; CORE members have the right to engage in political activities as individuals or with CORE as an organization.

File:
National Constitution

Artic le IV * Affiliation

Sec. 1 Present section is struck and as a substitute:
Local action groups may be affiliated by the annual Convention, the National Action Council, or the Steering Committee. In order to apply for affiliation, a local action group must: 1) give written notice to the Director of Organization ~~for~~ of intent to organize and apply for affiliation as a CORE chapter; 2) operate for ninety (90) days following the filing of the notice of this intent; and 3) have at least ten (10) active members. Its application for affiliation must be accompanied by the affiliation form, an acceptable constitution, and payment of a non-refundable ten dollar fee. Before the National Action Council or Steering Committee may consider such an application for affiliation, it must have a report and recommendation in writing from the director of organization. The National Action Council or Steering Committee must take action on the application for affiliation within sixty (60) days after the receipt of the application for affiliation. (See Addition)

Sec. 2 Present section is struck and as a substitute:
Each affiliating group suhall be known as the Committee of Racial Equality and shall be abbreviated CORE, or as a chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and each group must accept the CORE Rules for Action and the national CORE constitution. At least one representative of National CORE shall visit the prospective group and report on it to the director of organization before affiliation.

Sec. 3. In the case of a city where a ~~chapter applies~~ local action group applies for affiliation and one or more CORE chapters is already affiliated, the existing CORE chapter(s) shall be given the opportunity to make a statement and present witnesses relating to the application for affiliation of the newgroup, and the new group may be affiliated only by a 2/3 majority of those members voting at a meeting of the National Action Council or by the National Convention.

Sec. 4. same as old section 2, article IV

Article V Disaffiliation and Suspension

~~xxxxxxxxx~~Sec. 1 An affiliated local chapter may be disaffiliated by the Steering Committee or the National Action Council if: the chapter has ceased to carry on non-violent direct action; ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ or takes action not in accordance with CORE Rules for Action; or acts in violation of the local or national Constitution; or acts in violation of the by-laws of the national organization; or fails to follow the duly authorized instructions of the National Action Council, the Steering Committee, or the national Director; or falls below ten active members; or consistently takes positions on matters not directly pertaining to the civil rights struggle for justice and human dignity.

strike old Sec. 1, and substitube:

Sec. 2 Such disaffiliation by the Steering Committee may be appealed to the next meeting of the National Action Council and then to the ~~xxx~~convention, and such disaffiliation by the National Action Council may be appealed to the next convention. The decision of the convention shall be final.

strike old sec 2 & substit ute:

Sec. 3 Strike present section and as a substitute:
An affiliated chapter may be suspended by the national director acting upon the unanimous instruction of the national chairman and the national vice-chairmen for any one or more of the following reasons:

Addition to Article IV, Section 1:

Any local action group which applies for affiliation is to receive a written copy of the report submitted to the National Office, stating whether affiliation has been recommended or not. If affiliation is not recommended, the report should state clearly why and should offer suggestions for correction. Once affiliation has been denied, the local action group shall have the right to request another visit from a Field Secretary. If the visit is not granted within three months after the request, the local action group shall have the right to appeal to the National Action Council.

MAY 1 6 1962

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE CHICAGO COMMITTEE OF RACIAL EQUALITY
as revised April, 1962

ARTICLE I. NAME

The name of this group shall be Chicago Committee of Racial Equality (CORE).

ARTICLE II. PURPOSE

CORE is an organization of individuals, preferably interracial, working to abolish unjust distinctions based on skin color, religion and national origin.

ARTICLE III. MEMBERSHIP

1. Any person vitally interested in the program of CORE and who meets its qualifications is eligible for membership in CORE.

(a) To become a member of CORE a person must (1) submit an application form to an officer of either CORE or a Unit of CORE; (2) agree to the membership provisions of CORE as established in the application form.

(b) Upon submission of such an application to a Unit, the application shall be forwarded, along with the dues of the applicant, to the Recording Secretary of CORE who shall submit the application to the National Office for their records. Such a person shall be considered a member at the time of his application's being submitted to the Secretary of CORE.

2. CORE shall consist of

(a) active members: those who subscribe to the CORE procedures of investigation, negotiation, and if necessary direct non-violent action; attend meetings regularly; participate to the best of their ability in CORE projects and activities, and are identified by their Units as active members.

(b) friends of CORE: those who wish to participate in activities as participants or contributors but who do not wish to be considered active members. All persons who have missed four consecutive general membership meetings as active members shall be considered friends of CORE. Such persons may be restored to active membership by either (1) attending four consecutive membership meetings or (2) being positively voted upon by a simple majority of the voting members of a regular general membership meeting. However, such persons shall not be considered "active" until the following general membership meeting.

(c) members-at-large: such persons do not belong to any Unit but desire to participate in CORE activities. A person who has been rejected for membership-at-large may appeal such rejection to the National Office within one month of the date of rejection. No person who has been rejected by CORE for membership shall be accepted as a member of a given Unit. The Executive Council shall designate persons as being members-at-large.

ARTICLE III. MEMBERSHIP

3. Revocation of membership is permissible under the following conditions:

(a) Such revocation has been requested by three CORE members and their request has been presented to a closed executive council session before being presented to other members of CORE. If a complainant disagrees with the executive council he may bring the matter to the floor of a general membership meeting providing the serious nature of the business has been announced to the membership at least two weeks prior to the meeting date.

(b) Revocation of membership must be based on proof that (1) a member has willfully or consistently violated CORE Rules for Action; (2) failes to meet membership requirements of the National Constitution.

(c) Revocation may be countermanded by National CORE if the applicant has submitted for review an application to that effect within thirty days following expulsion from CORE.

4. Active members and members-at-large may hold offices of CORE. Only active members and members-at-large shall vote for officers and on questions involving CORE policy or constitutional changes. A voting right may be challenged by a roll call vote of active members.

5. Floor privileges shall be available to all persons in attendance at a general membership meeting.

6. Change of status: An individual may change membership status by

(a) requesting a CORE officer for such a change,

(b) being sponsored by a Unit officer or an executive officer,

(c) and whose change is accepted by a simple majority of all persons voting at a general membership meeting.

ARTICLE IV. DUES AND FINANCES

1. Dues shall be in the amount pledged by each member. Customarily this shall include $1.50 per year for active members and $3.00 per year for friends and supporting members, $0.50 for students. Membership must be renewed annually.

2. The fiscal year shall begin on June 1st and end on the following May 31st

3. Additional funds shall be raised through fund appeals, donations, social and other activities.

ARTICLE V. ADVISORY COUNCIL, OFFICERS, COMMITTEES, EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

1. The members of the Advisory Council shall be available for consultation and advice.

2. The officers of Chicago CORE shall consist of Chairman, Vice Chairman, Corresponding and Recording Secretaries, Treasurer and Librarian.

3. Officers of CORE shall be elected for a term of 12 months, and the election of officers shall be held during the first meeting in May.

ARTICLE V. OFFICERS, COMMITTEES, EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

4. The duties of the officers shall be as follows:

(a) The Chairman shall preside at meetings and shall have the authority to appoint spokesmen for the group action projects, and to cast the deciding vote in the event of a tie. The Chairman shall appoint the Chairmen of all Committees subject to the approval of the Executive Council until the following general membership meeting which will then approve or reject the appointment. If the appointment is rejected, nominations shall be in order and the meeting will elect.

(b) The Vice Chairman shall take over the duties of the Chairman in the event of his absence. The Vice Chairman may be Chairman of the Membership Committee.

(c) The Chairman and the Vice Chairman shall be ex-officio members of all Committees; that is, they shall have voice but not vote.

(d) The Recording Secretary shall take minutes of general membership and Executive Council meetings. The Recording Secretary shall be responsible for making available to each Unit and to the Chairman and Librarian a copy of all minutes and shall keep her own copies in chronological order in a book.

The Recording Secretary shall read the previous meeting's minutes at each general membership meeting; the Secretary shall also make public at each general membership meeting the names of all persons who have become members since the last previous meeting.

(e) The Corresponding Secretary shall be responsible for all correspondence. Within two weeks of a membership application's being submitted to the Recording Secretary, the Corresponding Secretary shall notify, or have notified, in writing, confirmation of such reception to the Unit chairman.

(f) The Treasurer shall be responsible for keeping a financial record and making reports at regular intervals (preferably at every meeting), for keeping dues records and collecting dues from each member, and for maintaining a bank account and issuing checks. ~~For amounts over $[illegible]~~ The Chairman ~~or Vice Chairman~~ shall countersign ~~the~~ all checks.

The Treasurer shall issue a written financial report monthly to each Unit Treasurer.

(g) The Librarian shall keep a record of all past CORE activities.

5. The Chairman of a Committee shall solicit Committee members from volunteers, and others who have indicated interest, subject to the approval of the general membership. The membership may add to or delete from the appointees.

6. There shall be two standing committees with permanent Chairmen: Finance (including Ways and Means), Public Relations. They shall hold regular meetings.

(a) Meetings of standing committees shall be held at least once a month and reports made to the Executive Council and the membership meeting.

(b) It is recommended that standing committees be composed of CORE members.

ARTICLE V. COMMITTEES, EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

6. (c) Committee chairmen shall chair meetings, be responsible for convening meetings, submitting written reports to the Executive Council and general membership, assigning responsibility to individual members of the Committee and coordinating the Committee activity.

7. The Executive Council shall be composed of officers of Chicago CORE and two representatives from the Units for up to 50 of their members, one additional for each 50 thereafter. Any member is welcome to attend Executive Council meetings. It shall meet at least once a month, be a clearing house for the Units, and make recommendations to the membership meetings. Proposed projects, progress of projects, agendas shall come before the Executive Council, Only members of the Executive Council shall vote at its meetings. Chicago CORE will be the policy-making body. The Executive Council shall be the policy-making body between general membership meetings and approve expenditures.

ARTICLE VI. ELECTIONS AND DELEGATES

1. Notice of elections must be sent to the membership at least two weeks before the said election, and two notifications are preferable.

2. A Nominating Committee , appointed by the Chairman with the approval of the membership, shall prepare a slate of officers. Additional nominations may be made from the floor. Election shall be by secret ballot. A majority of votes cast shall constitute an election.

3. In the event an office becomes vacant it shall be filled by special election unless a regular election will be held in six weeks. In the latter case, the Chairman may appoint a person to fill an unexpired term.

4. To be eligible to be a delegate one must be an active member of Chicago CORE and have attended at least one unit or general membership meeting each month for a period of at least six months before the Convention unless absence approved by the Executive Council or general membership keep him from attendance. To be a delegate one who has been a member of CORE for less than six months must have the approval of the general membership.

ARTICLE VII. MEETINGS

1. CORE meetings are open to the public.

2. The distribution of political and/or religious literature and the literature of other groups is prohibited immediately before, during, or immediately after CORE meetings and demonstrations. However, any representative of another organization invited to speak before CORE may distribute the literature of the organization he represents.

3. The regular general membership meeting of Chicago CORE shall be held every two months or more frequently at the discretion of the Executive Council.

4. Robert's Rules of Order shall govern unless explicitly provided otherwise in these By-Laws.

2

ARTICLE VIII. UNITS

1. Any group wishing to become a Unit of Chicago CORE must clear with the Executive Council. Unit By-laws, if any, are subject to the approval of the Executive Council.

2. A Unit can engage in any project of its choice if it is not in violation of CORE rules and has been cleared with and approved by the Executive Council with the right of appeal to the general membership.

3. The Chairman and Vice Chairman of Chicago CORE are to be advised of any proposed project by Units and they shall then call an Executive Council meeting.

4. Financial Arrangements

a. The Executive Council and general membership by giving their approval to a Unit's project shall have committed themselves to the financial support of said project if funds are available. It shall be the obligation of the Unit presenting a project for approval to submit also a ways and means report and an estimate of expenses. The Executive Council is obligated to supply any or all funds that may be necessary without delay, to wit: (Should a Unit find expenses exceeding the original estimate for the project due to unforeseen circumstances, it can obtain a loan to take care of the immediate needs.)

b. No Unit may keep funds obtained thus unless they establish at a general membership meeting or to the Executive Council that they have exhausted all their own resources. The Executive Council may temporarily determine the amount that may be kept.

c. Units and Unit members individually shall accept to the best of their ability total financial responsibility for all acts and activities of their own.

d. Each Unit shall have a treasurer and a bank account. One of the co-signers of the checks shall be one of the permitted delegates to the Executive Council. A financial report shall be submitted each month to the treasurer of Chicago CORE before the Executive Council meeting. It will be the responsibility of the Chicago CORE treasurer to present such reports to the Executive Council in each instance. The Chicago CORE treasurer shall send copies of the Chicago CORE financial report to the Units the 20th of each month together with copies of the Unit reports submitted each month.

e. Net proceeds raised by Chicago CORE shall be divided as follows: 10% to National CORE, 90% to Chicago CORE. Net proceeds raised by each Unit, excluding dues which are earmarked for National CORE, shall be divided as follows: 60% to the Unit, 40% to Chicago CORE (It is understood that Chicago CORE is obligated to send 10% of all monies received from the Units to National CORE.)

f. Chicago CORE Executive Council is primarily responsible for initiating and organizing new units. They may spend such money as they deem necessary for this purpose on their own responsibility. Each newly organized Unit shall receive operational funds from Chicago CORE treasury.

ARTICLE IX. AMENDMENTS

Notice of changes in this Constitution and By-laws must be sent to the membership for two consecutive weeks before such changes are to be voted upon. Amendments shall be incorporated into this Constitution and By-laws upon approval by two-thirds of the members voting.

(labor contributed)

COREl ator

file

27 July

George

Peck has come to me re. the next issue of the COREl ator, which is due to go to press next Monday.
In order to go to press we need to pay the printer money -- we owe of the order of $5000~~0x~~ -- AT LEAST FOR THE wanted issue.
Question: do we rpint this one, in light of the NAC decision ? No
If so, money ?

Alan

staff, prof

AUG 12 1965

552 Riverside Dr.
New York, N.Y. 10027
August 10, 1965

James Farmer, Natl. Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038

Dear Jim,

Two weeks has elapsed since I wrote you protesting termination of the CORElator and of my position as editor. I asked that a copy of my letter be sent to members of the NAC with a view toward opening the matter for reconsideration. I also feel that you and the staff members who were in Durham should share some responsibility in this.

Since I have not received even an acknowledgement of my letter of July 27, I now am writing to ask whether CORE is taking any action whatsoever on this matter. Don't you think I deserve an answer?

Sincerely,

Jim (Peck)
Jim Peck

copies to Alan Gartner, George Wiley

CORElator

12 August 1965

TO: NAC Members

FROM: Alan Gartner

RE: CORE House Organs

As you know, the NAC at its meeting prior to the convention voted to discontinue the CORElator in its present form and to appoint an NAC-staff committee to study the situation and to make proposals for a replacement. Due to the press of convention business, the committee was not appointed, and with Floyd McKissick's permission I am writing this memorandum to get things going.

As I understand the discussion within the NAC, prior to its vote to stop the CORElator in its present form, it was the consensus that the CORElator did not effectively portray the "new" CORE and that it was not an effective medium for communications among and between CORE chapter and staff people.

Before going further, perhaps it will be useful to set out some facts about the CORElator. It has been mailed to the entire list of contributors to National CORE -- now approximately 75,000. We have been mailing six issues a year, every other month. The cost of the CORElator has been approximately $1,600 per issue, or 2.1¢ per copy per person. This figure includes (for a run of 75,000) printing - $900, addressing -- $150, collation and sorting for mailing -- $100, and postage (2nd. class rate for a periodical) -- $450.

Thus the total cost of the CORElator, recognizing that there has been no staff cost for the writing and editing which Jim Peck has done without compensation, has been approximately $9,600 per year of six mailings to 75,000 people.

****

Before going further, let me state a number of suppositions on my part. First, that communications within CORE (that is among and between chapters, members, officers, staff and national office) have been inadequate, to say the least. While responsibility may rest upon several shoulders, I believe that the ultimate responsibility for correcting this matter rests in the national office -- the organ set up by the others to serve them. Second, we must improve such communications within the CORE family as a matter of highest priority. Third, in order to continue receiving contributions from those who have contributed in the past, and in order to inform the general public in a general way, there is need for some regular organ going to the contributors and others. Fourth, the CORElator, which sought to perform the task of informing CORE's contributors of its activities (and which was not designed to be a communications vehicle within CORE), was not totally adequate to this job. Its news was often dated; there was little if any analysis or explanation; there was too much concentration on "old" CORE activities, viz, demonstrations, etc. and too little on "new" CORE; and the CORElator as a whole had no central focus. The cause of this inadequacy is surely mixed; at least in part the fault lies with the failure of the chapters and field staff to provide the CORElator with useable material. Fifth, the funds available to do both of these communications jobs -- within CORE and to CORE's contributors -- are relatively (and too often absolutely) limited.

****

With these assumptions out of the way, let me move into the body of the memorandum. Perhaps it would be well to state some of the kinds of information which should be moving around within the CORE family. In no order of importance: organizational news, viz. decisions of the various governing bodies, staff changes, etc.; activities of the organization, nationally and locally; descriptions of particular projects, programs, etc.; proposals which are to come before various governing bodies; ideas and proposals from people within the organization; comments, critiques, criticisms of program, implementation of the organization. Recently, we have been making some efforts to meet some of these needs. Minutes of NAC and Steering Committee are sent to the chapters. Regular memoranda come to the chapters from the national office on a wide range of activities. We are sending out "CORE In The Field", which is a compilation from our news clipping service of chapter (and some limited national) activities. On occasion the national office has sent program proposals to the chapters -- recently there have been two mailings of "Program Ideas", and these will continue. We have been particularly deficient in developing and sending out program papers, and in the exchange of ideas, programs, critiques, etc. While the first of these failures can, we hope, be rectified by action within the national office, (we are seriously handicapped in doing an adequate job in this area until we can develop program and research staff, which is presently non-existent, because of the lack of funds), the second, the exchange of ideas, etc., requires participatio of CORE members and field staff more than the national office -- in fact, the main function of the national office in this ought to be distribution.

A query: Is it better for such things as the press releases and "CORE In The Field" to be held for monthly mailings to the chapters, in addition to program ideas and other matters, or ought we send them as were have begun on a weekly basis? (We have a crew of volunteers every wednesday night who do the collating, stuffing and mailing.) Should these (and other) materials be sent out individually or should they be incorporated into a standard formant, perhaps with a title, etc.?

A proposal: Whatever format makes most sense for the above items, this office will seek to send out, as frequently as possible, program materials -- developed here or better yet garnered from the chapters, and will serve as a clearing house and distributor for any program ideas, analyses, critiques, papers, etc., which chapter and staff persons prepare. I see these functions as centered in the Program Department when one is established.

***

Now, as to communications with our contributors. As a sentimentalist, I would suggest retention of the name the CORElator, as well as the every other month mailing schedule -- it is frequent enough to keep them in touch and not too prohibitive in terms of postage costs. Also, as a way to save on postage costs, we ought to keep the format of a periodical. The new CORElator would stop printing a rehash of old press releases of scattered stories. It would seek to be more interprative. For example, rather than simply noting that this or that chapter demonstrated, re: police brutality, it would talk about what CORE feels ought to be the proper role of the police and why, and in such a context talk about what various chapters have done in this area ("CORE In The Field" provides ready reference material for chapter activities of this sort). Also, in addition to stories on particular areas of attention, there would be "in-depth" treatment of particular projects, of both national CORE and of local chapters. There might also be such regular features as an incident summary, a CORE personality feature (national offices, staff, chapter people), excerpts from Farmer's weekly column in the AMSTERDAM NEWS. In addition, there would be some "think" pieces, and policy suggesting or policy explaining articles. There might also be reprints from other media about CORE or matters which interest CORE.

A proposal: That a "new" CORElator be issued -- as outlined above, with whatever changes the NAC wishes. That this be understood as primarily a journal for the "outside" world, although sent to CORE chapters too. That Jim Peck be asked to edit this "new" CORElator, as described above. That this decision be reached soon - first in order to enable us to continue under our present contract with the Post Office, second, so as to retain continuing contact with our contributors, and third, and perhaps most important, that Jim Peck not be kept in limbo as to what his status with CORE will be.

Staff - Prof.

August 12, 1965

Mr. James Peck
552 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Jim:

I am very sorry that your letter of July 27th was not acknowledged promptly. Farmer was out of town much of the time after your letter arrived and is now away on vacation until August 23rd.

Your letter was reproduced and circulated to the NAC on July 30th; a copy is enclosed along with a copy of a proposal on a new house organ for CORE.

I sincerely hope that you will want to be associated with the enterprise and that we can continue benefiting from your knowledge and experience as an active member of the CORE staff. I will keep you informed as to the progress of the project.

Sincerely,

George A. Wiley
Associate National Director

GAW:nm
Enclosures

AUG 12 1965

552 Riverside Dr.
New York, N.Y. 10027
August 10, 1965

James Farmer, Natl. Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038

Dear Jim,

Two weeks has elapsed since I wrote you protesting termination of the CORElator and of my position as editor. I asked that a copy of my letter be sent to members of the NAC with a view toward opening the matter for reconsideration. I also feel that you and the staff members who were in Durham should share some responsibility in this.

Since I have not received even an acknowledgement of my letter of July 27, I now an writing to ask whether CORE is taking any action whatsoever on this matter. Don't you think I deserve an answer?

Sincerely,

Jim Peck

copies to Alan Gartner, George Wiley

July 27, 1965

James Farmer, National Director
CORE, 38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038

Dear Jim,

When I told Alan Gartner today that I was ready to go to press with the July-August CORElator, he informed me that the National Action Committee at its pre-convention meeting, a month ago, had voted the CORElator out of existence. It was my first notification that the job of editor, which I had held for 16 years, had been eliminated.

The NAC at this same meeting revised its constitutional set-up so as to eliminate co-opted members, of which I was one. Thus, my official connection with CORE has been severed completely.

I cannot help feeling that the NAC's actions are related to the fact that at its previous meeting, I was the only member to rise and oppose a resolution which would have excluded whites from leading CORE staff positions. The resolution subsequently was withdrawn, but only because "It would have looked bad on paper" and sentiment favoring it appeared strong. I stated that the resolution constituted discrimination-in-reverse and thus was contrary to basic CORE principles and to the stanza of "We Shall Overcome" which says "Black and White Together."

As CORElator editor, I was the last unpaid staff member dating back to the period before CORE could afford paid staff. And it should be added that editing the CORElator was not the only task I undertook in the national office. I have been writing all press releases for the weekly papers and since the first 1961 Freedom Ride, I have filled hundreds of CORE speaking engagements. Until a year or so ago when mailing of individual contribution receipts was discontinued for economy reasons, I typed thousands of these receipts. For six years in the early 1950s, when McCarthyism was at its height, I ran the CORE office singlehanded from the end of a shipping table in FOR headquarters. This is my record of service in the national office. It does not include participation in many CORE demonstrations from the initial Freedom Ride of 1947 through the first Freedom Ride of 1961 in which I almost lost my life--- and right up until today.

To dispose of me summarily as the NAC has done indicates, I feel, a complete disregard for human rights and values.

To dispose of the CORElator shows, I feel, a complete disregard for the needs of an organization such as CORE. It has been printed regularly, without interruption, since October, 1949. Many readers have praised its readability and human-interest content. CORE needs a house organ, 1. to keep its thousands of contributors informed, 2. to keep its chapters informed, 3. to inform new people who want to find out what CORE is doing at the moment and, 4. to inform students and writers on civil rights with a running history of CORE.

In the event the NAC position on this matter is altered, I stand ready to resume my job. Meanwhile, I no longer have a job with CORE and hence will not be in the office again unless I hear from you. I ask, in fairness, that a copy of this letter be sent to the NAC--particularly since I was not present to give my views when the decision to eliminate the CORElator was made.

Sincerely, Jim Peck

staff,
prof

SEP 13 1965

213 1/2 West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina

September 10, 1965

Mr. Jim Peck
352 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Jim:

Please excuse the delay in replying to your letter of July 31st. It was on July 31st that I went to the hospital and was confined for more than a week. When I returned from the hospital I was heavily committed to a court schedule and to out-of-town commitments which have kept me behind for sometime.

The action by the NAC was not aimed at you personally but it was the feeling of the body that a slick-type publication as the CORElator appeared too middle-class and had little public appeal while at the same time, the publication of the CORElator was costing the organization $5,000 per publication.

Since the convention, I have discussed this matter in detail with Alan who is to contact you in regard to the proposed changes. I am indeed sorry that this matter was handled the way that it was as I am mindful of the time that I first met you when the initial freedom rides occurred in 1947 and also remember the beating that you took at the Chapel Hill, N. C. bus station.

It is my sincere hope that we might rectify any wrong done you in any way. You will note that I am sending a copy of this letter to Alan with the hope that we might rectify any error so made.

With many kind, personal regards and high esteem,
I am

Yours very truly,

F. B. McKissick

FBMcK:ls

cc: Alan Gartner, Miss Ruth Turner
George Wiley

same reply - 11/12/65

CORelator

SEP 24 1965

25515 Inkster Road
Farmington, Michigan 48024
September 17, 1965

National Action Committee
Congress of Racial Equality

Dear Friends in the NAC,

I have been following with great interest and with great pride the phenomenal development of CORE since fifteen of us left Washington, D.C. on May 4, 1961 on the first Freedom Ride. I have been confined to a wheelchair for over four years as a result of that ride, but I have been able to follow the growth in prestige and influence which CORE has achieved through the minutes of the NAC which I have received for most of the four years, and through my reading of the CORElator.

I have supplemented these long distance contacts with the National Organization by occasional attendance at CORE committee meetings - those which did not involve stair climbing nor too great a distance traveling.

I speak of this because the organization and what happens to it have been a major concern of mine. During these four years on the sidelines, I have felt it a privilege to have served as Honorary Chairman of Detroit CORE. I feel very keenly therefore that anything that diminishes the reputation of CORE also diminishes me.

A few days ago I saw for the first time a letter which Jim Peck sent to the National Director of CORE nearly two months ago. I was shocked to learn that

1. The CORElator is to be discontinued.
2. Jim Peck therefore is no longer a member of the NAC.
3. Jim Peck was not present at the NAC meeting when this decision was made.
4. The decision was passed on to Peck not by the National Director nor by the National Chairman, but by a temporary employee.
5. The National Director had seen Jim Peck after the decision to drop the CORElator had been made, but had not discussed the matter nor explained it to him.

Whether the decision to do away with the CORElator was a wise and necessary decision I do not know. That it was handled disgracefully, I do know. I would expect the Director of an organization to

1. Discuss this matter fully with the persons involved before the decision was made public.

2. In the first communication to the membership, explain the necessity for the action and give adequate recognition to the man who more largely than any other kept CORE alive by his untiring volunteer efforts. (This would take some doing. How do you give "adequate" recognition to a man who has volunteered blood - literally - and sweat and sixteen years of his life to further the concept of "black and white together". But an effort should have been made.)

I know that the NAC has not met since the action concerning Peck and the CORElator was taken. I understand that the NAC realizes as does everyone with organizational experience, the necessity of some means of communicating with every member and contributor.

I assume that an important item on the agenda at your forthcoming meeting will be planning for a life line between membership and the National Organization whether it be called CORElator or something else.

I feel that another item should be a discussion of how amends can be made to Jim Peck, a man who has served CORE with such devotion, fearlessness, and selflessness.

Only by such action can the image of CORE be restored as an organization deeply concerned with the dignity of mankind, black and white alike.

Most sincerely,

Walter G Bergman

Walter G. Bergman
Honorary Chairman, Detroit CORE

CORElator

Mr. James Peck
532 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

Dear Jim:

The next meeting of the NAC is now scheduled for the weekend of October 23rd. It will be here in the New York area, undoubtedly in the CORE office. As usual, the meeting will encompass most of Saturday and Sunday. I will ask for time on the agenda to discuss the matter of the COREloator, its future direction, and your position in relation to it. I am asking Floyd for time for you to be heard. If there is any time during that weekend that would be difficult for you to make, will you please let me know as soon as possible to facilitate scheduling. I will try to have the matter on the floor late Saturday afternoon, if that is all right with you.

Sincerely,

George Wiley
~~Associate National Director~~

GW:ns

CORElator

OCT 11 1965

Oct. 7, 1965

Dear George,

In response to your note, I'll be available at any time on the weekend of the 23rd when the NAC sets the matter on the agenda. I trust you'll let me know at approximately what time I should appear (I realize you can't do this to the minute, but make it as close as possible). To facilitate your scheduling, I'll say that I should like about 15 to 20 minutes to present my case. Then, I'll ask the NAC whether they have any questions and whether they have any specific charges against either me or the CORElator under my editorship. After answering these questions and, or, charges (if any), I then shall leave so that the NAC can deliberate the matter. I trust I'll hear from you a day or so ahead so that I can make my weekend plans.

Sincerely,

Jim

Jim Peck

NAC
AGENDA

OCT 4 1965

552 Riverside Dr.
New York, N.Y. 10027
October 3, 1965

Dear Alan,

I am writing to make a couple of suggestions about the news releases (I am still receiving them).

First on geographic distribution. I always tried to strike a balance each week (one from the west coast, one from the midwest, one from the northeast and one from the south). Recently, they have been all--with few exceptions--from New York City or New Orleans. Possibly you don't have time to go through the clipping service, as I did, to get leads from different localities. And, as you must now know first hand, the groups' cooperation in this matter is practically nil. So, you know the problem.

Your release of August 30 headed "CORE Endorses New York City Primary Candidates" is of virtually no interest outside of the city and would be of little interest elsewhere for the weeklies across the country.

Your release of Sept. 10 headed "Farmer Challenges House of Representatives to 'Follow The Law,'" opens "In a press conference today (underlining mine)." The weeklies never edit or rewrite. So, if they use the story it will appear as today whether it appears three weeks later or more than a month later as is often the case. You have to keep in mind that these releases are aimed at weeklies and monthlies.

Possibly you wonder why I bother to write this note. You have to understand that I am still with what CORE is doing and I therefore am interested in seeing the releases as effective as possible. I hope you do not take offense.

As for my situation with CORE, George wrote me on August 12 that he would keep me posted but I have not heard from him since. About a week ago, I ran into Jim Farmer in the street but he was very uncommunicative and I was most disappointed in the meeting--on a purely personal basis since I have known him for so long. Hope all goes well with you.

Sincerely,

Jim

Jim Peck

AUG 1 1 1965

August 2, 1965

Mr. Floyd Mc Kissick
213½ West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Floyd:

I received Jim Peck's letter today and was greatly disturbed. Not at the decision that was made by the N.AC. I still beleive that the decision was right but because I share in Jim Peck's reaction to the complete disregard for human rights and values involved in his case.

Why was Jim informed of our decision in the manner he described ? Why couldn't one of the administrators (I don't care which one) have sat down with him and explained the action ? furthermore, the decision to eliminate co-opted members was not made by the N.A.C. since we do not have that power.

It was a decision made by the convention. Why the misinformation?. If the staff felt unqualified to talk with JIm, then you should have been contacted to explain thins to him. Or should I have written a letter on behalf of the N.A.C.?

I certainly feel and felt when I made the motion to discontinue The Corelator its present form that an organ must inimediatly take its place. The committee which was to come up with suggestions for such a communication was not appointed.

Although it is difficult, could you appoint such a committee by mail and instruatit to have a report at the next N.AC. meeting ?

I find, in reviewing the minutes again that I have been negligent in my duty. I am therefore enclosing the letter to Ed Day which I was instructed to write for the N.A.C. for your approval or disapproval. Please send it along if you find it is adequate.

August 2. 1965

Were the minutes understandable ? I want to make sure you received them.

Am waiting to hear from you when you have a minute~~s~~.

Sincerely,

Ruth Turner

Ruth Turner
Executive Secretary
Cleveland, C.O.R.E.

~~CO Relator~~ Staff, prof

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE

AFFILIATED WITH THE WAR RESISTERS INTERNATIONAL

5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK 38, N.Y. CORTLAND 7-4592

Edward P. Gottlieb
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Charles Bloomstein
Igal Roodenko
Vice-Chairmen

Orlie A. H. Pell
Treasurer

Ralph Di Gia
Administrative Sec'y

David McReynolds
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Jim Forest
Robert Gilmore
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Gorden Graves
Richard Gregg
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Scott Herrick
George Houser
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Russell Johnson
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Roy Kepler
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John Mecartney
Tracy D. Mygatt
Otto Nathan
Scott Nearing
Ruth Neuendorffer
Theodore Olson
Robert Pickus
George Reeves
Dorothy Rick
Ira Sandperl
Lawrence Scott
Mulford Sibley
Yone Stafford
Oliver Stone
William Sutherland
Lyle Tatum
Denny Wilcher
Frances Witherspoon
George Yamada

WhTS✓

OCT 11 1965

Ed

October 8, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York City

Dear Jim,

I hope that as much as any white man can, I do apreciate the surge of Negro pride and the anger and hostility that must come with it. To disown Jim Peck, however, is to make a mockery of racial equality on any level.

"Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted?

I do hope you can save CORE for the great work it has yet to do.

With highest regard

Edward P. Gottlieb

Edward P. Gottlieb
Chairman

Walter Bergman

BEYOND ANGER

Were my skin black
Shiny, iridescent
Or plain dull chocolate
Faded by the white marauder
I would be angry
Never to be appeased
Until I had won homage
From my traducer

I would be Muslim
And peddle my negritude
In every prison and bar
And in Sunday church
Upsetting the puppet
Created
In the white man's image.
I would be my own myth
And carry it into his home.

Except if I saw
The glamour of the race
I became Man first of all
Neither white, nor black, nor brown
But Homo Sapiens in all we could be
A bouquet for a planet
Human kind in flower.

Then I could march and fill
The outer space
Beyond anger
And at home with fear
Seeking for my brother
The same spirit that moves me
For let us not forget
Once there was Lafayette and Mirabeau
Who yielded to Roland
But she was choked by
Danton and Marat and after them
The Incorruptible.
Last came Thermidor!

Yet the Revolution was and will be.

In the new present mankind shall wear a black velvet robe.

E.P.G.
7/13/65

Area Code 212
GRamercy 7-5970

Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003

OCT 25 1965

October 22, 1965

James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Jim:

I have hoping to run across you but fate has not so ordered it. The particular thing I wanted to ask you about was thedismissal of Jim Peck on the ground, as I am told, that you are now only employing Negroes. I don't want to butt in and I admire the spirit which makes Negroes want to fight their own cause but is it not rather counter to your own feeling and to the traditions of CORE to dismiss a man like Peck on this ground? Perhaps I am not well informed on the facts but I do want to raise the issue.

With all good wishes,

As ever,yours,

Norman

Norman Thomas

NT:S

426

CORElator

October 26, 1965

Mr. James Peck
552 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Jim:

This is to advise you that the National Action Council has expressed the hope that you will continue as the Editor of the CORE-lator.

The NAC also appointed a committee tentatively called an editorial committee with myself as chairman. The members of the committee are James Farmer, George Wiley, Alan Gartner, and the Eastern Representatives, who are Ollie Leeds, Cliff Montiero, James Williams and Bob Curvin.

The NAC did not spell out the tasks of this committee. However, I for one do not interpret this as some kind of blue penciling chore. I have neither the time, the experience, or the desire to tell anyone how to put out a newspaper.

I think the committee can be useful in reflecting the ideas of the NAC to the Editor. Also to recommend new ideas on how to improve the CORE-lator. I repeat: I have no intention of looking over your shoulder at every line in the paper. When a Public Relations Director is hired, he will have general responsibility for all CORE publications and the CORE-lator.

I would like to talk with you at your earliest convenience. Also the committee is willing to talk with you on four or five days notice. My office number is WA 4-0500 and my home number is EV 8-3872. I can be reached at either number.

In addition, the NAC voted to set up an internal organ with Alan Gartner as the interim editor.

Sincerely yours,

Ollie Leeds

OL:rwb
cc: James Farmer ✓
George Wiley
F. B. McKissick

Wiley CORElator

Telephone: TERminus 4473/5

Peace News

5 Caledonian Road, Kings Cross, London, N.1

N. AMERICAN OFFICE: C/O AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
160 NORTH 15TH STREET, PHILADELPHIA 2, PA
CABLES: HOWPA, LONDON, N.1.

NOV 9 1965

NOV 8 1965

4 November 1965

CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38
NY, USA

Dear friends

We have heard a disturbing rumour to the effect that Jim Peck has been dismissed from his job at CORE, on the grounds that no white people should occupy staff jobs in the organisation.

We can hardly believe that this can be the case, knowing Jim Peck's services to the movement, and knowing that the whole object of CORE's existence is racial equality, not the replacement of one form of discrimination by another. Those people in the peace movement here who have followed the fortunes of the civil rights movement in the US have been profoundly shocked and saddened to hear this rumour. I would be very grateful if you could confirm its accuracy or otherwise, and if it is accurate, if you could give us some explanation of what has happened.

Yours sincerely

Rod Prince

Rod Prince
editor

To open cut here

Sender's name and address:

Rod Prince
Peace News
5 Caledonian Road
London N.1

AN AIR LETTER SHOULD NOT CONTAIN ANY ENCLOSURE ; IF IT DOES IT WILL BE SURCHARGE OR SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

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First fold here

BY AIR MAIL
PAR AVION
AIR LETTER
AEROGRAMME

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SIXPENCE·POSTA

CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38
NY
USA

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November 11, 1965

Mr. Rod Prince
Editor
PEACE NEWS
5 Caledonian Road
KingsCross
London, N.1, England

Dear Mr. Prince:

I appreciate your raising the matter of Jim Peck in your letter of October 8th. The situation is not at all as Jim Peck honestly believes it to be, though he believes as he does for understandable reasons.

For many years since CORE's founding all of its top officials and staff members were white. Even after I became National Director in 1961, every other top staff position was held by white persons. Since 1961 a slight improvement has been made in the balance among staff and officers. The unfortunate fact, however, is that CORE's image continued to be one of a "white led" civil rights organization, which, as you know, is, and I think should be, anathema. The fact severely limited the growth and impact of the organization.

At the April meeting of our National Action Council (our governing body), the NAC directed that in filling existing vacancies in top staff positions, preference should be given to qualified Negroes, even if a period of training was required before they could perform at an acceptable level. This was the sense of the motion, but some of the NAC members who spoke to the issue, not being skilled in words and diplomacy, made statements which could be interpreted, and were so interpreted by James Peck, as "pro-nationalism". I honestly believe that such is not the case. There was no tintention to exclude white persons, but rather a justifiable determination to try to train more Negroes for leadership roles in the organization. One problem which has confounded us has been the dearth of secondary Negro leadership. I don't think there can be much quarrel as to the necessity for that kind of development. Free a man and he is not yet free. He must have a major role in freeing himself for it to be meaningful. This is particularly relevant now that CORE's orientation and direction are more and more in terms of the black ghetto itself, seeking to motivate it and help it organize itself for effective use of its potential power - political, economic, cultural. I know that we are treading on dangerous ice in taking such a direction, but the alternative is wholly unacceptable. As the new self-assertion and self-pride develop in the black ghetto, we must work just as hard to see that it does not fan the flames of a counter hatred or exclusiveness. This is my faith and CORE's.

Now to the CORElator, our news bulletin which Jim Peck has edited for many years in a volunteer capacity. All of us have the highest regard and admiration for Peck and for his sacrifices, suffering and loving labor through the years. Many of us, however, had felt that the CORElator, which may have some appeal to our contributors, did not serve its main function, that of a house organ to reflect the direction, orientation, and policies of CORE - the new CORE, that is - ghetto oriented with expanded programmatic emphases. Nor does the CORElator come to grips with any of the basic issues, dialogues, and debates raging within the civil rights movement, all of which are of crucial importance. I understand from some members of the NAC that they had discussed these matters with Peck, but felt no adequate communication existed. Consequently, at the NAC meeting the last of June in Durham, North Carolina, just before our national convention convened, the matter was further discussed. Jim Peck unfortunately was not there, for he takes a dim view of meetings, conferences, conventions, etc., considering them largely a waste of time - time that could be used in "action". A motion was passed by the NAC to stop publishing the CORElator in its present form and to set up a committee to draw up specifications for a new publication more in keeping with CORE's current needs. It is, I repeat, very unfortunate that Peck was not present, and perhaps no action should have been taken in his absence. Before the motion was voted on I inquired of the makers of the motion whether its sense was that once the specifications for the new publication had been determined, Peck should be talked with to determine whether he could or would edit such a publication. The answer was yes and that became the sense of the motion.

In the press of crisis situations following the convention, CORE's staff neglected to inform Jim Peck of the National Action Council's decision. This was tragic, for he cut short his vacation to prepare the copy for the next issue of the CORElator and it was only after that copy had been prepared and presented that he was informed that the CORElator was for the time being no more. With the April meeting above referred to still fresh in his mind, he immediately leaped to the conclusion that the issue was exclusively or primarily one of race.

After Peck wrote me a letter to this effect, not wanting to put a reply in cold type, I sought to reach him by phone. My secretary called repeatedly to his home seeking to set up an appointment, but was unable to reach him, and apparently he did not get the message.

At the very next meeting of the NAC, on October 23rd, the committee which had been set up to deal with the CORElator and decide on the new specifications in accordance with CORE's current needs met and had Jim Peck present at their discussions and decision. Peck was asked if he would edit such a publication with the consultation of this committee on matters of direction, with the understanding that the committee would not interfere with editorial prerogatives. He stated that he would think it over and let us know. It was the feeling of the committee that the CORElator should be under the Public Relations Department, which we are now seeking to staff with a director, preferably Negro for obvious reasons. When such a person is hired, then Peck as CORElator editor would work under the supervision of this Public Relations Director. This may pose seome problems inasmuch as Jim has been accostomed to operating pretty much on his own. Peck has informed the committee that he will have an answer for us by the end of the week.

Please be assured that there was no attempt to get rid of Jim Peck, though getting rid of people is not entirely new to organizations, as you know. In fact there have at various times been efforts on the part of a few people to get rid of me.

I think that a look at CORE's executive staff race-wise refutes any charge of "nationalism". In spite of the changes which we have undergone in the past few years, we remain the most thoroughly interracial in terms of top staff. Of the professional staff in the national office, my associate director is a Negro, the Community Relations director is white (he was given a year's contract at the same meetins which terminated the CORElator in its present form), the office manager is Negro, the business manager is white, the general counsel is white, the administrative assistant is white (she was promoted from the classification of secretary at the October 23rd NAC meeting), a new staff associate in charge of the holiday cards is white and two fund raising staff associates are Negro. Neither the NAACP, the Urban League, SNCC, SCLS can match this mixture.

All of this is not to say that there is not within CORE a legitimate demand for more qualified black leadership, but it has not, and I think will not, reach the proportions of nationalism. So far it has been an easily misunderstood effort to repair the imbalance at the top which has characterized CORE from its inception, but this struggle is waged not through firings and dismissals, but through hirings to fill vacancies and not excluding whites, but giving a preference to qualified Negroes when they can be found.

Thank you very much for giving me the opportunity to express my views on this matter and to try to set the record straight.

Cordially yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:ns

Corelator

November 9, 1965

Mr. Edward Gottlieb
Chairman
War Resisters League
5 Beekman Street
New York, New York 10038

Dear Ed:

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Cordially yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:ms

Corolator

Area Code 212
GRamercy 7-5970

Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10003

November 11, 1965

NOV 12 1965

James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Jim:

It was very good of you to take time out of your busy life to write me so fully and frankly about Jim Peck. I find your letter convincing. I entirely agree with you that your and other movements of this sort must build up Negro leadership, not only in their own ranks, butin general. I have great confidence in your own approach to the problems you face. Again my thanks for writing.

I am taking the liberty of sharing your letter with Eddie Gottlieb who, as you know, is quite concerned. All good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Norman

Norman Thomas

NT:S

552 Riverside Dr., New York, N.Y.10027
Nov. 11, 1965

NOV 12 1965

CORElator

James Farmer, Natl. Director
CORE, 38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038

Dear Jim,

After careful consideration, I must reject the proposal of the NAC that I resume editorship of the CORElator for four issues under a newly appointed editorial committee.

On Nov. 1 Ollie Leeds, chairman of that committee, conferred with me--and I appreciate his forthrightness. He said that according to his viewpoint, which he believes represents that prevailing in CORE, a Negro should be editor of the national publication just as a Negro should be national director. (He said he disagrees with Ruth Turner's contention that whites should be excluded from ALL key staff positions.) He added, however, that since no Negro is available at present, he would prefer that I take the job than that the CORElator fail to appear altogether.

Under these circumstances, it would be most difficult for me or for any other white who believes in racial equality, to approach the job with any degree of enthusiasm. Furthermore, at the editorial committee meeting which took place during the weekend of the October NAC meeting, the committee demonstrated that it was unclear as to what it expects of the CORElator. One member thought it should be more like the CRISIS; another, that it should be more like the SOUTHERN PATRIOT; still another, that it should be more like MUHAMMAD SPEAKS. One member thereupon suggested that the committee spell out to me just what was wrong with the CORElator. His suggestion was ignored and the specifics in this regard never have been spelled out.

The fact is that what mainly was "wrong" with the CORElator was the editor's skin color, which is the core (to use a pun) of the NAC 's Durham resolution to terminate publication.

Alan Gartner, the community relations director, met with me yesterday and expressed the viewpoint that the CORElator should consist--not primarily of news stories about CORE actions across the country, as in the past--but rather of interpretive articles. From my years of experience as editor, I can testify that it was difficult enough to get even the briefest news items from field secretaries, local CORE leaders and the chapters. To get interpretive articles submitted would be far more difficult, if feasible altogether, with a one-man editorial staff.

These divergent and sometimes unrealistic viewpoints as to the nature of the CORElator--added to the main fact, that I am of the "wrong" color--would make it virtually impossible for me to produce a publication which would be deemed satisfactory. As I said at the editorial committee meeting, I believe in democracy, I do not regard my editorship as a lifetime job and I respect CORE's right to replace me (though, not in the ruthless manner in which the NAC acted at Durham). Maybe it is time for a change in editorship.

(Copies to Alan Gartner, George Wiley
Ollie Leeds

Sincerely,

Jim Peck

PS I urge that a copy of this letter be included in the next mailing to NAC.

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ack

552 Riverside Dr., New York, N.Y.10027
Nov. 11, 1965

James Farmer, Natl. Director
CORE, 38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038

NOV 12 1965

Dear Jim,

After careful consideration, I must reject the proposal of the NAC that I resume editorship of the CORElator for four issues under a newly appointed editorial committee.

On Nov. 1 Ollie Leeds, chairman of that committee, conferred with me-- and I appreciate his forthrightness. He said that according to his viewpoint, which he believes represents that prevailing in CORE, a Negro should be editor of the national publication just as a Negro should be national director. (He said he disagrees with Ruth Turner's contention that whites should be excluded from ALL key staff positions.) He added, however, that since no Negro is available at present, he would prefer that I take the job than that the CORElator fail to appear altogether.

Under these circumstances, it would be most difficult for me or for any other white who believes in racial equality, to approach the job with any degree of enthusiasm. Furthermore, at the editorial committee meeting which took place during the weekend of the October NAC meeting, the committee demonstrated that it was unclear as to what it expects of the CORElator. One member thought it should be more like the CRISIS; another, that it should be more like the SOUTHERN PATRIOT; still another, that it should be more like MUHAMMAD SPEAKS. One member thereupon suggested that the committee spell out to me just what was wrong with the CORElator. His suggestion was ignored and the specifics in this regard never have been spelled out.

The fact is that what mainly was "wrong" with the CORElator was the editor's skin color, which is the core (to use a pun) of the NAC 's Durham resolution to terminate publication.

Alan Gartner, the community relations director, met with me yesterday and expressed the viewpoint that the CORElator should consist--not primarily of news stories about CORE actions across the country, as in the past--but rather of interpretive articles. From my years of experience as editor, I can testify that it was difficult enough to get even the briefest news items from field secretaries, local CORE leaders and the chapters. To get interpretive articles submitted would be far more difficult, if feasible altogether, with a one-man editorial staff.

These divergent and sometimes unrealistic viewpoints as to the nature of the CORElator--added to the main fact, that I am of the "wrong" color--would make it virtually impossible for me to produce a publication which would be deemed satisfactory. As I said at the editorial committee meeting, I believe in democracy, I do not regard my editorship as a lifetime job and I respect CORE's right to replace me (though, not in the ruthless manner in which the NAC acted at Durham). Maybe it is time for a change in editorship.

Sincerely,

Jim

Jim Peck

PS I urge that a copy of this letter be included in the next mailing to NAC.

copies to Alan Gartner, George Wiley, Ollie Leeds

CORElator

Telephone: TERminus 4473/5

Peace News

5 Caledonian Road, Kings Cross, London, N.1

N. AMERICAN OFFICE: C/O AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
160 NORTH 15TH STREET, PHILADELPHIA 2, PA

NOV 29 1965

Nov 24th 1965

James Farmer,
National Director,
CORE,
38 Park Row,
New York 38,
NY. USA.

Dear Mr Farmer,

Thank you very much for your letter of Nov 11.

I appreciate the length you have gone to in order to explain the situation regarding Jim Peck, and I am glad to hear that the position is not as I have been told.

I hope that you manage to sort out the matter of your new publication satisfactorily, and that we will be able to keep in touch with news for each others interest.

Best wishes,

Rod Prince

Rod Prince. EDITOR

To open cut here

Sender's name and address: Rod Prince Editor

Peace News,

5 Caledonian Road,
Kings X. London N.1.

AN AIR LETTER SHOULD NOT CONTAIN ANY
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OR SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

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PAR AVION
AIR LETTER
AEROGRAMME

LONDON N.1.
6 PM
25 NOV
1965

SIXPENCE·POST

James Farmer,

National Direcotr,

CORE,

38 Park Row,

New York 38,

NY. USA USA

N ANY
CHARGED

6d
E·POSTAGE

CORElator

November 30, 1965

Mr. James Peck
552 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Jim:

I deeply regret your decision not to accept the NAC's proposal that you resume editorship of the CORElator in consultation with an NAC editorial committee.

Let me again express my feeling that you are misunderstanding the NAC's position vis a vis the COREIator. What was wrong with the COREIator is no reflection whatsoever upon you. Nor is the fact that members of the editorial committee were unclear as to precisely what kind of a publication would suit the organization's needs a refutation of their consensus that some modification of emphasis and method of presentation is needed.

The issues in the civil rights struggle are no longer simple; they are exceedingly complex and subtle. The organization is of necessity in a transitional stage, moving from a small elite corps working in the interest of the Negro community and the broader community to a ghetto-oriented group seeking maximum involvement of ghetto folk in the drive to manifest economic and political power. If we do not make this transition effectively - if we do not navigate these treacherous waters successfully - the organization will cease to be relevant.

This involves among other things the training and preparation of potential Negro leadership. It also involves, quite fundamentally, the articulation of the new directions through the organization's publication. This latter need is far more vital than the color of the editor.

It is the fault of all of us, not the fault of the COREIator editor, that the paper, which served many useful functions, such as presentation of CORE news to contributors, was not serving this need of such great import. The fact is that we are moving into uncharted waters.and none of us has had sufficient clarity regarding means of navigation of these waters. There will be a good deal of groping and this is the sum of the NAC's deliberations on the CORElator. It should not be taken personally, and most of all, should not be viewed as a matter of racism.

I long for a chance to sit down with you for an extended dialogue on these subtle issues. I shall ask Nancy to call you to try to set up such a conversation. In the meantime, I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I sent to Norman Thomas, Ed Gottlieb, and several others who have inquired about the situation.

Cordially yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:ns
Enclosure

DO NOT REMOVE!

Marv

November 16, 1965

Mr. James Peck
552 Riverside Drive
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Peck:

Mr. Farmer has been out of town for the past several weeks on a speaking tour. He should return on November 24th, but there is a chance that he won't get to the office until after Thanksgiving. As soon as he does come in, I will see that he receives your letter of November 11th.

Sincerely,

Nancy Stedman
Administrative Department

Staff - prof (CORElator

552 Riverside Dr., New York, N.Y. 10027
December 6, 1965

DEC 7 1965

James Farmer, National Director
CORE
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038

Dear Jim,

I am sorry to say that your letter of Nov. 30 to me--and your letters (a copy of which you enclosed) to Norman Thomas and others who wrote on my behalf--completely evade the question of black racism in CORE, which is at the core (excuse the pun) of the CORElator controversy. The Thomas letter contains several misstatements of fact. But, rather than enumerate them, I shall enumerate the pertinent facts which you failed to mention.

1. At the April meeting of the national action committee, Ruth Turner presented a resolution to bar all whites from key staff positions. I was the only NAC member to speak against the resolution, pointing out that it violates basic CORE principles. You said nothing. The resolution was dropped, but solely because another NAC member declared that it would "look bad on paper." At the following NAC meeting, Ruth Turner initiated the move for my ouster as CORElator editor.

2. At a meeting in your office three days after the April NAC meeting, when I reprimanded you for not standing up against a principle which you know is wrong, you told me: "You'll simply have to put up with this sort of thing in the coming years: it's the trend." Marvin Rich, who was present, thereupon objected: "If you let this sort of thing pass, they'll be getting after you next because you have a white wife." I then recalled that one NAC member had opposed you for that reason when you were being considered for national director.

3. At the October NAC meeting, Bill Bradley presented a report which reeked of black racism and even using the term "whitey" (without quotation marks). You failed to speak up. Bob Curvin, who is a Negro, did object and as a consequence, the report is being revised.

4. Several weeks after the NAC meeting, Ollie Leads, chairman of the newly-appointed editorial committee, told me that according to his viewpoint, which he belives represents that prevailing in CORE, a Negro should be editor of the national publication just as a Negro should be national director.

5. Listed as "officers" on CORE's present letterhead are Ruth Turner, secretary (mentioned under point 1), Bill Bradley, treasurer (mentioned under point 3), Will Ussery, first vice chairman (also a racist, though less extreme than Turner or Bradley. He initiated the move at the June NAC meeting which resulted in my ouster from the NAC on a technicality) and Lincoln Lynch, second vice-chairman (He tends in the same direction). This leaves Floyd McKissick, chairman, as the only "officer" whose thinking is not along black racist lines. This is significant in view of your attempt to whitewash the issue by giving the racial composition of the staff in New York. And in this connection, you mention that Alan Gartner was given a year's contract as Community Relations director but without stating that the NAC limited his term of employment to a year solely because he is of the "wrong" color.

I can only conclude by appealing to your conscience to start standing up in CORE against black racism rather than continue to deny its existence. I, too, regret that the NAC compromise appears unworkable. But what with my "wrong" color plus your admission that members of the editorial committee "are unclear as to precisely what kind of a publication would suit the

more

organization's needs," it would be virtually impossible for me to produce a publication which would be deemed satisfactory.

Sincerely,

Jim Peck

copies to Norman Thomas, Edward Gottlieb, Frances & Walter Bergman and Rod Prince.

PS: Nancy phoned me today and set an appointment to meet with you at 3 on the 17th. So, we can talk more about this and other problems relating to CORE at that time.

April 29, 1966

Mr. Robert K. Christenberry,
Postmaster
United States Post Office
New York, New York 10001

Dear Mr. Christenberry:

Reference is made to your letter, ADM:MR HF:WH:iw, of April 17.

Please be advised that we do not anticipate publishing four issues of the CORELATOR by December 31,1966. This being so, we will abandon the second class mail privileges we now hold for that publication.

We trust this will not prejudice future application for similar privileges.

Very truly yours,

LINCOLN O. LYNCH
Associate National Director

LOL/os

bcc: Ben Petersen

OFFICE OF Mailing Requirements
Telephone 971-7539

IN REPLY REFER TO
ADM:MR
HF:WH:iw

UNITED STATES POST OFFICE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10001

April 27, 1966

APR 28 1966

Congress of Racial Equality
Publishers of "CORELATOR"
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038

SECOND REQUEST

Attn: B. Peterson, Director Direct Mail Dept.

Gentlemen:

Please refer to my letter of the 7th concerning your letter of March 30th advising that no issues for CORELATOR have been published since June 1965, and that no issues would be published until later this year.

You were informed that four issues a year must be published in order for a second class publication to retain its privileges.

As you did not have four issues published in 1965, and will not have four issues published during 1966, it will be necessary to report the matter to Washington for cancallation of your second class mail privileges unless you elect to change the frequency to one that can be adhered to by publishing at least four issues in 1966. This will require the payment of a $15.00 fee, and the filing of Forms 3510 sent you, at such time as copies of CORELATOR become available showing the new frequency therein.

If this cannot be accomplished, you should abandon the second class mail privileges for CORELATOR.

Please immediately advise your intentions in the matter.

Sincerely yours,

fo Harry [illegible]
Robert K. Christenberry,
Postmaster

TO: NAC

FROM: Alan Gartner

RE: A "new" CORElator

On August 12th, I sent a memorandum to the members of the NAC on "CORE House Organs" in which I gave some of background to the CORElator, noted the NAC's decision to "freeze" its publications, made some proposals re. CORE "house organs" and have solicited responses . Other than a comment from Ruth Turner, I have heard from no other NAC member on this matter.

Let me recapitulate some basic information; The CORElator had been mailed to the entire list of contributors to national CORE -- approximately 75,000 persons -- six times a year. The cost was approximately $1,600 per issue, or 2.1¢ per copy. The figure includes (for a run of 75,000) printing -- $900., addressing -- $150., collation and sorting for mailing -- $100., and postage (2nd class rate for a periodical) -- $450. Thus the total cost of the CORElator, recognizing that there had been no staff cost for the writing and editing which Jim Peck has done without compensation, had been approximately $9,600 per year of six mailings to 75,000 people.

In my earlier memorandum I made a number of comments about the inadequacies of the "old" CORElator and then some proposals for the future. Perhaps the most relevant of the comments was that the CORElator was not meant to be an organ for communication within the family of "active" CORE members but rather sought to keep contributors and the general public aware of our activities. That we must develop a means to communicate within the CORE family is obvious, and this memorandum assumes that need but addresses itself to the narrower issue of how we may develop means to inform contributors and others of CORE's activities.

Rather than recapitulate the earlier proposals, some of which I now feel should be modified, I would like to make a number of proposals for a "new" CORElator. First a word about keeping the name "CORElator". It is well known to certain segments of the public and we may as well capitalize on that. The name and "periodical" format will allow us to continue our postal privileges which, as you know, are very significant viz. a mailing to 75,000 for $450 -- little more than ½¢per person.

Within the periodical format we can do pretty much as we please -- as long as we meet certain minimal requirements such as publishing on a regular schedule, mailing in exchange for "subscriptions," leaving room for address, etc. I suggest then that we use the periodical format, dividing the issue, in effect, into two parts.

The first would contain "news" -- perhaps an "incident" list, short news stories about important matters, perhaps a CORE "personality" feature, and some longer more interpretive articles. The second would be, in effect, a pamphlet which would be both part of the CORElator and also could be used for more general distribution. These pamphlets would be one sheet, two sides, with six or eight panels (all but one or two with copy), liberally illustrated. They would be of two varieties: geographic pieces and also a series of "The CORE Way in...." Topics for the geographic pieces would be such ones as Mississippi, South Carolina, Bogalusa, Jonesboro, certain northern cities. The topical ones would describe CORE activities in such areas as emploument, housing, community organization, police relations, the anti-poverty program, etc.

As for cost, I would estimate that the cost would be roughly similar to the old CORElator -- that is $1,600. per issue. In addition, since we would publish the "Pamphlet" part in additional copies, an estimated cost for an additional 25,000 pamphlets would be $300., thus making the total cost $1,900. per issue, or $11,400. for a periodical going to 75,000 people six times a year plus 25,000 copies each of 6 pamphlets.

The work of preparing and publishing this "new CORElator properly belongs in the Public Relations Department. Unfortunately we have not been able to find (no less to pay) someone to head (or even staff) such a department. I believe that on an interim basis, with help from others on the staff I could take responsibility for this, if that is your wish.

I would urge the NAC to make a prompt decision on this matter, as it has been four months since we have mailed a CORElator to our contributors and we will have to send them something in its stead or let them know that there will be nothing forthcoming. Also, we do receive a rather regular flow -- 25 to 50 per month -- of requests for the CORElator.

to
memo ~~from~~ **james l. farmer, jr.**

May 19, 1960

Mr. Curtis Mial called to find out if you have had an opportunity to discuss further the matter about which he talked to you. Asked that you drop him a note at:

1 Academy Street
Skaneateles, New York

[1961] 6/14

Mr. Farmer —

Mr. Semple of National Observer would like interview, Wed., June 19, for article. In city interviewing leaders of Civil Rights Movement

Mr. Farmer's Calls 6/14

[redacted]

1- Lisa Howard - will call again

2- Gov. Williams
oper. 36 383-5374 Wash, D.C.

3- Gloster Current - will call again

4 Mr. Decter will try to reach you

5- Mr. Kelly. Pittsburgh
gave call to Dora

6-

Newsweek

NEWSWEEK BUILDING • 444 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22
PLaza 2-1500

January 2, 1962

Mr. James L. Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I certainly hope your holiday season was brimful of good cheer and that you were able to take a short breather from the never-ending obligations to which I'm sure you must be committed.

At this time I am contacting those who have agreed to participate in our forthcoming book--VIEW FROM THE TOP--in order to learn whether the suggested deadline of January 15 will be met. For your convenience I am enclosing a self-addressed envelope, hoping that you will indicate when I may expect your contribution.

I might note in passing that those who have been able to complete their chapters have done extremely fine jobs and if their efforts are representative of those that are to follow, VIEW FROM THE TOP should be very well received.

Thank you for your continued cooperation.

Very sincerely,

Claude A. Lewis

Claude A. Lewis
Newsweek Magazine

CAL/lfj

By. Jan. 15

. . . a new and exciting book

VIEW FROM THE TOP

by the architects of the Negro's future

CLAUDE A. LEWIS
NEWSWEEK MAZAGINE
444 MADISON AVE.
OLINVILLE 4-4699 NEW YORK, N. Y. PLAZA 2-1500

SPECIAL DELIVERY

Mr. Claude A. Lewis
Newsweek Magazine
444 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

SPECIAL DELIVERY

J.L.F. CORE
38 Park Row
N.Y. N.Y.

Date changed

M. Rich - OK [illegible]
Jan 24
3 PM

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

JAN 5 1962

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I have asked Mr. Feild, Executive Director of our Committee staff, to meet informally with several private agency representatives to inform them of the progress and problems encountered by the Committee since its inception in March of 1961.

This meeting will be one of a series of small gatherings which will be held preliminary to a larger meeting of private agencies in Washington in the next month or so. The meeting is presently scheduled for the National Community Relations Advisory Council Board Room (Room 1530) at 55 West 42nd Street, New York City, at 10 a.m., on January 17.

I would greatly appreciate your attendance and that you let Mr. Feild know if either you or a designated representative can attend.

Sincerely,

Jerry R. Holleman

Jerry R. Holleman
Executive Vice Chairman

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF
CORE
RACIAL EQUALITY

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

Carl Rachlin, Esq.
general counsel

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field director
Marvin Rich
community relations director
James Farmer
national director

February 20, 1962

Mr. James Farmer
National Director, Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Jim:

Let me begin by expressing my appreciation for a most excellent presentation by you at our recent conference. I realize that the pressure involved in speaking under such conditions does not make for the easiest type of presentation. It seemed to me, however, that that first day went by beautifully and it launched the conference on a plane from which it never seemed to drop.

I enclose a "Statement of Principles" which was arrived at and agreed to by each and all of the partidipants in our recent conference. I'd appreciate your candid opinion of it and also any thoughts you might havw as to whether this could serve as the basis for a further meeting of minds between the police and the desegregation organizations. I have wondered whether I could get from each of you who participated as representing the "Peotest Grmps" a statement as to your opinion of what proper police conduct should be in these situations. It would seem possible then to compare the composite which I did obtain from you with the police statement and at least develop the areas of difference and those in which some agreement could be reached. It would seem to me that any progress along these lines would be for the good of all.

There appears to be an excellent possibility that we will be able to obtain the necessary financial support to publish a somewhat abbreviated and rearranged version of the conference. I a m particularly interested in getting material from the organizations which would help me in writing description - - which, of course, would be subject to your approval - - of the position of the members of your organization and the tactics used by your organization. If you can supply me with anything along these lines, I should be most grateful.

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF CORE RACIAL EQUALITY

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

Carl Rachlin, Esq.
general counsel

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Genevieve Hughes
James T. McCain
Henry Thomas
field secretaries
Gordon R. Carey
field director
Marvin Rich
community relations director
James Farmer
national director

Thank you again for your help. I believe that I can tell you that the conference produced greater understanding by the police and should result in a closer approximation of that type of law enforcement which must be achieved for effective policing in a democratic society.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM P. BROWN
Inspector

4-23-62 Date, place, time)

Clora - Mrs. Jean Brown of the American jewish Committee wants to know the names of the two representatives of Core that will attend the May 5th annual dinner of the American Jewish Committee.

~~41232~~x

Marvin Rich
Richard Haley
OK

Notify
Brenda

Clora

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • PLaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

2 people

April 13, 1962

Mr. James R. Robinson
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Robinson:

Such widespread interest has been shown in the honored guests who will address the Annual Meeting of The American Jewish Committee this year, that we have decided to invite representatives of a number of leading national and New York organizations to join us at the Dinner.

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, in one of his few public addresses since returning from his round-the-world trip, will speak on "Human Rights in World Perspective."

Judge Thurgood Marshall, who has played so significant a role in the historic civil rights changes in the past quarter-century, will be awarded the American Liberties Medallion.

Reservations for members of your board or staff, as well as any number of other representatives, may be made on the enclosed form.

It will be most gratifying to us to have your organization represented at our Dinner.

Sincerely,

David Sher

David Sher, Chairman
Annual Meeting Planning Committee

55TH ANNUAL MEETING • MAY 3-6 • HOTEL COMMODORE, NEW YORK CITY

LOUIS CAPLAN, President
HERBERT B. EHRMANN, Chm., Exec. Bd. & Hon. Pres.
IRVING M. ENGEL, Chm., Admin. Bd. & Hon. Pres.
WILLIAM ROSENWALD, Chm., Nat'l. Advisory Council
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A. M. SONNABEND, Chm., Institute Development

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JACK A. GOLDFARB, New York, Vice-President
ANDREW GOODMAN, New York, Vice-President
PHILIP E. HOFFMAN, Orange, N. J., Vice-President
JAMES MARSHALL, New York, Vice-President
IRVING SALOMON, San Diego Vice-President
GARDNER H. STERN, Chicago, Vice-President

from James Farmer

April 17, 1962

Dear Mrs. Coleman:

Mr. Farmer suggests that two persons attend to represent CORE at the organization's expense. Check with the professional staff and see who wants to go and who is available.

Mr. Farmer has been invited as a guest but will be unable to attend.

Jean

file

JUL 5 1963

BOARD OF NATIONAL MISSIONS
OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE. NEW YORK 27. N. Y. RIVERSIDE 9-2200

Room 1151

Wm Brown
Frank Robinson
Bob Gore
} will go!
J.F.

July 1, 1963

Gore handling

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
239 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I called you in Dayton last week and talked to Mr. Gore as you were busy. I arranged with Mr. Gore subject to your approval to have three CORE staff persons (we would like very much to have you as one of them) to come to Johnson C. Smith University, Charlotte, North Carolina, on July 18th to conduct a one day training and information session on Voter Registration techniques and/or adult education for action within the south. We will be in the middle of a two weeks' summer institute for ministers from the southeast about 45 - 50 in all. We will have had them in courses on theology, sociology and we would like you to tell them a little about some action to make this theology and sociology work. You will have the whole day. You can divide the time as you would like. I would like to know how you want to use the time and any materials needed for your presentation. I suggest that the time schedule be 9:00 a.m.-12:00 noon, 3:30 p.m.-5:00 p.m. and 7:00-8:30 p.m. You can use less time if you would like.

I would appreciate it if you would call me (Mr. Gore said Tuesday, July 2) at any rate, I shall be away after July 3rd until July 14th.) We can firm up plans with your call. This department will be responsible for the expenses of the men that you send. If you need overnight lodging please let me know and I will arrange this with the University.

I will appreciate hearing from you on this matter.

Yours very truly,

Bryant George

Bryant George
Chairman, Special Committee on
Religion and Race
Board of National Missions

BG:ln
cc: Mr. Robert Gore

29 October 1963

Mr. Joel O'Brien
JOEL O'BRIEN PRODUCTIONS INC.
225 East 46th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. O'Brien:

Mr. Farmer has asked me to respond to your letter of September 17, and express his gratitude for your offer of assistance.

At this time Mr. Farmer has made no decision about getting involved in any political races. However, should he decide to seek public office we shall certainly be in touch with you again.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey

Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:lp

Executive House 225 East 46th St. New York, N.Y. ELdorado 5-7520

JOEL O'BRIEN PRODUCTIONS INC.

SEP 18 1963

answer

September 17, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
CORE
239 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I tried to reach you by phone two or three times, but I realize your office is busier now than it ever has been.

The purpose of my calls was:

1. To welcome you back in one piece from the Southland, and
2. To say that if you are seriously entertaining the possibility of invading Representative Powell's territory, I would like to offer my services on your behalf.

Best wishes.

Cordially,

Joel O'Brien

JOB/bj

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

James Farmer
national director
Richard Haley
assistant to the director
Carl Rachlin, Esq.
general counsel

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director of organization
Marvin Rich
community relations director

November 21, 1963

Wiseman Film Productions
53 East 77th Street
New York 21, New York

Gentlemen:

The Cool World was an overpowering experience. It should be seen by all Americans, and it must be seen now. This film is an electrifying revelation of the American problem: the desperate meaning of segregation that will not easily be erased even if every civil rights' battle is won for the next ten years. For, as your film clearly shows, the ugly meaning of segregation penetrates to the marrow of a man. The story of the young boy Duke is beautifully told, and indeed the entire film has tragic beauty.

The Cool World is as shocking as the truth: It is the truth. And I sincerely hope this entire country will be your audience. I offer my congratulations: Certainly the truthful power and artistic grace of The Cool World should earn you the greatest success.

Please let me know if CORE can be of any assistance to you.

Yours very truly,

James Farmer

James Farmer
National Director

The Cool World opens at Cinema II, Third Avenue and 60th Street on April 20th.

file

1133 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 28, N.Y.

29 November 1963

DEC 2 1963

Mr. Gordon R. Carey
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Carey,

Thank you for your letter of 29 October, which I found on my return Wednesday. Thank you also for Mr. Essien-Udom's address; I shall get in touch with him in the next few days.

It would be a great pleasure for me to meet Mr. Farmer; would it be possible to make it lunch on Tuesday? If not, I could make it any day the week of the 16th; I shall have to be out of town the intervening week.

If Tuesday is O.K., please call me at TR6-9777 and let me know. Otherwise I shall get in touch with you on my return.

Thank you again for your courtesy.

Sincerely,

James J. Storrow Jr.

File

MANAGEMENT AND MINORITY MANPOWER RESEARCH, INC.
210 EAST 47 STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017 · PL 5-3685

Norm

DEC 17 1963

December 16, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
Executive Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I would very much like to inform you of a new Research and Information service we are about to create in response to the expressed need we found among business people for guidance on the subject of minority relations.

It will be a continuing Report to key executives describing what is being done on policy and operating levels by companies all over the country.

The Report is intended to provide tested, factual information that will be useful to the company initiating an equal job opportunity program...operating it...dealing with the current problems and anticipating future problems.

More details appear in the enclosed folder.

We expect the first issue out in a few weeks. I will certainly have a copy sent along to you.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Leonard Turk

Leonard Turk
Publisher

LT/gp
Encl.-

To Inform Decision-Making Executives on Sensitive Manpower Issues

FROM: Management and Minority Manpower
Research, Inc.
210 East 47 Street
New York 17, New York

Phone: PL 5-3685

FOR RELEASE:
December 18, 1963

NEW COMPANY DEVELOPS MANPOWER MIX INFORMATION

"Negroes in your work force" is the theme that prompted the formation of a new company, Management and Minority Manpower Research, Inc. The organization, a Research and Information service for management people, specializes in development of guideline information in the area of minority relations.

The company will publish a private monthly report to subscribing executives. It will be circulated throughout the country starting in January.

Stated purpose of the Report is to provide company policy-makers with information about initiating an equal job opportunity program, operating it, dealing with current problems and anticipating future problems.

The company is a subsidiary of Leonard Turk and Company, Inc., 210 East 47 Street, a New York publisher of business literature.

# # #

announcing a *new* service

Management and Minority Manpower

Not since the labor union movement of the thirties has management faced a manpower development whose potential impact compares with the Negro's drive for equal job opportunity. Yet, in the words of one commentator, "essentially, American business doesn't know how to behave in this situation."

The civil rights movement today is aimed directly at the place that counts most in the Negro's drive for immediate economic improvement: the employer's door.

Successful boycotting has shown Negro leaders that they command a formidable economic weapon. Casual reading of the daily press tells us that use of the boycott will be intensified, locally and nationally, against companies whose employment practices fail to recognize Negro demands for equal employment opportunities.

President Kennedy's Executive Order 10925, which requires every company holding government contracts and subcontracts to hire without regard to race, is being vigorously enforced. Other companies have cooperated by drawing up their own "Plans for Progress," voluntarily reporting to the government what they are doing to provide equal job opportunity.

But whether a company's response is enthusiastic and positive – or reluctant and defensive – for most, the question now is not whether to act, but how to begin . . . what to do.

Management and Minority Manpower will help formulate and implement effective corporate policy by reporting how companies are answering the questions posed by this new and constantly changing challenge. Some examples appear on the next page. ►

A serious, lasting effect on sales could result from a Negro boycott, according to a recent survey reported under the headline "Rude Awakening for Apathetic Business Men." "9% would never go back" to the product or shop again, it found. Nor is effective boycotting limited to consumer goods; techniques exist for extending it to industrial products as well.

The same survey disclosed that "89% of Negroes said they would take part in boycotts of companies or products if told to do so by a prominent Negro."

WHAT ARE THE BEST ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS LIKE THESE?

There are no pat answers. Every company situation imposes special conditions arising from the manpower mix, management and employee attitudes, the local community and similar factors. MANAGEMENT AND MINORITY MANPOWER provides responsible executives with the facts they need to develop and implement their company's own unique program.

- Should there be a specific, published policy on minority group personnel practices . . . or should the company merely assert its "color-blindness?"
- What – if any – special action should management take to prepare present personnel . . . break down barriers . . . assure acceptance of Negroes in all-white groups?
- Should the company seek out highly qualified Negro candidates and accord them special treatment . . . or follow routine recruitment and training practices?
- How can you identify and overcome open or furtive resistance among those who retain race-superiority attitudes?
- How can the company's equal job opportunity program be best presented to the community . . . customers . . . the press?
- How can you secure cooperation from a union known to be biased?
- Will you be able to find Negro applicants qualified for higher positions now . . . without raiding . . . without lowering selection standards?
- How do you prevent criticism for "discrimination in reverse," yet encourage recruiting of qualified Negro employees?
- How thorough must your program be? . . . is a demonstration of good faith enough as your company's initial effort?

Differences in job preparation and education are generally acknowledged to be the single greatest hurdle in providing equal job opportunity. Estimates by educational associations and Negro educators themselves point up the gap: 43% of whites are high-school graduates vs. 22% for non-whites. Some 36,000 B.S. degrees are awarded in engineering each year; only a few hundred to Negroes.

- Is there any benefit in attempting to influence the direction of job preparation for Negroes through local schools?
- What more is needed after the company succeeds in gaining acceptance of its recommendations on educational emphasis?
- When Negro college graduates prove unable to meet test norms for higher positions, should you consider measuring potential rather than current achievement?
- What are some of the best methods of providing remedial education?
- What can the smaller company, lacking the resources of the big company, do to help Negroes raise performance levels?

Management and Minority Manpower

. . . is a monthly service for top management and manpower executives. It is designed to fill the vast information gap facing companies as they attempt to launch an equal job opportunity program.

Management and Minority Manpower serves the need for an exchange of information among companies already embarked on an equal job opportunity program . . . for basic information to initiate and implement a program in companies that are just facing this critical challenge.

Management and Minority Manpower

... selects the best and most practical from the flood of information reported diffusely in conventional publications
... conducts research to uncover information not available through the usual sources
... evaluates techniques and results, reporting successes and — when they cast light on difficult problem — failures, too
... analyzes the problems that resist solution
... keeps readers posted on what government and social action groups are doing or propose to do
... announces pertinent workshops, seminars and conferences
... reports on pending legislation
... reviews and tells where to get relevant
  books and periodicals
  training aids
  research reports
  films
  reference material

Management and Minority Manpower:

Issued monthly. Terse . . . selective . . . thorough. Distills content into six pages per issue. Written for rapid reading by busy executives.

Additional **Special Reports:** Issued periodically. Spell out timely subjects in detail, in as many pages as thorough coverage requires.

annual subscription fee $25

MANAGEMENT AND MINORITY MANPOWER is in no sense the voice of any pressure group. Its sole purpose is to provide policy makers and their corporate staffs with the means of dealing practically with sensitive manpower problems, in order to achieve the best results for the company and its personnel.

Here's what you'll find in the first issues of MANAGEMENT AND MINORITY MANPOWER

Guidelines The government's Executive Order 10925 and "Plans for Progress" provide a start for many companies . . . but don't apply directly to many others. M/MM will tell you where to go for help, report on the activities of the pioneers who worked out equal job opportunity programs before the government stepped in.

How to evaluate your own equal job opportunity program Information you should have on hand . . . the records you should keep . . . what you should have ready if your company is "inspected."

Help from Negro civil rights groups Specifically, how groups like the Urban League can and will assist your company . . . what they need to know from you before they can help.

How job standards can be "lowered" without affecting company operations. New light on the concept of job re-evaluation . . . what it means . . . how it is accomplished . . . case studies.

How unions and management can work together to solve common problems.

How training programs — inside and outside the company — can be developed to increase the supply of **qualified** Negro workers. Short-range plans for immediate results; long-range for future needs. **Case studies:** How communities (Philadelphia, for example) are taking steps to solve the problem . . . how companies are cooperating with other organizations to improve the situation.

How companies have handled boycotts What effect did they have? What geographical areas and what industries already have been singled out for boycott?

New techniques in remedial education provide faster, more effective results . . . are easier, more palatable for adults . . . new approaches to basic skills.

THE EXPERIENCE OF COMPANIES like these in formulating and operating under fair employment policies is reported in MANAGEMENT AND MINORITY MANPOWER.

PITNEY-BOWES INC.
BOWERY SAVINGS BANK
R. H. MACY & COMPANY, INC.
INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER CO.
INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS MACHINES CORPORATION
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BELL TELEPHONE COMPANY
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WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC CORPORATION
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SYLVANIA ELECTRIC PRODUCTS, INC.
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HUGHES AIRCRAFT COMPANY
UNITED AIRLINES INC.

MANAGEMENT AND MINORITY MANPOWER RESEARCH, INC. combines the resources of a publishing organization that specializes in business communications and a thoroughly trained team of researchers with broad professional experience in industrial psychology, personnel and inter-group relations. J. Richard Block, Ph.D., is Director of Research. Author, lecturer and consultant on the problems of minority groups in management, Dr. Block is on the faculty of Hofstra University. He has specialized in the field of minority relations, including the disabled and the aged.

MANAGEMENT AND MINORITY MANPOWER RESEARCH INC., 210 EAST 47 STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017

P

December 31, 1963

Miss Alice Mary Hilton
The Minority of One
P. O. Box 544
Passaic, New Jersey

Dear Miss Hilton:

Do forgive the delay in replying to your recent letter but, as you can well imagine my hectic schedule leaves me little time at my desk.

I am extremely happy to learn of the tribute being planned for Dr. Linus C. Pauling, and would be honored to act as a sponsor. Unfortunately I shall be out of the country on January 8, but wish you every success for the occasion.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:lp

DEC 1 1 1963

1/8

THE MINORITY OF ONE

Independent Monthly Publication, Dedicated to the Elimination of All Thought Restrictions Except for the Truth

"There was truth and there was untruth, and if you clung to the truth even against the whole world, you were not mad."—GEORGE ORWELL

Vol. I, No. 1 THE MINORITY OF ONE, INC. 101 Address for subscriptions and correspondence: P.O. Box 544, Passaic, N. J. Editor: M. S. Arnoni **December, 1959**

BOARD OF SPONSORS:
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MAIN OFFICE:
77 Pennington Avenue
P. O. Box 544
Passaic, N. J.
PR 8-1539

NEW YORK BRANCH:
154 Nassau Street
New York 38, N. Y.
CO 7-1740

December 9, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

We are planning to arrange a Tribute to Dr. Linus C. Pauling when he returns from Europe. It would give us great pleasure if we could count you among the sponsors of this event. The Joint Chairmen of the Board of Sponsors are Bertrand Russell, Albert Schweitzer and Robert Hutchins.

The meeting in tribute will be held on January 8th, 1964 at 8:00 P.M. in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Astor at Broadway and 45th Street, New York City. Among the speakers will be Dr. Pauling, Mrs. Dagmar Wilson and Dr. Henry Steele Commager. U Thant will be among the honored guests.

We hope that you are willing to be counted among the sponsors for Dr. Pauling's Tribute.

Sincerely,

Alice Mary Hilton/bd

Alice Mary Hilton
For the Joint Chairmen of
The Board of Sponsors:
Bertrand Russell
Albert Schweitzer
Robert Hutchins

AMH/bd

U

January 6, 1964

Mr. Robert I. Miller
Union Theological Seminary
Broadway & 120 Street
New York City 27

Dear Mr. Miller:

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of TOWER.

I read with great interest the declaration on civil rights and the resolution taken by your Board of Directors. I congratulate you on this further endorsement of your strong commitment to the cause for which we are all fighting.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
BROADWAY AT 120TH STREET
NEW YORK 27, N.Y.

December 18, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Dr. John C. Bennett, who is serving as Acting President of the Seminary this year, thought you might like to see the declaration on civil rights which has been endorsed unanimously by our faculty.

The Seminary's Board of Directors adopted a resolution at their fall meeting, and both of these statements appear on pages 4 and 5 in the fall issue of our alumni newspaper which I am enclosing.

Sincerely,

Robert I. Miller

Robert I. Miller
Assistant to the President

R

January 6, 1964

Mrs. Alex A. Regdon
Box 391
Alpaugh, Calif.

Dear Mrs. Regdon:

Thank you very much for writing to tell us about Mr. Beall Ernst.

We have considered establishing a directory of companies which have fair employment and advertising policies, and if we do decide to undertake such a project we shall certainly incorporate Mr. Ernst's company.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

DEC 26 1963

Box 391
Alpaugh, Cal.
December 20, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
National Director, CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Sirs:

We recently received a letter brom W. Byron Rumford, Jr., (copy enclosed) urging us to purchase Ernst ties, as a way of showing appreciation for the fine employment and advertising policies used by Mr. Beall Ernst in his business.

I was much impressed both with the letter and with the idea, - so much so that I am writing to suggest that x directories (local and national) be prepared, listing merchants and manufacturers who follow similar policies, for purchase by interested persons such as myself.

Sincerely,

Patricia M. Regdon
Patricia M. Regdon
(Mrs. Alex A. Regdon)

[illegible]

A REFLECTION OF GOOD TASTE!
ERNST TIES
OF COURSE!

THE FIRST

As advertised in

MEN'S WEAR

SEPTEMBER 27, 1963

1964

JANUARY

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ERNST INC. SAN FRANCISCO

W. Byron Rumford, Jr.

327 - 22nd Street, Suite 20
Oakland 12, California

DEC 26 1963

December 12, 1963

Greetings:

Enclosed is a calendar for 1964 showing the Negro model Mr. Beall Ernst used recently in a full-page advertisement in leading magazines in connection with his world-famous Ernst Ties. One magazine refused the ad but was willing to accept a similar pose with the same ad copy using a non-Negro. However, other leading magazines accepted it. I feel that this unsolicited pioneer effort on the part of Ernst Ties warrants commendation and your considered patronage.

There is another effort on the part of Ernst Ties that I cannot let go unmentioned. Through his own volition, he is a Fair Practices Employer at every level. A tour through the Ernst plants is quite an education in democracy at work.

It is my feeling that you would want to know these facts and respond to them. Ernst is a man's tie all year 'round; but at this Yuletide Season, perhaps you will want to spend a few cents more and shop for the best in ties which are produced in an atmosphere of fairness by someone who already practices what it takes years to legislate into action.

Needless to say, we all know that whether our taste is contemporary or traditional, Mr. Ernst has, himself, designed a tie to satisfy it--either in wide or slim lines. As I have already implied, the quality of Ernst Ties is unsurpassed. They are sold at better stores everywhere. I wear them all the time. (Of course, I have a year-round supply).

With best wishes from not only myself but my entire family for the happiest of holidays to you, I am

Sincerely yours,

W. Byron Rumford, Jr

January 6, 1964

Mr. John Henrik Clarke
Associate Editor
Freedomways
799 Broadway, Suite 542
New York City 3

Dear Mr. Clarke:

As I mentioned when we spoke on the telephone today, Mr. Farmer has written an account of what happened in Plaquemine, Louisiana, which we have just published under the title: LOUISIANA STORY 1963. I am enclosing a few copies, and hope you will find material for your needs.

If I can be of any further assistance, please do not hesitate to letme know.

Sincerely yours,

Glenda Lubelsky
Secretary to
James Farmer

Enc.

Call.

NOV 13 1963

FREEDOMWAYS

A Quarterly Review of the Negro Freedom Movement

799 Broadway • Suite 542
New York 3, New York
GRamercy 7-8866

12th November, 1963

Mr. James Farmer, Executive Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

not received

Dear Mr. Farmer:

The Fall 1963 Issue of FREEDOMWAYS has been mailed you under separate cover. I hope you have had time to read the Summer Issue devoted to the theme: "Harlem: A Community in Transition". We are now preparing another special issue and we are urgently in need of assistance from you.

Our Winter Issue will be devoted, mainly, to the Southern Freedom Movement. We would like to have most of the articles for this issue written by people who have been participants in the movement, and others who are still involved. We would appreciate it if you would consider writing an article on the civil rights movements in Louisiana, with particular emphasis on the situation in Plaquamine, and your participation. Pending your approval of the idea, we have tentatively titled the article "The Other Louisiana Story".

The article, if you agree to write it, should be between ten and fifteen typewritten pages, double spaced. What you have to say on this matter will be a meaningful contribution to the forthcoming Southern Freedom Issue. The Winter Issue of FREEDOMWAYS goes to press about 1st December. We are anxious to have your thoughts on this matter at the earliest possible date.

Sincerely yours,

John Henrik Clarke

JOHN HENRIK CLARKE
Associate Editor

JHC/rnl

Shirley Graham, Editor • W. Alphaeus Hunton, Associate Editor • John H. Clarke, Associate Editor • Margaret Burroughs, Art Editor • Esther Jackson, Managing Editor

file S

January 7, 1964

Miss Clara Sheviakova
50 West 8th Street
New York 11, New York

Dear Miss Sheviakova:

Let me thank you for your thoughtful letters of September. I appreciate your comments very much and only regret that I have been unable to answer until now. Thanks also for your contribution. We certainly appreciate and need your support.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:lp

Enc. $5.00 ck

SEP 23 1963

50 West 8th Street
New York 11, N.Y.
September 22, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
Director of CORE

My Dear Mr Farmer,

In glancing over the copy of the letter of Sept 21, which I mailed to you yesterday, I see that I made an unclear statement. On the twenty-second line, counting from the bottom of the page, " that this resistance to civil rights is so closely related to a basic "----. In order to have the thought in this line consistent with the rest of the paragraph, I want to change it thus : strike out the words " this resistance " and instead have it read : " that the indifference to the struggle over civil rights is so closely related to a basic human problem." I was trying to discuss the reaction of the public at large to segregation and to give what I think xrxxxxxxxf is one of the chief reasons for lethargy in dealing with the problems. The phrase " this resistance to civil rights" is unclear and not pertinent to the point I was trying to make.

I have been speaking with a number of my friends who are acutely concerned and eager to help more than so far they have been able to do.
I am enclosing a check for five dollars in answer to a letter just received from CORE .
May I suggest that your list be checked to see if my name appears twice. I have sometimes obtained two sets of literature and have noticed that my name is spelled in two different ways. This would mean that your office wastes postage by sending literature twice.

Sincerely yours
Clara Sheviakova
Clara Sheviakova

SEP 23 1963

50 West 8th Street
New York City
September 21, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
Director of CORE
38 Park Row, NYC.

My Dear Mr. Farmer,

I telephoned your office yesterday with the hope of speaking with you but you were in conference. I wanted to comment upon your speech over the Barry Gray program on Thursday night. I called a close friend of mine yesterday and she said " tell Mr Farmer what you have just told me and in the same spontaneous way", so I phoned you. I do not know if I can recapture the mood I experienced yesterday--I am taken up right now with so many matters I have to accomplish today and tomorrow that I suppose the statements I wanted to make have lost their freshness and perhaps some of their spirit---what I will now write may be only " intellectual" ! Yet I think that it might be worthwhile to you and to the cause of Civil Rights for me to tell you of my reaction to your speech and to make a suggestion. I hope so.

I did not know that you were going to be on the Barry Gray program but since I usually listen to that program, I heard you and I am indeed very glad that I did. I did not turn on the radio in the very first minutes of your talk--I think I must have missed perhaps five minutes, and regret it. However, I was fascinated, enthralled, by your clear, concise, succinct and yet also vivid and emotionally stirring account of the terrible experience you had in Mississippi. You revealed intense and sincere feeling and yet you were not hysterical; you condemned the horrorof the destructive behaviour of the segregationists and yet you were not viciously vindictive because, I imagine, you have grasped the broad philosophical attitude of a wise person who realizes with more sadness than indignation--although he honestly admits indignation---that this resistance to civil rights is so closely related to a basic human problem. It is this fundamental refusal--I hate to use the word inability--of the average human being to concern himself about any matter which does not at the very moment he breathes, threaten him--which, I think, is at the bottom of the present lethargy on the part of the majority of American citizens. The psychologists tell us that there is a "good" reason for this refusal. Every human being is so harassed by the fear over survival--we do not know from one moment to the next what is going to happen---that we have no energy with which to gaze beyond the next moment of our lives if that moment happens to be a comfortable one !There are so many individuals in this country who are "sitting pretty", even in the midst of surrounding terror and they cannot bring themselves to give up their seats for any reason whatsoever. Frequently they do not see the surrounding terror at all and, if one calls their attention to it, they say yes, it is awful and something should be done but they cannot think what . Pointing out the fact that the civil rights of every American citizen are threatened if the civil rights of the negro people are not established, makes the least impression upon them, unless they happen to be in some minority group and often, even then, they are un-impressed because they may have attained some degree of security and comfort.

For a time I worked with the War Resisters' League and I remember the bland un-concern of many persons I met, over the threat of atomic war. I was shocked, distressed, indignant. Yet eventually I came to realize that this is typically human and one should take it as such and not permit oneself to become personally bitter. I get the impression that this is your attitude. Yet indeed we can not shrug it off as " just like human nature" and do nothing about it. I have belonged to CORE since the Freedom Rides and have made some contributions of money. Last year I could not be active because of obstacles in my own life which prevented my even working for five and a half months. This summer I was more active. I have written and telegraphed to the President of the United States and the attorney general and I managed to get forty signatures to a petition about civil rights. Yet, even with this interest and orientation on my part, I was profoundly shocked and horrified when I heard the account of your experience, almost as if it were the first time I had been aware of it ! I believe that this shows how important it is for the public to receive direct and vivid impressions of incidents. One can read about them in the newspaper or hear news reports but not be so shocked and stirred as one is when one gets a direct impression from radio or T.V. (I do not have T.V.). " How can this be permitted to happen " I kept thinking to myself with feelings of amazement over the lethargy of the government and elements of panic in my emotional reaction. I am quite sure that many persons in our Society reacted the way I did and many more would react like that if they had the experience of listening to you. Although I have been doing something to promote the passage of the civil rights bills, I felt aroused to do more and more and got into a whirl of thoughts about what more one can do. I have not reached any conclusions except one--could that first part of your interview with Barry Gray be recorded on separate tapes--fifteen minute tapes--and then maybe some plan could be made to hold meetings in which the tapes are heard so that more persons could be reached ? If you could also appear more often on T.V. and radio, that might be advisable.

My first impulse was to send another telegram to the President . However, I would like to know more about what you think the best action is to take at this time. One thinks first of the Government troops and yet maybe there is something better to do. I was attracted to the idea of cutting off U.S. funds to those states who are against integration since it seems to me that this is indicated. It is especially ridiculous to indulge a fantasy of a state which obviously wishes to have its cake and eat it too. They do not believe in the declaration of independence and the constitution and therefore do not accept the basic principles of this government and yet they want to belong for financial reasons. Of course, there are many individuals in the south who do support the civil rights movement and one should take this factor into account. I am not a student of political science or a lawyer so I am confused concerning the best way to follow. I will appreciate your suggestions and will do what I can with the social contacts I have. I do wish now to say this : I hope that you will take care to guard your life. This is very important. You are an unusual leader and your leadership is indispensable at this time. In closing I remember to say that I was impressed by your voice as well as by your forthright manner of speaking. It happens that I have been and still am in some degree, a student of voice culture and I appreciated the tonal quality of your voice and your diction and projection--you did not make the mistake of raising your pitch as even good speakers often do and you spoke flowingly. It was a wonderful, beautiful speech.. The best of wishes to you ,

Sincerely yours, Clara Sheviakova

Clara Sheviakova.

ℎ P

January 7, 1964

Mr. Milt Monson
1211 Roberts Road
Bridgeview, Illinois

Dear Mr. Monson:

I appreciated your note of support sent to me in the jail in Plaquemine. I am sorry that I was not able to acknowledge it sooner. The letters that I received from my many friends during that time were of great encouragement to me and to the others imprisoned with me.

Since my return I have written an account of the Louisiana project. I trust that you will find the enclosed pamphlet of interest.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:lp

encl:

Sun[illegible] Sept. 1

Dear James,

I'm writing you to let you know that you weren't forgotten at Washington, nor at the Chicago CORE rally La Thursday. And this is true for all the rest of the brothers and sisters in jail there. I hear there is sixty more there today. You're persecuted, but you ain't hardly lonely!

We in Chicago have mostly been only in Chicago jails, nothing like what you're in, but the fight is the same.

Enough sad talk. If all the people who were given your "address" on Thursday write to you, you're going to have some letters from some stone foxes! And I mean Miss Ann too, she's growing up into a human.

So many people got a cold at Washington, even James Baldwin, that any white guy in Chicago that's coughing and sniffing is now a brother.

On the way to Washington from Chicago, the club carriage (our "bar car") closed at midnight, but on the way back I know some guys that slept in the damn thing! There was one up-until-that-time quiet Italian guy from that Catholic ~~Interra~~ Interracial ~~Council~~ Council who offered to make everyone in the bar car "honourary Negros". I don't believe he was seeing to clear.

Right after we got on the train in Chicago CORE guys went through the train and told us that we ~~we~~ would meet in the bar car (you know) and sing ~~sang~~ all the way. Everyone else picked up the songs through us.

When we returned to Chicago we marched to around the Sun Times to protest their editorial. Well, "Later", if yours aren't out:

Their brother,

Milt Monson

P.S. Pass this around, it's a letter to every body.

file · P

January 7, 1964

Miss Carolann Sobers
44 Wellington Court
Brooklyn 30, New York

Dear Miss Sobers:

I appreciated your note of support sent to me in the jail in Plaquemine. I am sorry that I was not able to acknowledge it sooner. The letters that I received from my many friends during that time were of great encouragement to me and to the other imprisoned with me.

Since my return I have written an account of the Louisiana project. I trust that you will find the enclosed pamphlet of interest.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:lp

encl:

September 3, 1963

Dear Mr. Farmer.

I received your address at a CORE meeting in Chicago. When we were asked to write to you I laughingly thought what on earth could a man sitting in jail be interested in hearing from me. The obvious answer was nothing. But I decided to write, maybe it was because of the march, maybe because of the 3 hour N.B.C. report on the American Revolution of '63, maybe because the composite of these events left me with the feeling that I have done very little to help this movement that because of the color of my skin, alone will certainly affect me.

At any rate, here is the letter. And with it comes fondest regards and continued good wishes.

We shall overcome ———

Carolann Sohers

file P

January 7, 1964

Miss Pat Packard
1859 South Springfield
Chicago 23, Illinois

Dear Miss Packard:

I appreciated your note of support sent to me in the jail in Plaquemine. I am sorry that I was not able to acknowledge it sooner. The letters that I received from my many friends during that time were of great encouragement to me and to the others imprisoned with me.

Since my return I have written an account of the Louisiana project. I trust that you will find the enclosed pamphlet of interest.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:lp

encl:

1859 S. Springfield. Chic. 23. Ill. Sept. 5, 1963

Dear Mr Farmer,

I am a member of Chicago C.O.R.E. After hearing about your recent inprisonment I thought it necessary to write. I have been sent to jail once here in Chicago but I am sure that it was nothing compared to what you are going through. I admire you very much and I receive the stregnth to go on by your courage and sufferings. Please continue the fine work you are doing; and remember that the Chicago people and justice-seeking people all over the world are in your corner

Sincerely
Pat Packard.

file P

January 7, 1964

Mrs. Hazel Haynes
1159 Airport Drive
South Burlington
Vermont

Dear Mrs. Haynes:

I appreciated your note of support sent to me in the jail in Plaquemine. I am sorry that I was not able to acknowledge it sooner. The letters that I received from my many friends during that time were of great encouragement to me and to the others imprisoned with me.

Since my return I have written an account of the Louisiana project. I trust that you will find the enclosed pamphlet of interest.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:lp

encl:

August 28, 1963

Dear Sir:

I was deeply moved by your letter to the "March on Washington".

When I think of how very small are the sacrifices I make I feel that I should at least write and let you know that your sacrifice is not unnoticed. It makes me realize that I must make every effort to do all I can to see all of us truly free.

Although I am not in jail, I can say "well done"

May you be blessed in this unselfish effort.

Yours sincerely,

Hazel Haynes

file P

January 7, 1964

Mrs. Caroline Gunther
2120 East Tremont Avenue
Bronx, New York

Dear Mrs. Gunther:

I appreciated your kind comments about the radio program of September 15. While I am unable to give you a copy of the speech made at that time, I am enclosing a copy of my pamphlet about the experiences in Louisiana.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

encl:

2120 E. Tremont Ave.
Sept. 23, 1963

SEP 25 1963

Mr James Farmer

Dear Sir:

On Sun. Sept. 15th you spoke on an afternoon or early P.M. radio program. You told of your part in the teargas, water hose in the La. church, parish house & you get away in a hearse. It was so well given that I feel many up here don't realize how hard your race is driven down South. I would like a copy of that talk to show some of our church members. Can well see, we all must share this responsibility of seeing all get human and civil rights. Please send me the talk if possible.

2/ Enclosed is a notice we got in our church past Sun. Know many will attend. Are very anxious to see + hear what these Senators and Congressmen will have to say and offer. My biggest wish is to see some definite action taken that will have a marked effect on the Civil Rights bill. God grant you + your workers wisdom, faith, courage and trust in God's great promises.

Sincerely

Mrs Caroline Gunther

fil N

NORTH AMERICAN NEWSSPAPER ALLIANCE

January 7, 1963

Dr. Benjamin Fine
375 Brower Avenue
Rockville Centre
New York

Dear Dr. Fine:

I regret that your September letter to Mr. Farmer was not answered in time for your deadline. However, I would like to make a few comments which might briefly state CORE's position.

There are many fine Negro colleges in the United States. Most of these better ones are supported by the United Negro College Fund. Historically the role of these colleges has been played significant one. Without them, many of our Negro youngsters would have been denied an education. It appears to us that with this history and background, it would now be tragic for these colleges to pass from the scene. We do not believe, of course, that they should remain all-Negro colleges. We believe they should take their place in American society as desegregated colleges and universities. We hope that they can be integrated along with the primarily white colleges and that they will contine to meet the needs of Negro and white students.

Our position on state supported Negro colleges would be somewhat different. These colleges are primarily maintained by Southern states in order to preserve segregation. Unless the states, therefore, take sincere action to integrate all universities, we would see these Negro colleges as being a retrogressive force.

Again, let me express my regret that I was not able to have your inquiry answered sooner.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

NORTH AMERICAN NEWSPAPER ALLIANCE, INC.
230 WEST 41ST STREET • NEW YORK 36, N. Y.

BENJAMIN FINE, Ph.D.
Education Editor

Home Address:
375 BROWER AVENUE
ROCKVILLE CENTRE, N. Y.
Phone RO 4-9817

SEP 25 1963

September 18, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
President, Congress of Racial Equality

New York City

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am preparing a series of articles for North American Newspaper Alliance on the future of the all-Negro colleges in this country. I would very much like to get your reaction, as well as that of your organization, to these questions:

What is the long-range philosophy of these schools toward integration, do you believe there is a continuing need for all-Negro schools in an age when Negroes are finding it easier to get into white schools? How integrated do you believe the faculties are of the all-Negro colleges? Do the all-Negro colleges find it more difficult to get long-range financing because of their transitional status? Are Negroes contributing as heavily as they used to to these schools? Will the support of these schools lend to the freezing of the all-Negro college? What is the attitude of the Congress of Racial Equality or of its members to the all-Negro colleges?

Thank you for any cooperation or comments you may want to give me. Because of my deadline, I would appreciate receiving this information by October 1st. Again, my sincere appreciate to you.

Cordially,

Benjamin Fine

Benjamin Fine

P.S. Please send your comments to my home address, 375 Brower Avenue, Rockville Centre, N. Y.

file #1

January 7, 1964

Mr. Thomas A. Hopkins
Mount Mercy College
Pittsburgh 13, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Hopkins:

I'm sorry that your letter to Mr. Farmer in regard to Attorney General Robert Kennedy's role in the civil rights movement came at a time when he was unable to attend to it. I'm sure that you will understand that his schedule is very difficult. I assume that your request is no longer pertinent.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

SEP 26 1963

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September 24, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am involved in the process of writing an article on U. S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy's rôle in the civil rights movement. Two years ago I wrote an article for Today's Speech on Mr. Kennedy's speech of May 6, 1961 in Athens, Georgia.

In order to attempt to make an accurate analysis, it is essential that I secure the assessments of the Attorney General--with regard to civil rights--of those most concerned.

I would be much obliged, therefore, for your estimate of Mr. Kennedy's stewardship of the Department of Justice in connection with the civil rights issue.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas A Hopkins
Thomas A. Hopkins

Hd

JAN 13 1964

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DD191 D FWB161 LONG NL PD FORT WORTH TEX 10
JAMES FARMER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 PARK ROW PHONE CO 7-6270 NYK

WHEN YOU DEAL WITH DIFFERENT PARTIES YOU TAKE THEIR GENERAL BACKGROUND AND ACTIONS OVER THE PAST TO DECIDE HOW THESE PARTIES WILL DEAL WITH YOU IN THE FUTURE. SINCE CONGRESS; OUR LEADERS IN ARMED SERVICES; IN BUSINESS; RELIGIOUS LEADERS; LEADERS OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF OUR GOVERNMENT, AND IN THE FINANCIAL AND SOCIAL LIFE OF OUR NATION DEALT WITH THE NATIVE AMERICAN INDIAN FOR FOUR HUNDRED YEARS, LET'S TAKE A LOOK AT THAT PICTURE. I JUST DO NOT WANT TWENTY MILLION AMERICAN NEGROES TO GET FOLLED BY CROOKED POLITICIANS THAT ARE AFTER THE NEGRO VOTE MORE THAN THEY ARE FOR THE NEGROES INDIVIDUAL "RIGHTS". AFTER ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF SLAVE MORALITY AND SLAVE MENTALITY THE AMERICAN NEGRO DESERVES REAL FREEDOM. JOHN COLLIER, FORMER U. S. COMMISSIONER

OF INDIAN AFFAIRS WROTE A BOOK CALLED "INDIANS OF THE AMERICAE" WHICH I ADVISE EVERY NEGRO LEADER IN THE UNITD STATES TO READ. HE TELLS ABOUT FOUR CENTURIES OF COLLECTIVE CORRUPTION OF AMERICA INDIAN "RIGHTS", WHILE TREATY AFTER TREATY AND PROMISE AFTER PROMISE MADE BY CONGRESS WERE BROKEN AND ARMED FORCES WERE USED TO DRIVE THE INDIANS OFF THEIR OWN LAND, WHICH WAS LEGALLY THEIRS IN EVERY WAY, SHAPE, FORM AND FASHION.

THE INQUISITIONS, ACCORDING TO HIS BOOK, VISITED UPON INDIANS THROUGH OVER-PERSUASIONS, OR FORCE, DD NOT STEM FROM THE INQUISITORS LOVE OF THEIR FELLOW MAN BUT FROM A RUTHLESS, OVER-AMBITIOUS, SELF-LOVE THAT DEMANDED THE INDIAN DO WHAT MAN WANTED, AND NOT WHAT WAS GOD-GIVEN TO THE INDIAV LOVE OF GOLD; LOVE OF STATE; LOVE OF SELFV LOVE OF CHURCH OR POLITICAL POWER ALL CAME AHEAD OF THE GOD-GIEN RIGHTS OF FREEDOM, EQUALITY, INDIVIDUALISM, AND DIGNITY THE INDIAN KNE WERE HIS, SO HE WITHSTOOD FOUR CENTURIES OF OPPRESSION AND HELD HS HEAD HIGH FOR HE FELT HIS TRUST IN A DIVINE CREATOR WAS A SACRED TRUST THAT NO AMOUNT OF COMQUEST OR SPOILATION COULD SEVER. IF HE RETAINED HIS FAITH IN THE GREAT SPIRIT AND TREATED EVERY MAN WITH HONEST BROTHERHOOD THEN, NO MATTER WHAT HAPPENED, HE COULD GO TO THE GREAT SPIRIT WITH CALM CONFIDENCE. GOD GIVE US THAT FAITH TODAY.

IF THE AMERICAN INDIAN HAD HIS GOD-GIVEN RIGHTS RETURNED TO HIM TODAY THERE ARE PROBABLY HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF ACRES OF LAND STRETCHING ACROSS THIS VAST UNITED STATES THAT WOULD BE GIVEN BACK TO HIM. FOR TIME AFTER TIME, ACCORDING TO COLLIER'S RECORDS, THE WHITE MAN OF CONGRESS AND OUR EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT, MADE TREATY AFTER TREATY WITH THE INDIAN ONLY TO USE THE ARMED FORCES TO FORCIBLY, AND WITHOUT LEGAL RIGHT,

DRIVE HIM FROM THE LAND THAT CONGRESS GAVE HIM - WITHOUT ANY COMPENSATION WHATSOEVER. THERE NEVER WAS A GREATER THEFT.

READ THIS BOOK VERY CAREFULY FOR I FEAR THAT BOTH DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS ARE "CONNING" THE AMERICAN NEGRO LIKE THEY DID THE AMERICAN INDIAN ONLY TO, LATER ON, REPUDIATE THEIR "CAMPAIGN" TREATIES AND PROMISES. BE PREPARED FOR DISSAPPOINTMENTS IF THEY DO.

ONCE LYNDON JOHNSON TOLD THE VOTERS, "WE ARE IN NOW. WHAT ARE YOU GOING TO DO ABOUT IT?"

GOD DOES NOT BELIEVE IN THE "RIGHTS" OF ANY MAN BEING TRAMPLED FOR HE WANTS ALL OUR SOULS WITH HIM FR ALL ETERNITY. CHRIST DIED FOR YOU AND ME, AS INDIVIDUALS, AND NOT AS WHITES OR BLACKS OR BROWNS IN A SEGREGATED GROUP. AND THE SINS WE

COMMIT TWO BY TWO WE PAY FOR ONE BY ONE, INDIVIDUALLY, ON JUDGEMENT DAY. HAVE FAITH IN GOD ONLY AND DO NOT PUT TOO MUCH FAITH IN SELF-PERPETUATING POLITICIANS, BUSINESS LEADERS, OR DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE OFFICIALS WHEN THEY MAKE SUCH A BIG THING OUT OF "NEGRO RIGHTS" IN ALABAMA, THAT HAS VERY FEW ELECTORAL VOTES, AND THEN MINIMIZE THE "NEGRO RIGHTS" OF MANY STATES WHERE A LARGE NUMBER OF ELECTORAL VOTES MAY DECIDE AN ELECTION. HAVE FAITH IN GOD.

AFTER AN ELECTION IT'S TOO LATE TO REQUIRE A CONGRESSMAN TO "STAND UP" FOR YOUR RIGHTS AND EVERY CONGRESSMAN SHOULD BE FORCED TO VOTE BY NAME ON EVERY ISSUE AND ABOLISH EVERY "VOICE VOTE" THAT IS BEING HYPOCRITICALLY USED IN SENATE, HOUSE, AND IN STATE LEGISLATURES TODAY. GOD IS NOT FOLLED, NOR ARE THE TAXPAYERS FOLLED BY THIS HIDING BEHINDA "VOICE VOTE". IF

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM
W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

A MAN IS NOT HONEST ENOUGH TO LET THE WORLD KNOW HOW HE VOTES ON VARIOUS BILLS THEN HE HAS NO RIGHT TO BE IN ANY PUBLIC OFFICE. HIS CAMPAIGN PROMISES SHOULD BE BACKED UP BY HIS VOTES THROUGH HIS NAME, PUBLISHED IN THE RECORDS. OTHERWISE WE HAVE DECEITREPRESENTATIVES IN OUR STATE CAPITOLS AND IN WEHINGTON, D. C THAT REPREENT ONLY "VESTED INTERESTS" AND NOT THE TAX PAYERS

W R WIGHT P O DRAWER 150 BEAUMONT TEXAS TE 3-4586.

P

January 13, 1964

Banner Photographers
68 Nassau Street
New York City 38

Gentlemen:

This will confirm my order for 48 copies each of two poses of Mr. James Farmer, to be picked up tomorrow. I understand the price will be $125.

Sincerely yours,

Glenda Lubelsky
Secretaryto
James Farmer

January 14, 1964

Mrs. James Slater
Barlow Lane
Rye, New York

Dear Elaine:

Thanks for sending me the bit from New Orleans. This kind of thing is quite widespread in the South. I think that we should just ignore it and let them wallow in their own perverse humor.

It was a good vacation, though not long enough. Vacations never really are, I guess.

My best to Jimmy and the kids.

Cordially,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:lp

MRS. JAMES SLATER • BARLOW LANE • RYE, NEW YORK

Mr. James Farmer
Core
38 Park Row
New York City

JAN 7 1964

6 Jan 63

Dear Jim -

This was mailed to me over the holidays by a friend who went to New Orleans as you can see. Is there anything to be done to stop this — or should they be left to drown in their own bile?

Hope your vacation was a great success and that you had a real rest. Jimmy and I wish you and yours a prosperous, healthy & successful New Year!

Fondly,
E

Dear Elaine,

Louis & I are in New Orleans & just saw this unbelievable show. Three talented bigots doing a take-off on Negroes ("niggers" here) & the entire civil rights movement – a few double edged lines – but ending with Barnett's "final solution": an imported baker from Germany (swastika on apron) removing freedom riders by his ovens. A disgusting program – horrible in its implications, frightening in the enthusiastic audience reaction. Can CORE do anything (you would know whom to ask)?

It's been encouraging to find some young liberals in Memphis. They should be motivated into action – food for thought!

Will talk when we return to N.Y.C. —

Nancy Brenner

NOW IN ITS 3rd YEAR

THE ORIGINAL ABSINTHE BAR

New Orleans Only Cabaret Theatre

presents

THE FUDGERIPPLE FOLLIES

or

"NOBODY LIKES A SMART ASS"

A Musical Satire

MUSIC by: Wurlitzer & Plagarize

COSTUMES by: Goodwill & Salvation Army

LYRICS: Sam Adams

PLAY by: B. Benit & B. Holliday

ACT I

Scene I HEADQUARTERS M.A.A.C.P.
Martin Luther Queen - Bill Holliday
Lena Daze - Walter Perseveaux
Ghost Rider - Butch Benit

Scene II PIERRE'S PICKANINNY PARLOR
Pierre La Fairee - Bill Holliday
Lena Daze - Walter Perseveaux
Ghost Rider - Butch Benit

Scene III OFFICE OF VOTER REGISTRATION
Ghost Rider - Butch Benit
Lena Daze - Walter Perseveaux
Turner Downs - Bill Holliday

Scene IV ABOARD THE BUS
Lena Daze - Walter Perseveaux
Ghost Rider - Butch Benit

Intermission
10 Min.

ACT II

Scene I AT THE LUNCH COUNTER
Lena Daze - Walter Perseveaux
Ghost Rider - Butch Benit
Filthy McNasty - Bill Holliday

Scene II NATIONAL GUARD BARRACKS
Pvt. C. Chow Mein - Walter Perseveaux
Pvt. M. T. Pistola - Bill Holliday
Sgt. T. N. Crumpets - Butch Benit

Scene III THE CITIZENS COUNCIL
Paw Do - Butch Benit
Maw Do - Walter Perseveaux
Funkie Do - Bill Holliday

Scene IV GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
Boss Rawnet - Bill Holliday
Mystery Guest - ???????

THE END

COMPANY ASSISTANT - VIC RANDELL

January 15, 1964

Dr. Howard Schomer
The Chicago Theological Seminary
5757 University Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Dear Dr. Schomer:

Do forgive the delay in replying to your good letter of November 5, but the pressure of activities keeps me away from my desk a greater part of the time, and leaves me little opportunity to deal with my correspondence.

I regret that I do not know the names of any young people who might be interested in entering your seminary.

Thank you for suggesting that I address a SANE sponsored meeting. Unfortunately, my schedule is already fully booked through late spring.

My commendations on your fine work and dedication in the cause for which we are all fighting.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:lp

Booked until April

names?

NOV 12 1963

THE CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
5757 UNIVERSITY AVENUE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637 PLaza 2-5757

November 5, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
Congress on Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear James Farmer:

I am eager to have your help with a fundamental problem which may have more to do with the success or failure of several of our common causes than at first meets the eye: the location of outstanding young people who may have within them a life-long vocation in the realm of Christian witness and service.

In spite of the sluggish performance of many religious groups and professed Christians in years past, any objective observer must at present be struck by the amount and the calibre of leadership which church people, many of them ordained ministers, are now pouring into the great battle for man, on every front. Civil rights, civil liberties, racial justice, world peace, international understanding, inter-faith rapprochement - all such enterprises are bringing forth an ever-increasing involvement of church leadership.

The full realization of the promise inherent in this encouraging development depends upon a fuller flow of able youth into the kind of seminaries which prepare religious leaders for this kind of service in the church and in the world. At Chicago Seminary we are trying to do just this. Take a look at the documents hereinclosed if you would like to know better how we conceive the task of basic theological education.

It is no secret that seminary enrollments have been stagnant in this country for the last eight years. We are concerned to bring to our school not great numbers of additional students, but a few more of outstanding capacity who have already been deeply involved in the kind of battle for man which you and your organization so well symbolize.

My request is urgent, but it is simple: will you send me by the end of November the names and addresses of the five young people, whatever their race, religious affiliation, region, or sex, whom you could best envisage as students in this Seminary, preparing for a life-time of Christian service in this country or overseas? I will write each one personally, send him the booklet "Radical Response to Crisis," and a description of our admissions requirements and scholarship program.

If you will take time now to help me with this long-rang program, I shall be most grateful. There may be nothing more truly constructive that any of us can do.

Yours cordially,

Howard Schomer

Howard Schomer

HS: yl
inc.

P.S. As an officer of the Chicago Committee on a SANE Nuclear Policy, I would like to encourage a commingling of SANE and integrationist workers in this area. May I take this occasion to ask whether you could possibly set aside an evening, about the middle of this winter, to address a SANE-sponsored meeting on the role of non-violence in the battle for world peace + social freedom?

JF pers

January 18, 1966

Mr. Simon Obi Anekwe
533 Vanderbilt Avenue
Brooklyn, New York 11238

Dear Mr. Anekwe,

I have your letter of January 3, regarding your nephew Felix Edwin Egboaka Anekwe. I shall be glad to do what I can to help obtain a scholarship for him at Pace College, though you must understand that I can not guarantee anything. All that I can do is write a letter to Pace urging that he be considered for a scholarship. In order to do that I will need to have some bibliographical information about your nephew, especially including his educational background, interests and work experience.

As soon as I have received this information I shall be in a position to follow up this matter.

Sincerely yours,

JF:nrh

James Farmer
National Director

JAN 5 1966

533 Vanderbilt Avenue
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11238
January 3, 1966

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress Of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10007

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Greetings and best wishes for a happy New Year -- one that will advance your personal happiness as well as the cause to which you have dedicated yourself for a quarter century.

I write, as we agreed that I do, to follow up our brief conversation after that pre-Christmas "Schenley Boycott" press conference you gave at CORE headquarters together with Dr. Wiley and Mr. Norman. I had taken the occasion to ask that you help me in my efforts to help my relatives in Nigeria acquire higher education here, by obtaining a scholarship award for one of my nephews at Pace College. I explained that I could only bring them over to study here on that basis.

You readily agreed and asked me to send you a note about the matter. The nephew in question is Felix Edwin Egboaka Anekwe, now working at the Department of Marketing and Exports, 72 Campbell Street, Lagos, Nigeria. I would like to get him on the undergraduate business administration program for the academic year starting in September.

You will, I trust, recall who I am : the Nigerian reporter on the staff of the Amsterdam News. Thank you for helping.

Very sincerely yours,
Simon Obi Anekwe
Simon Obi Anekwe

JAN 21 1963

File

2126 Roosevelt
Berkeley 3, Calif.
January 18, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
National Director CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Jim:

straighten out

I am sorry to bother you on such a trifling matter but since we know each other pretty well I hoped you might help me out and cut through the red tape which seems to have national CORE hopelessly ensnarled. This is the fourth time it have written the national office (Ihave written the regional office once) asking for the forms on which to report names and receipts for associate memberships. Once I wrote by postcard, the next time I wrote a general letter to several people at once, the last time I wrote Marvin and now I am trying you in despair. Perhaps it would be an incentive to national CORE to know that once I get these forms plus a scheduel which says how much is owing for each type of associate memberships then I will remit some MONEY to national CORE.

Please help me. I do not know if you know that I am being charged with all kinds of heinous deeds such as rigging elections (I didn't), embezzeling funds(I haven't), and general inefficiency (true - that is why I am resigning as Treasurer - I am too busy) by a disappointed office seeker, Oscar Gooch by name whom, I understand, has even sent his charges to national CORE. I feel very sorry for Oscar who is a bit on the nutty side but a sympathetic character nevertheless whom I used to cherish as some kind of friend but be that as it may, I have enough of the instinct of self-preservation not to wish to lend creditability to his charges. So as a last despairing act in office I would like to try to straighten out the matter of associate memberships with national CORE, It would do may morale a world of good to have those forms in my hand and be able to fill them out and send them in together with a CHECK to national CORE.

In the meantime, I am continuing my practice of sending in names, addresses of new associate members in the hope that the bureaucracy somewhere is functioning and that these names get put on lists even though we never know about it.

I may have sent in a few of these before. In my inefficient way I didn't make carbons (but I do have a carbon copy of this letter.)

Gene Bernardi 1723 Parlser St. Berkeley Calif.
Alyce Slosberg 648 Alcatraz Ave. Oakland 9, Calif.
Mrs. Mary Lee Austin 1932 Parker St. Berkeley 4, Calif.

Miss Jean Reese and Mrs. Doroty Bouie, Jr. 516-98th Ave. Oakland Calif.
Ed Berman 2445 Derby St. Berkeley 5, Calif.
Livingston E. Beane 2519 Etna Berkeley 4, Calif.

Thank you for any assistance you can give me.

Yours for freedom sooner or later,

Genevieve Hughes

JF pers

January 18, 1966

Kivie Kaplan
% Safety Harbor Spa
Safety Harbor, Florida

Dear Kivie,

Thank you for your nice note of January 5. You requested my home address and it is as follows:

James Farmer
165 Park Row
New York 38, NY

Let me take this opportunity to congradulate you on your election as President of the NAACP. I know that the Association will go far under your dedicated leadership.

Cordially yours,

JF:nrh

James Farmer
National Director

D P
HOTEL DUPONT PLAZA
Dupont Circle at Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D. C. 20036
TELEPHONE (202) 483-6000 • TELETYPE 965-0365

1/5/66

Dear Jim:

Congratulations on your new position. I know you will do a grand job on this as you do on anything you undertake.

Please send me your home address.

I will be working for the NAACP in Florida till 3/18.

My address there is
c/o Safety Harbor Spa
Safety Harbor, Florida

Best to you and the family

Yours for equality

Kivie

NO CHARGE FOR CHILDREN UNDER 14 YEARS OF AGE WHEN OCCUPYING ROOM WITH PARENTS

Gordon

File

January 20, 1964

Mr. Mahlon S. Minter
715 Tennessee Street
Lawrence, Kansas

Dear Mr. Minter:

The following material accompanies this letter: "All About CORE," "This is CORE," "CORE Rules for Action," "Principles of CORE," and "They Didn't Fight Back."

I agree with you that it would be valuable to supplement this material with a personal interview. I will not be in New York during the week that you visit, but will arrange with Mr. Gordon Carey, Assistant National Director, for an interview on Friday, February 21st. I wish you m uch success in your research. Be assured that we will do all we can to help.

Sincerely,

Richard Haley,
Associate National Director

RH: AS
CC: Gordon Carey
Enc.

THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
LAWRENCE

JAN 16 1964

January 12, 1964

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38,
New York

Dear Sir:

In relation to my letter of November 7, both the research on my M.A. thesis and the plans for my proposed trip to the East coast are proceeding satisfactorily. Dr. Jahn A. Morsell (NAACP) has confirmed February 17 as the date which would best suit him for a personal interview. In view of this, I am planning to spend that week, February 17-22, in New York, and I would like very much to meetaand talk with some member of your organization.

In case my original letter did not come to your attention, the purpose of my thesis is to determine as nearly as possible the role or importance of the concept of non-violence as a means by which minority groups may attain specific objectives in a constitutional democracy. Furthermore, since the organized Negro movement in the United States has used this idea with great success during the past five years, I am especially interested in your attitudes and opinions concerning the importance of the use of non-violent resistance as a method of obtaining guaranteed constitutional rights.

If any member of your organization would care to discuss further any aspect of this subject, I would welcome the suggestion of suitable dates, and will confirm them as quickly as possible.

Sincerely,

Mahlon S. Minter
736 North Third
Lawrence, Kansas

THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
LAWRENCE

Nov. 7, 1963

Mr. James Robinson
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38,
New York

Dear Mr. Robinson:

I am now beginning research on my M.A. thesis at the University of Kansas. The purpose of the research being to determine as nearly as possible the role or importance of the concept of non-violence as a means by which minority groups may attain specific objectives in a constitutional democracy. Since the organized Negro movement in the United States has used this idea with great success during the past [illegible] years, I am especially interested in your attitudes and opinions concerning the importance of the use of non-violent resistance as a method of obtaining guaranteed constitutional rights.

More specifically, because of the special emphasis the Congress of Racial Equality attaches to the use of the idea of non-violent resistance as a means of attaining these rights, I am interested in obtaining any material (speeches, articles, pamphlets, etc.) from your organization which would clarify your position and/or aid me in my research. If you would send such material to me, I will be happy to pay any expenses which are incurred.

Also, if your schedule permits, I would like to obtain an interview with you or some other spokesman for your organization at either your national headquarters or some other place of your choosing for the purpose of further understanding the importance which CORE attaches to the concept of non-violent resistance in both your specific organization and the Negro movement as a whole. As I am limited to a certain extent by distance, my regular class-work, and the fact that there are several other organizations which I hope to contact on the same trip, I was wondering if you could give me several dates during the month of February which would suit you. Or, if this period of time is already filled, could you propose a date which would be suitable to you? I was hoping that with a little luck I might be able to arrange several interviews within a one or two week period. In any case, I should be able to confirm any dates sometime early in December.

Sincerely,

Mahlon S. Minter
715 Tennessee St.
Lawrence, Kansas

c

January 20, 1964

Mr. Edmond F. Rovner
Civic Affairs
1126 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 36, D. C.

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your nice letter of January 9. I appreciate your comments on my proposal for remedial education and special training.

I am also glad to get your suggestion about some of our people in New Jersey talking with Joe Minish. I shall certainly pass this information on to Bob Curvin, who is Chairman of our Newark Chapter. In addition, I am turning it over to James McCain, our Director of Organization, who has developed liaison with the ARA.

Best of luck. I hope our paths cross again soon.

Cordially,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

cc: McCain
Curvin

JAN 13 1964

LEGISLATION • POLITICAL EDUCATION • CIVIL RIGHTS

CIVIC AFFAIRS

IUE•AFL-CIO 1126 16th ST., N.W. • WASHINGTON 36, D.C. • EXECUTIVE 3-6094
JAMES B. CAREY, *CHAIRMAN* • EDMOND F. ROVNER, *DIRECTOR*

January 9, 1964

Mr. James Farmer,
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Jim:

First, let me congratulate you on your proposal for special training for those who have been culturally deprived. The highest tribute to it is the fact that it was reflected in President Johnson's proposal and that a radio commentator here in Washington described it as "Jim Farmer's plan".

I am writing specifically to call your attention to the fact that Newark, New Jersey was recently declared eligible for Area Redevelopment Agency assistance. This was the fruit of a long campaign by Congressman Joe Minish of the Eleventh District of New Jersey. Joe is a member of IUE and is one of those guys who makes no apologies for coming from the ranks of the labor movement. He was on line to sign the discharge petition when Congressman Celler put it on the desk in the House of Representatives.

I think that some of your people in New Jersey might find it fruitful to talk with Joe about how ARA assistance could most effectively be translated into help for minority group people who need jobs and training. I know this is near and dear to his heart.

I hope that this letter finds you in the best of health. We all need your energy and imagination for the struggles that still lie ahead.

As ever,

Ed

Edmond F. Rovner
Director

Cunni
u, McCain

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pla

"OUR GOAL IS FULL CITIZENSHIP FOR ALL"

B

January 20, 1964

Mr. M. Kenneth Boss
130 Montague Street
Brooklyn 1, N.Y.

Dear Ken:

Do forgive the delay in responding to your letter of December 24, but it arrived while I was away on a brief vacation, and has just come to my attention.

The proposed series of forums sounds extremely interesting, and I would be willing to act as sponsor, on the understanding, of course, as you stated, that sponsorship does not indicate approval of the views expressed by the speakers.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

M. KENNETH BOSS

ATTORNEY AT LAW

130 MONTAGUE STREET
BROOKLYN 1, NEW YORK
Telephone: MAin 4-4483

December
24th,
1963.

Mr. James Farmer
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

DEC 26 1963

Dear Jim:

A series of forums have been scheduled in the area between Brooklyn Heights and Bedford Stuyvesant to appeal to working class and minority groups on the basic issues facing them. These forums will be sponsored by the Socialist Party of Brooklyn, but will have as speakers men and women of a liberal point of view.

We would like to obtain as many sponsors as we can, without personal obligations to the forums, from different sectors of our society. We expect acceptances at the moment from such people as Bayard Rustin, Richard Mendes, Donald Harrington. We have already received the acceptances of Norman Thomas, Reverend David M. Corey, Gonzales Malo, Dr. Harry Laidler, and Richard Parrish.

I have been designated to ask you, Leroy Bowman, Norman Mailer, and Jules Feiffer.

The opening forum is scheduled for the latter part of January, 1964, with, it is hoped, as speakers, Norman Thomas and Bayard Rustin. Your acceptance would not mean your approval of all the opinions stated by the speakers at these forums, but your approval of an open forum where the serious issues of the day can be discussed in a democratic open manner.

I would appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience. Many happy returns of the season.

Sincerely,

Ken

M. KENNETH BOSS

MKB
:
ss

M

January 22, 1964

Miss Pauli Murray
Senior Fellow
Yale University Law School
New Haven, Conn.

Dear Pauli:

Thanks for your letter of November 20 and forgive the delay in replying.

I have read with much interest the clippings which you sent me, and think that you are essentially correct in the views which are expressed. I doubt, however, that discrimination against women in the civil rights movement is a matter of design in any but a few cases. It has been more a matter of neglect and a case of preoccupation with another problem, so let's stop the neglect and wipe out the preoccupation.

Cordially,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:lp

P.S. I think CORE is ahead of the other organizations in this field with the possible exception of SNCC.

Yale University *New Haven, Connecticut*

LAW SCHOOL

NOV 2 1 [illegible]

November 20, 1963

Dear Jim Farmer:

The point of view reported in the attached clippings is pretty widespread among Negro women leaders. I therefore suggest that you give it your most thoughtful consideration.

Warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Pauli M

Pauli Murray
Senior Fellow

Mr. James L. Farmer
National Director
C.O.R.E.
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

THE EVENING STAR
Washington, D. C.
Friday, Nov. 15, 1963
D-9

Rights Leaders Bypass Women, Session Is Told

By ISABELLE SHELTON
Star Staff Writer

Negro women are being largely ignored in the civil rights drive, speakers at the National Council of Negro Women's convention complained yesterday.

"What emerges most clearly from events of the past several months is the tendency to assign women to a secondary, ornamental or 'honoree' role instead of the partnership role in the civil rights movement which they have earned by their courage, intelligence and dedication," delegates were told by Miss Pauli Murray, a distinguished Negro woman lawyer, who has done basic research books on laws governing segregation.

It was "bitterly humiliating" for Negro women "to see themselves accorded little more than token recognition in the historic March on Washington," Miss Murray told the group, which is meeting at the Statler-Hilton Hotel.

"Not a single woman was invited to make one of the major speeches or to be part of the delegation of leaders who went to the White House," she said. The "omission was deliberate," she added, as "representations for recognition of women were made to the policy-making body" in plenty of time.

The civil rights revolt, "like many social upheavals, has released powerful pentup emotions, cross currents, rivalaries and hostilities," Miss Murray said.

Jockeying for Position

"In emerging from an essentially middle class movement and taking on a mass character, it has become a vehicle to power and prestige and contains many of the elements of in-fighting that hove characterized labor's emergence or the pre-independence African societies. There is much jockeying for position as men push their way to leadership roles."

Part of this, the speaker conceded, "reflects the Negro male's normal desire to achieve a sense of personal worth and recognition of his manhood by a society which has so long denied it."

But this poses for the Negro woman the question of whether she is "losing or gaining ground in the transition . . . to an integrated society" she added.

Most of the emphasis in the civil rights drive has been for more jobs for men, Miss Murray suggested, even though various factors "have combined to make the Negro woman the responsible family head in more than one-fifth of all non-white families."

It is "crystal clear" that Negro women "can no longer postpone or subordinate the fight against discrimination because of sex to the civil rights struggle, but must carry on both fights simultaneously," she said.

Excess of Females

A "particular problem" for Negro women, the speaker suggested, is that the 1960 census shows there are 645,000 more Negro females than Negro males.

There is an excess of white females over white males, too, she said, but only "in the middle and later years."

For Negroes, "the excess is present for every age group over 14, and is greatest in the 15-44 group "which covers the college and generally marriageable years," she said.

Thus, "the Negro woman cannot assume with any degree of confidence that she will be able to look to marriage for either economic or emotional support," Miss Murray said. "She must prepare to be self-supporting and to support others" and hence "has no alternative but to insist upon equal opportunities without regard to sex in training, education and employment at every level."

Dr. Jeanne L. Noble, assistant professor at New York University's Center for Human Relations Studies, agreed with Miss Murray that women were "relegated to the back seats" in the stepped-up civil rights drive.

But this may be good, she said, "if by being bypassed we free our men to take the lead, and once and for all put to rest the myth of the Negro matriarchy."

The myth, she said, "has been used to beat Negro women over the head, away from Ph.D.'s, M.D.'s, and other fields of higher learning."

The group also heard yesterday from William Welsh, administrative assistant to Senator Philip Hart of Michigan, and Dr. Grace L. Hewell, program co-ordinator for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Mr. Welsh urged the group to "think beyond" the civil rights bill, which he said would solve many problems in the South but have "little or no benefit for Negroes in big Northern cities."

There are many Federal programs now on the books which would help Negroes in large cities, he said, but it takes "infinite patience" to find and develop them.

He suggested the women pursue these objectives back in their local communities.

The Washington Post
Friday, November 15, 1963
C2

In Civil Rights Drive

Women Are Left in Back Row

By Sue Cronk

NEGRO MEN are assigning their women to "secondary, ornamental" roles in the civil rights movement, a leading Negro lawyer charged yesterday.

"It was bitterly humiliating for Negro women on Aug. 28 to see themselves accorded little more than token recognition in the historic March on Washington," Pauli Murray told the National Council of Negro Women.

"Not a single woman was invited to make one of the major speeches or to be part of the delegation of leaders who went to the White House," the senior fellow at Yale University Law School said.

Their omission was "deliberate," she added, singling out A. Philip Randolph, chief of the March leaders, for extra criticism.

Two days before the March, she said, Randolph spoke to the National Press Club "in the face of strong protest by organized newspaperwomen at the club . . . sends women reporters who cover its luncheons to the balcony. Mr. Randolph apparently saw no relationship between being sent to the balcony and being sent to the back of the bus."

This was not an isolated incident, Miss Murray said. "Women who have been active in local branches of the NAACP have observed the efforts of men to push them out of positions of leadership."

Miss Murray, who was a member of the Committee on Civil and Political Rights of the President's Commission on the Status of Women, also challenged recent statements by James Meredith that women and children should not be used "in certain exposed roles in our fight."

"All Negroes are born involved in the civil rights fight and exposed to its dangers," she said.

"Ironically enough, the very presence of women and children in the demonstrations has doubtless minimized the violence and aroused the sympathies of the American public."

AN EDUCATOR who also addressed the Council's 28th national convention yesterday at the Statler-Hilton agreed with Miss Murray that the Negro woman's "influence in the movement is being relegated to the back seat."

But Jeanne L. Noble, associate professor at New York University's Center for Human Relations Studies, said it "may be a good thing."

"Perhaps her absence (from movement leadership) means a new emancipation for Negro men from the image of a matriarchial family life," she said.

"This may free our men to feel adequate and decisive. Perhaps now they can see us as partners in progress instead of as 'those matriarchs.'"

Miss Noble, who was a member of the Committee on Federal Employment of the President's Commission on the Status of Women, admitted, however, that "it is a pity to be unappreciated for the work we and our mothers have done to bring our race this far. A male doesn't become adequate by making a female feel inadequate."

Much of the Council convention has been devoted—both in panel discussions and in casual conversation between delegates — to the problems Negro women face because of the matriarchial structure of their family lives.

THE GENERAL CONSENSUS is that Negro women can't appreciably better their own status until they have helped their men to improve theirs.

But several voices have warned against the possible tendency of Negro women to hang back until their men get ahead. As Miss Murray put it yesterday:

"Bearing in mind that everything possible must be done to encourage Negro males to develop their highest educational potential and to accept their family responsibilities and feel secure in their marital relationships, Negro women have no alternative but to insist upon equal opportunities without regard to sex in training, education and employment at every level.

"This may be a matter of sheer survival," she said. "And these special needs must be articulated by the civil rights movement so that they are not overlooked."

DELEGATES also were told yesterday by Grace L. Hewell, program coordinator for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and William Walsh, administrative assistant to Sen. Philip A. Hart (D-Mich.) how to use existing Federal legislation to discourage discrimination in their local communities.

Misc

JAN 23 1964

L52d

LUTHER COLLEGE DECORAH, IOWA

January 24, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

This is to follow up our telephone conversation concerning faculty for our Behavioral Sciences Institute. We are most grateful to you for any assistance you can offer us.in what will be, we hope, a most exciting educational program.

I am enclosing a copy of a letter of invitation which we would extend to any nominees you would propose. In addition, I am sending you, under separate cover, copies of a brochure describing the college.

We would also be interested in knowing of your availability for a short visit this summer. I will not propose specific dates at this time, but I know that the participants in the Institute would welcome the opportunity to meet with you. We shall also have a large number of Norweigan school teachers on the campus who are here to study the American educational system and also would also be very interested in your analyses of the race probelm.

Thank you very much for your interest in our work at Luther College.

Sincerely yours,

David C Johnson

David C. Johnson
Director of the Summer Session

DJ:sa

January 24, 1964

This summer Luther College will sponsor a rather unusual educational venture, a six-week Institute in the Behavioral Sciences. We plan to assemble on our campus three outstanding scholar-teachers who will offer courses and engage in dialogue together on subjects of common concern.

The purpose of this letter is to inquire if you would be willing to serve as Guest Professor in the Behavioral Sciences Institute. We would ask you to offer one three-credit elective in an area of your own choice and specialization. Ideally, this should be a course not normally available to undergraduates. In addition, we are asking each member of the Institute to direct students in independent readings and study in the general area of race and minority relations. Each of our invitations for faculty is to a person presumed to have special enthusiasm for conversation with students and his fellow scholars on the subject of minority group problems.

The students invited to this Institute would come from many colleges and universities. We are planning extensive publicity for the program, seeking undergraduates who are majoring in the social sciences and who would be attracted by the opportunity for specialized courses, reading, and conversation.

The Institute will begin on Monday, June 15, 1964 and extend through Friday, July 24. The formal course will meet each morning, five days a week. Conferences with students and public dialogue will be arranged at other times.

The Institute has already been underwritten with a grant from the Lutheran Brotherhood Insurance Company of Minneapolis. We are prepared to offer you a salary of $1000 for your six weeks' participation in the program.

I am enclosing materials about the college and the community under separate cover. Please call me collect (Area Code 319, 382-3621, ext. 278) or write me if there are questions I may answer concerning this invitation. I shall look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

David C. Johnson
Head, Department of Sociology and
Director, the Behavioral Sciences
Institute

File

Carey

January 31, 1964

Mr. Lucian Richards
5191 Enright Avenue
St. Louis 8, Mo.

Dear Mr. Richards:

I appreciate your sending me your letter of January 13. It is very helpful to us to have your statement of the situation in St. Louis and of the role played by Gene Tournour and Winston Lockett.

Thank you for clarifying the matter. Your request that Gene and Winston remain in St. Louis to help in the current struggle is being referred to Jim McCain, the Director of Organization.

I look forward to seeing you at the Convention, if not sooner.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

cc: James McCain
Gordon Carey
Richard Haley
Marvin Rich

Mr. James Farmer January 13, 1964

That the fines for all persons except those of the field representatives and a few others were paid by CORE, which demanded their release because their continued incarceration would have been useless and not in the best interest of the local chapter.

Sincerely yours,

Lucian Richards, Chairman,
St. Louis CORE

LR/bg

JAN 21 1964

5191 Enright Avenue
Saint Louis 8, Missouri
January 13, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

It was brought to my attention today that Mr. Charles Oldham has been communicating with the national office. The purpose of this communication I understand was to inform you of particular facts of the struggle here in Saint Louis.

I feel that I am in a position as chairman of St. Louis CORE to evaluate and present the situation as it exists here. Any criticism voiced does not reflect the concensus of St. Louis CORE.

St. Louis CORE unanimously passed the following resolution:

We, the membership of St. Louis CORE do hereby resolve that we stand forthrightly behind the persons who planned and executed and participated in the demonstration of New Year's Eve on St. Louis City Hall. We also affirm that the objectives to be attained were in line with the current goals of St. Louis CORE and were reasonably calculated to achieve these ends.

That fines paid to obtain the release of field representatives Winston Lockett and Eugene Tournour were derived from an anonymous benefactor. These fines were not taken from the CORE treasury or the legal defense fund.

That we are grateful for the invaluable assistance rendered to St. Louis CORE and the entire community by Eugene Tournour and Winston Lockett. Therefore, we wish to commend both field representatives for their inspired, intelligent and courageous guidance in our current struggle for social equality. We respectfully request that they remain in St. Louis in order to help us continue the life and death struggle in which we are currently involved.

February 5, 1964

Mr. James Holloway
66 West Tremont Avenue
Bronx, N. Y. 10453

Dear Mr. Holloway:

This office does not have information regarding the hiring policies of Interstate Engineering Corporation in Anaheim, California. I am forwarding your note and a copy of this letter to Mr. Chet Duncan, our West Coast Regional Field Secretary. If Mr. Duncan can secure the desired information, I will ask him to work directly with you.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

cc: Mr. Chet Duncan

file - fan letters

February 6, 1964

Mrs. Ralph Talley
83-09 Talbot Street
Kew Gardens, Long Island
New York

Dear Mrs. Talley:

Mr. Farmer has asked me to respond to your November 22nd letter and to apologize for not having answered it sooner.

When CORE proposes preferential treatment, we do not propose that persons unqualified for a job be given that job. In the field of unemployment, our suggestions are that companies should seek out qualified Negro and other non-white personnel, and if necessary, help train minority group members, if none are already available.

The incidents that you report are, or course, examples of the harmful results of discrimination. We feel that minority group members who have so long been denied opportunities for jobs, training, educationsand decent housing and social conditions must be given a chance now.

For your information, I am enclosing a pamphlet, "All About CORE."

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP
Enc.

NOV 26 1963

83-09 Talbot St.
Kew Gardens. L.I.
Nov. 22, 1963

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Last week I heard you on T.V. on "Ladies of the Press." You stated you are for preferential treatment of the Negroes — I agree with you that much has to be done to help them, but after I tell you of two recent experiences I wonder what your attitude should be, or what that of the whites should be.

1. A friend went to the

post office where she bought several stamps each at different prices - The negro who waited on her couldn't add the prices and she had to do it -

2. A friend went to Shraffts and bought two different kinds of candy - She was short changed by 50¢ - again she had to do the arithmetic - Should these people get preferential treatment? Yes, as far as schooling, but no in employment if they are not qualified to do the job -

Yours truly,
(Mrs) Ralph Talley

PLEASE REPLY TO
CHARLES H. KERRIGAN, DIRECTOR
REGION No. 9-A UAW-AFL-CIO
393 SEVENTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 1, NEW YORK
PENNSYLVANIA 6-8077

FEB 7 1964

UAW

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA-UAW

WALTER P. REUTHER.........PRESIDENT
EMIL MAZEY......SECRETARY-TREASURER
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PAT GREATHOUSE.......VICE-PRESIDENT
LEONARD WOODCOCK..VICE-PRESIDENT

February 6, 1964

Miss Lubelsky
Congress of Racial Equality

$100.00 Due for 4 tickets to Regions 9 and 9-a Awards Dinner

Please issue check payable to: Regions 9 and 9-a Citizenship Award Fund

Thank you.

February 11, 1964

Miss Julia Lewis
405 Robertson Street
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Julia:

I was highly honored to be asked to speak at Lexington CORE's annual banquet, but I just discovered that I am taking a week's vacation then, and my wife would kill me if I left town. Neither Farmer nor Haley are available either.

Robert B. Gore will be coming. Bob is one of Marvin's assistants and is an excellent speaker. I believe that for your program he is the ideal choice. You can consider this confirmed; Bob already has the appointment on his calendar.

Before then I will be seeing you at the NAC meeting here in New York. I am assuming that you will need housing and am reserving a room. Please do return the card to me as soon as you can.

Best wishes,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

Enc.

cc: Mimi Hernandez

OFFICE OF DOCTORAL STUDIES

STUDENT WORKROOM

TEACHERS COLLEGE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

FEB 13 1964

February 12, 1964

Mr. George R. Corey
Assistant to the National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Corey:

Enclosed is a profile of your organization which I have prepared from the information in the completed questionnaire and other material you sent at my request. The profile is being sent to you at this time for your verification before it is included in my doctoral thesis based on the study of national groups which have programs involving college and university students in social and political action. The carbon is for your files.

As I indicated in my original letter, it is hoped plans for publication of this study will materialize since my Committee and I feel this will serve as a guide to college and university staff and students interested in this type of activity. I would like to have your approval before this profile is included in any publication.

You will note the profile does not include all the information requested in the questionnaire. Many of the questions were included in an attempt to describe the present state of student social and political activity. Naturally, any reference to your organization in these generalizations about student involvement would be general in nature.

Would you please read the profile and make any necessary corrections within the areas presented. The attached sheet of information lists the format of the profile. Please sign the attached form and return it along with the profile to indicate your approval of the profile as presented or corrected for inclusion in the doctoral thesis and whatever publication may develop from it.

May I ask that you return the profile to me no later than February 21, 1964 in the enclosed self-addressed stamped envelop. If I do not hear from you by February 21, 1964, I will assume that the profile meets with your approval.

I am very pleased you have cooperated in making this study possible. I extend my very sincere appreciation to you.

Most sincerely,

E. Richard Covert

E. Richard Covert

Encls. Profile (2)
Approval form
Return envelop

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

38 Park Row, New York, New York 10038

Floyd B. McKissick, Chairman

James Farmer, National Director, /19 /

1942
1944-assumed present name.

OBJECTIVES: The Congress of Racial Equality is an inter-racial group which works to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods.

MEMBERSHIP: Students participate in all phases of the national organization. There are approximately twenty campus chapters. In order to affiliate, a chapter must have ten active members, pay an annual fee of ten dollars, contribute ten percent of its income to national CORE, and have an approved constitution and program.

It is impossible to determine the total number of students who participate in CORE but it is estimated at several thousand.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT: Individual contributions and membership dues account for three quarters of the budget. The remaining amount comes from the sale of publications, chapter dues, meetings and conferences, and contributions from other organizations. Financial reports are requested from local chapters. The national assists locals in fund raising projects and offers financial assistance for special projects.

POLICY DEVELOPMENT: All chapters, including student chapters, have five votes at the national convention, which is the highest policy making body of CORE. Students may and do hold any of the national offices in CORE and serve on the National Action Council. This council develops program and determines policy on issues which arise between conventions.

Chapters may take official stands on local social and political issues providing these stands do not conflict with national policy.

PROGRAM: CORE sponsors sit-ins, pickets and other direct action demonstrations and educational programs at both the national and local levels. It initiates legal action and lobbies to further the integration cause. Local groups provide the base of action.

PUBLICATIONS: CORE-lator, /(19)/, eight times a year.

February 17, 1964

Mr. Alex Poinsett
Ebony Magazine
1820 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 16, Ill.

Dear Mr. Poinsett:

I am returning herewith the form indicating the ten living white persons I feel have done most to help the Negro.

I must apologise for the delay in getting this back to you, but my impossible schedule keeps me away from my desk most of the time.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

Steve Allan
Justice Hugo Black
Marlon Brando
Harry Golden
Jack Greenberg
Hubert Humphrey
Ralph McGill
Walter Reuther
Frank Sinatra
Lillian Smith

Ebony

JAN 20 1964

January 15, 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer: In this day of racial unrest and mutual distrust, distinctions between friends and foes become blurred and even the term "liberal" applied to a white person is sometimes suspect. To bring some order out of the confusion, the editors of EBONY are asking you to help us compile a list of the ten living white persons who Negro leaders, like yourself, feel have done the most to help the Negro cause. Because we anticipate a wide divergence of opinion as to who should be included, we are submitting more than fifty names and asking that you select your ten choices from among them.

Realizing, however, that we may have missed persons you feel should have been included, we are not asking you to restrict your choices to our list. If you think other white persons should be in the first ten, please feel free to make the additions.

Also, if you wish to indicate your reasons for each choice and in particular their specific contributions to the Negro cause, we will be happy to have your comments. We would appreciate a reply to this query by February 10, 1964.

Sincerely,

Alex Poinsett

Alex Poinsett
Associate Editor

Mr. James L. Farmer, Executive Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 28, New York

AP/pb

Enclosures

1820 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE • CHICAGO 16, ILLINOIS

February 17, 1964

Mr. John M. Gleason
Boys' Clubs of America
771 First Avenue
New York City 10017

Dear Mr. Gleason:

Thank you for your letter of January 30. Mr. Carey and I likewise enjoyed meeting Mr. Hinds and yourself.

We were pleased to learn of the progress which the Boys' Clubs of America is making toward our mutual goal of an open society.

We wish you the best of success in the programs which you outlined to us.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

JAN 31 1964

BOYS' CLUBS OF AMERICA

771 FIRST AVENUE • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

TEL. MURRAY HILL 4-4400

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January 30, 1964

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Both my associate, Mr. A. Boyd Hinds, and myself thoroughly enjoyed the brief but rather informative luncheon meeting with you and your assistant, Mr. Gordon Carey.

Attached are several copies of the statement I promised to send you.

I hope our discussions filled you in with needed information in respect to our organization and the questions raised in your letter to me, and I repeat it was a pleasure to meet you and to learn much more of your organization, its problems and accomplishments.

With cordial regards, I am

Sincerely,

John M. Gleason

John M. Gleason
National Director

JMG/mf

REMEMBER BOYS' CLUBS OF AMERICA IN YOUR WILL

The new eligibility standard will be as follows: All agencies recognized for fund-raising privileges within the Federal service must operate without racial discrimination. This policy applies to persons served by the agencies, and to membership on their governing boards. Operating without discrimination means that:

(a) No person is excluded from service because of race,

(b) There is no segregation of those served on the basis of race,

(c) There is no discrimination with regard to hiring, assignment, promotion or other conditions of staff employment, and

(d) Agency governing bodies are open to representation from all segments of the public.

An "agency" for the purpose of this standard means a united fund, community chest, or other local federated group and each participating member; and the national office and each chapter or local affiliate of a national voluntary agency which is recognized for participation in Federal fund-raising campaigns. Administration of the nondiscrimination requirements will be the responsibility of the Office of the Chairman, U.S. Civil Service Commission, at the national level and the appropriate Federal Executive Board or other coordinating group in each local community where such a group exists. In other communities it will be the responsibility of the head of the local Federal installation having the largest number of civilian and military personnel.

National voluntary agencies must certify in their annual applications due March 1, 1965, that their practices in fact conform with the nondiscrimination standard. Applications should be accompanied by an appropriate policy statement of the agency's governing board. Each local chapter or affiliate of a national agency, except chapters of the American Red Cross, must furnish this certificate and accompanying policy statement of its local governing board to the chairman of the appropriate local Federal coordinating group or the head of the principal local Federal installation. Each local united fund or chest must furnish a certificate and policy statement for its own organization and receive and forward certificates and policy statements from those of its member agencies that wish to participate in the solicitation of Federal personnel. Local certificates must be filed by July 1, 1965. These assurances will be accepted as satisfactory evidence of compliance with the nondiscrimination standard in the absence of evidence to the contrary.

John W. Macy, Jr.
Chairman

U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION
OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.
October 9, 1963

NONDISCRIMINATION IN VOLUNTARY HEALTH AND WELFARE SERVICES

Voluntary health and welfare agencies financed by public contributions play a vital part in maintaining the well-being of the American people. In recognition of the importance of their unique role in our society, Government agencies annually solicit voluntary contributions from Federal employees and members of the Armed Forces to assist in obtaining the financial support they require. Contributions on the order of $20,000,000 a year are made to local united funds and community chests and to the American Red Cross and other national voluntary agencies that meet the eligibility standards for participation in Federal fund raising campaigns.

The great majority of voluntary health and welfare agencies serve all citizens without racial discrimination. Unfortunately, this practise is not universal. In some communities our Negro citiznes are excluded from participation in health, welfare and recreational services that are available to all others who are in need, or they are provided inferior services on a segregated basis. This circumstance works against many who are already disadvantaged and tend to perpetuate in our society the very conditions that humanitarian services are designed to eliminate.

President Kennedy has taken action directly to secure the right of all citizens to the full and equal enjoyment of services and facilities of a public nature and has appealed to private organizations and individuals to help extend the principle of equal opportunity throughout American life.

Our national policy is clear, and I can no longer in good conscience recommend to Federal employees and servicemen who themselves work and live together under conditions of equal privilege and opportunity that they continue to participate in the financial support of health and welfare services which are conducted on a racially discriminatory or segregated basis. Nor can Government agencies properly continue to use official time and manpower to solicit funds on behalf of health and welfare agencies which persist in these practices. Therefore, in the exercise of my responsibility under Executive Order 10927, I have determined that fund-raising privileges in the Federal establishment must hereafter be limited to agencies which follow a policy and practice of nondiscrimination.

This decision takes into consideration the fact that the agencies which currently do not meet this standard are free to choose whether they wish to maintain their present policies without change or -- and I sincerely hope that all will choose the latter course -- to amend their policies in the spirit of our democracy and join with the majority of their associates in practices which merit the continued support of Federal employees and members of the Armed Forces. In order that such agencies may have a reasonable opportunity to consider a change in governing policies, the nondiscrimination requirement will be effective for Federal fund-raising campaigns beginning after July 1, 1965.

Farmer

JAN 31 1964

Basketball Foul Shooting

TUESDAY EVENING, FEBRUARY 18, 1964

La GUARDIA HOUSE
311 East 116th Street
New York, N. Y.

and

BOYS BROTHERHOOD REPUBLIC
290 East 3rd Street
New York, N. Y.

★ ★ ★

Boys' Athletic League
51 EAST 42nd STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

BASKETBALL FOULSHOOTING

ENTRY BLANK

Mail to Boys' Athletic League, Inc., 51 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y.

TEAM A – FOR BOYS 15 YEARS AND UNDER

	Name	Age	Birthdate—Month-Day-Year
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.			
7.			
8.			

TEAM B – FOR BOYS 16 AND 17 YEARS

1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.			
7. Alternate			
8. Alternate			

Signature of Coach

Organization

ENTRIES CLOSE FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1964.
ENTRY FEE 50 CENTS PER TEAM.
Contest will be held Tuesday, February 18, 1964, 7:30 to 9:30 P.M. at

La Guardia House, 311 East 116th Street, N.Y.
Boys Brotherhood Republic, 290 East 3rd St., New York City

TOURNAMENT REGULATIONS

WHEN

Tuesday Evening, February 18, 1964 (7:30 to 9:30 P.M.)

WHERE

La Guardia House, 311 East 116th Street, New York City and Boys Brotherhood Republic, 290 East 3rd Street, New York City.

DIVISION A

For boys 15 years and under as of February 14, 1964(must not have reached their 16th birthday).

DIVISION B

For boys 16 and 17 years old as of February 14, 1964(must not have reached their 18th birthday).

DRESS

All participants must wear gym shoes. Gym suits may be worn but are not compulsory.

NUMBER OF CONTESTANTS

An organization may enter six contestants in each division, and 2 alternates.

SCORING

Each player will be allowed (25) twenty-five trials.
The score of the (5) five highest individuals on each team will be counted.
(5) five warm-up trial shots will be granted each contestant.

ENTRY FEE

50 cents per team, payable on closing date of entry.

ENTRIES CLOSE

Friday, February 14th at 6:00 P.M. Entries to be sent to the Boy's Athletic League, Inc., 51 East 42 Street, New York 17, N. Y.

AWARDS

Plaque to winning team in each division if available.
Silver medals to individual winners of the winning teams.
Silver medal to highest individual scorer in each division.

BASKETBALL FOULSHOOTING COMMITTEE

Ralph Hittman, Boys Brotherhood Republic – Chairman
Milton Robinson, Casita Maria–Bronx
Pete Pascal, La Guardia House
Thomas P. Luckie, Navy Yard Boys Club
John J. McAward, Jr., Huntington Community Center
Ashton W. Higgins, P.S. 139 Community Center
William Wilson, St. Luke's Community Center
Albert A. Edwards, St. Philip's Community Center
J. Earl Laughlin, Y.M.C.A. – Uptown

Winning Organizations – 1963

Division A – Boys Brotherhood Republic
Division B – Lincoln Recreation Center

BOYS' ATHLETIC LEAGUE, INC.

(Organized 1926)

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Mr. C. Langhorne Washburn
Mr. William H. Watt, Jr.
Dr. William H. Wright

February 1, 1964

February 17, 1964

Mr. Robert T. Weltzien
Personnel Division
Seattle Public Schools
815-4th Avenue North
Seattle 9, Wton

Dear Mr. Weltzien:

I am very pleased to give a reference in support of Dorothy Ballard's application for a position of Inter-Group Coordinator with the Seattle Public Schools.

I am familiar with Miss Ballard's work and her qualifications and have the utmost confidence in her ability to perform the tasks required in this position with distinction. She is a mature person, thoroughly knowledgeable with the inter-group relations field. I am sure that she will be an important asset to the Seattle Public Schools, if she receives the appointment.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

SEATTLE PUBLIC SCHOOLS
ADMINISTRATIVE AND SERVICE CENTER
815 - 4TH AVENUE NORTH
SEATTLE 9, WASHINGTON

JAN 28 1964

January 22, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director of C.O.R.E.
38 Park Row
New York City, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Dorothy G. Ballard has given your name as a reference in her application for the position of Inter-Group Coordinator with the Seattle Public Schools. This very responsible position involves acting as the liason person for the School District with professional and community groups in helping to insure equal educational opportunities for all children.

Attached is a statement of the responsibilities and the qualifications for this position. We would appreciate a very frank response. Your reply will be kept confidential.

Since we are hopeful of appointing the Inter-Group Coordinator early in the second semester of this school year, we would like to have your response as early as possible.

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

Robert T. Weltzien

Robert T. Weltzien, Director
Examination and Employment
Personnel Division

RTW:mc
Encl.

SEATTLE PUBLIC SCHOOLS
Administrative and Service Center
815 Fourth Avenue North
Seattle, Washington 98109

January 2, 1964

ANNOUNCEMENT OF POSITION: COORDINATOR FOR INTERGROUP RELATIONS

The Seattle School Board has authorized the employment of a Coordinator for Intergroup Relations beginning with the second semester of 1963-64 school year (January 27, 1964).

I. Responsibilities:

The Coordinator will have responsibilities in the following areas:

A. Coordinate activities of the Seattle Schools Intergroup Relations Committee

B. Coordinate the activities of the Seattle Schools Committee for Equal Educational Opportunity including:

1. Assisting in providing for curriculum adaptations to meet the needs of Seattle Schools students
2. Coordinating the development of research projects aimed at working more effectively with students having limited cultural backgrounds
3. Assisting in recruiting and training school staff to work in schools having a high proportion of students with limited social and cultural backgrounds
4. Working closely with community groups having special interest in students with limited backgrounds

II. Qualifications:

A. Education and Experience

1. College degree required
2. Teaching credentials and experience desirable
3. Master's degree desirable
4. Experience and/or training in the area of social work, community organization and/or guidance

B. Personal Qualifications

1. Understanding of the school's purpose and place in the community
2. Commitment and dedication to the purpose of human understanding
3. Experience and understanding in race relations
4. Awareness of local and national developments in programs for students with limited backgrounds
5. Creative imagination and ability to initiate and originate programs, write and speak effectively
6. Skills in working cooperatively with diverse groups in the community

III. Compensation

The salary range is $8,500 to $10,600, based on an eleven month's contract. Benefits include ten days of sick leave per year cumulative to 180 days, plus other benefits afforded to Seattle teaching personnel.

IV. Applications

Applications should be made at once and may be sent to:

Seattle School District #1, Personnel Division
815 Fourth Avenue North
Seattle, Washington 98109

Applications may be made by letter. Please include a resumé covering personal data, education, experience, and giving five references most familiar with your capabilities. Since it is desired to begin the position during the second semester of the 1963-1964 school year, applications must be received by February 1, 1964.

February 17, 1964

Mr. Bernard E. Weiss
Business Management
22 West Putnam Avenue
Greenwich, Conn.

Dear Mr. Weiss:

I do regret that my hectic schedule, which has kept me away from my desk for the past several weeks, prevented me from replying to your letter of January 17 sooner.

I am familiar with the work Pitney-Bowes is doing, and am favorably impressed. Thank you for sending me a copy of the article.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

farmer

Norm

Business Management
Formerly Management Methods

22 WEST PUTNAM AVENUE, GREENWICH, CONNECTICUT • 203-TO 9-8585

January 17, 1964

JAN 22 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York City, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Enclosed are page proofs of an article that we will publish and feature on the cover of our February issue, due out in about two weeks. You'll note that it deals with a subject of particular interest to you and your organization.

We'd very much like to have your views on this article, particularly, a return letter to me that I might be able to publish in our "letters to the editor" column. (For your information, this magazine is circulated to 131,000 presidents, corporate officers and general managers of all large U. S. companies.)

I will place no limitations or restrictions upon the nature of your comments. They may dwell upon the article as a whole, or upon the "box" accompanying it; the comments may be favorable or unfavorable. Perhaps, however, you might be able to suggest some constructive ideas that may lead, or have led, to solutions for the problem of hiring Negro employees. The length of your commentary is entirely up to you -- to be dictated by the significance and value of your contribution.

May I hear from you by Monday, January 27? That would be the latest date we'd be able to accept your letter for publication in our target issue, the March number.

Sincerely,

Bernard E. Weiss
Managing Editor

BEW:sc

THE MANAGEMENT PUBLISHING GROUP

Business Management, School Management, School Construction Services, Management Publishing Corporation

BM-2-4715

T

JAN 21 1964

one company's answer to The Negro job problem:

JAMES TURRENTINE, *Director*
Employee and Public Relations
Pitney-Bowes, Inc.

Brief exposure to cold reality:

- With the civil rights situation as unstable as it is, charges of discrimination in employment might be brought against your company at any time, from any quarter.
- Such charges—just or unjust—can utterly destroy carefully nurtured programs in marketing, as well as public, labor and stockholder relations.

Despite the handwriting on the wall, despite the fact that leaders of Negro groups are beginning to build up powerful pressure for employment of more non-whites, many companies remain vulnerable. Recent history has shown that firms refusing to cooperate with Negro demands have much to lose and little to gain. A consumer goods manufacturer, for example, loses more than just a piece of the $22 billion Negro market when he refuses to integrate his plant. He also loses the white customer who sympathizes with the civil rights movement.

While an increasing number of major corporations (AT&T, IBM, International Harvester, RCA and others) have taken a positive stand on integration and, in fact, actively recruit Negroes, most firms pay little more than lip service to fair employment practices with the hopes that this will be enough. Often, as bitter experience has shown, it is not. Token integration ("There's our Negro over there.") is now unacceptable to many Negro groups.

On the other hand, even when a company does open a door for Negroes, most applicants qualify for little more than janitorial or truck driver jobs. Responsible positions are beyond reach of most Negroes because they have been neither trained nor educated. Thus it is that a growing number of firms—those that *want* to help the Negro, those that *want* a slice of his spending dollar, and those that *want* to protect themselves from the possibility of showdowns with pressure groups—are in a real dilemma: hire Negroes who are not fully qualified? Or, hire whites who are?

Several companies have found solutions to the problem—solutions which go beyond merely redoubling the effort to ferret out the relatively few fully qualified Negroes. For example, seven organizations in New York City recently joined hands in supporting a confidence-building course that will help Negro graduates of a secretarial school find jobs. A few of industry's blue-ribbon giants have lowered their standards on tests for job applicants in a frank experiment to see if more Negroes can "qualify" and pick up lost training and education on the job. A number of companies have installed Negroes in prominent vice-presidential posts, partly to aid in attracting other

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Negroes to the firms, partly to help head off charges of discrimination when and if they should be made.

What one firm does

One company, Pitney-Bowes, Inc., of Stamford, Conn., has gone a step further. The company actively recruits Negroes for jobs and says so. It will take the time, trouble and expense to train uneducated, unqualified Negroes for specific openings. It is working with Negro groups in Stamford and with the National Urban League in New York City to turn up job candidates—trained or untrained—who possess the desire and potential to make good. Naturally, when a fully qualified white job applicant presents himself at the company's employment office, Pitney-Bowes is delighted to see him.

One reason for this policy is that, for the kind of skilled job openings that Pitney-Bowes has, there aren't enough available qualified personnel of either race. "As long as we have to train someone," says James Turrentine, director of employee and public relations, "we'll train the Negro. He's more carefully screened than white applicants, we check his references thoroughly, we interview him at great length—but we feel an obligation, moral and social, to help him help himself."

"Equal opportunity"

Explains John O. Nicklis, president and chief executive officer, "Our policy on preferential hiring of Negroes has resulted in some misunderstandings, locally as well as nationally. We aren't making a direct comparison between two equally qualified applicants, one Negro and one white. Equal opportunity is a fine principle, but it does not recognize the inability of many Negroes to compete equally, because of past discrimination in employment and education. It so happens that our policy will favor Negroes, but if a white job applicant has been similarly held back by circumstance, we will give him consideration as well.

"For years, in common with many other businesses and industries," adds Nicklis, "we have employed and trained physically handicapped workers. No one considers this discrimination or preferential hiring. It is just good corporate citizenship. The Negro is handicapped by his color. If he is to compete equally, he needs special consideration, at least for a time. Once hired and trained, a man is promoted solely on merit."

The Pitney-Bowes policy isn't a new one. Negroes have been employed at the Stamford plant for more than 20 years, and today make up about 5% of 2,300 employees there. Some are at the low end of the employment spectrum, but many hold very responsible jobs. There are three engineers (one is an assistant manager), two executive secretaries, a data processing supervisor, and dozens of skilled and semi-skilled machine operators. The company frankly admits that it has not done as well in its branch sales and service offices around the country, although it has hired several Negro salesmen and servicemen.

Theoretically, any job in the firm is open to Negroes. From a practical point of view, chances are slim that a Negro will rise to a position of major responsibility in general administration, at least in the near future. "It is the company's policy to promote from within whenever possible," says Turrentine. "We do this strictly on merit."

When questioned by a Business Management editor, Turrentine repeated several times this basic theme: "We will help the Negro, but it would be ridiculous for us to say, where management and promotions are concerned, 'we're going to give preference to a Negro if we can find one, even though there are qualified whites.' You can't do that. If you have the sort of company that we have, where there is a presumption that you're going to get the best possible people to operate a profitable business, you cannot settle for a manager who is 20% less qualified for a task. But below the management level, we believe that we can justify the employment of persons who have a handicap—color—and who lack experience because of that handicap. We can train these people for plant and office jobs. As it happens, there are very few white people who are willing to train for a year on an automatic screw machine in order to earn a good wage. Negroes, acutely aware of their lack of skills, grab at the chance."

Solving the problem

Pitney-Bowes never gave pressure groups an opportunity or a reason to level charges of discrimination. Almost 20 years ago, when it hired its first Negro to clerk in its Stamford personnel office, the company approached Negro community leaders and expressed a desire to "do something." Within the past few months, as it declared publicly that it was engaged in compensatory hiring, the firm has renewed its efforts to work closely with the community.

> *"We feel an obligation, moral and social, to help the Negro help himself."*

"Civil rights has developed an entirely new crop of Negro leaders, more dynamic than old-timers, who feel that more progress can be made," says Turrentine. "We asked prominent Negroes in our locality to appoint representatives who would work with us. You don't pretend to know who these leaders are; the only

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way to really find out, as we did, is to make sure that they name their leaders themselves."

A dozen or so Negro ministers and other local leaders met with Pitney-Bowes' top management and agreed on certain basic principles. "We agreed that local schools must do more to train Negro students in mechanical and technical skills, and in motivating youngsters who are not academically inclined," says Turrentine. "Meanwhile, we devised an informal system of referrals for youngsters who showed promise. The Negro leaders agreed to call our attention to jobless boys and men who passed their (the leaders') own standards and screening."

Additionally, Turrentine established closer contacts with guidance counselors in Stamford schools to develop a potential source of ambitious—unskilled but willing—Negroes.

This is not being done on a broad scale, for there are no mass hirings at Pitney-Bowes. Since the renewed effort was begun in November, 19 persons have been hired in Stamford—five Negroes. Thus, because the company hires ony for specific openings, it can afford to take its time, picking and choosing among those job candidates whom it feels have the most potential.

Interviews of unusual length and depth are held with Negro applicants. This is due largely to the fact that the usual tests for employment are not altogether valid for Negroes; because of their generally poorer education, many cannot comprehend instructions and are not at home with the language of formal testing, Turrentine reports. "To compensate, an interviewer tries to determine if a fellow has ambition and potential. If he does, if his references check out, then we feel he can be trained and taught with reasonable assurance of success. Incidentally, I'm not sure that *any* standard employment test will measure a Negro's incentive or ability to learn on the job.

Asked how long he would hold open a job for a Negro before offering it to a white man, Turrentine replied that he wouldn't hold it very long. "We will look for a Negro to fill it, but if a qualified white applicant comes along, that's the end of the search."

One problem that Pitney-Bowes is likely to encounter was expressed by President Nicklis when the policy was made pub-

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■ A New York public relations firm, Burson-Marsteller Associates, has analyzed the current civil rights pressure for increased Negro employment, and advised its clients on some steps it might take to avoid the myriad ethical, economic, social and political problems associated with the movement. The following information is distilled from a memorandum advisory distributed to Burson-Marsteller's clients last year. The foreword of the memorandum sets its tone: ". . . The observations and information contained herein, and the alternative courses that are suggested, may be helpful to corporate officials responsible for establishing policy in this area."

First contact and preparation

Most Negro civil rights leaders are extremely well informed. Almost without exception, they will ask management to negotiate with them as a first step in reaching an agreement on a "more jobs for Negroes" policy. Ony when such negotiations fail to achieve the desired result will the Negro leaders resort to such techniques as picketing, boycotts or demonstrations.

Therefore, for a company that wishes to handle the matter with dignity and dispatch, conducting itself properly during the negotiation stage is critical.

The first contact by Negro groups is frequently made by phone or mail. Management usually has ample time in which to develop background information before responding. The recommended procedure is a polite, noncommittal expression of interest and a statement that the employer would be in a better position to discuss the matter after talking it over with other company officials. Set a definite date for a future meeting.

Management should immediately prepare itself by developing information and outlining a course of action with legal counsel, the heads of personnel, sales, industrial relations, and public relations, the company security chief and the company training director. Under certain circumstances union leaders should be consulted and be kept informed of all developments.

What kind of background information is needed? Management should learn as much as possible about the Negro people, organizations and practices with which it must negotiate. For example, it is important to know if the pressure group can speak authoritatively for the Negro community. If it cannot, chances of reaching a dependable agreement are minimized. Another example: national Negro civil rights leaders generally negotiate with more sophistication and experience than local people.

It is also to management's advantage to develop as much information as possible about the local Negro popu-

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or enforce court orders. This is a job for trained police. Provision for quick communications to police headquarters should be made.

Setting company policy

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"In talking with the Negro leaders, we asked for their understanding and told them frankly that we're taking a greater risk. They subsequently assured us of their cooperation."

The reaction

How do other employees feel about preferential treatment for Negroes? How about the community?

"There was a lot of grumbling at first," says Turrentine, "largely because there were a lot of misunderstandings. However, as soon as the policy was interpreted, the vocal opposition, at least, died down. We know that a few employees probably have certain deep-seated prejudices that no amount of explaining will ever overcome, but this is inevitable.

"I'm not sure that we were entirely correct in publicly announcing our policy. There are other firms, major companies, that do what we do but keep it quiet in order to avoid antagonizing people who don't agree with their actions. For example, in one city several companies give time-preference to Negroes. They'll have Negro recruiters and community leaders hunt for a Negro to fill a job for, say, one week before opening it up to all job applicants. That's a good idea, but it isn't public knowledge."

If this were a time of widespread unemployment, concludes Turrentine, "it would be very difficult to do what we are trying to do. Our effort is, after all, only an experiment. I hope it works. It deserves a try. Whitney Young, who heads the National Urban League, has pointed out many times that to give equal opportunity to a minority group that has been deprived for so long is to give nothing, really. You must give the opportunity to *become* equal." ■

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lation and economic situation, about what other firms in the industry are doing, about what other local firms are doing, about the previous demands of the pressure group and outcomes of its previous negotiations. This information is probably known by the Negro representatives, and the employer is at a distinct disadvantage if he doesn't.

The final step in preparation is determining what the company's posture will be in the negotiations. The decision should not be released to anyone, of course, until it is agreed upon in final form. It may never have to be released. This has been the advantage of not alienating customers who disapprove of any concessions (which, unfortunately, is a factor to be considered).

The negotiating sessions

The Negro group is likely to ask for such "employment rights" as the upgrading of Negroes currently holding menial jobs; putting Negroes in more "visible" positions—as salesmen or receptionists, for example; hiring specified numbers of Negroes according to an agreed-upon time schedule; or hiring a quota or percentage of Negroes.

In negotiating over such demands, meetings should be held in a neutral location, such as a hotel. This has the advantage of reducing the likelihood of rumors that would arise if Negro leaders were seen entering a plant or company offices. The company should be represented by the highest level of management short of the chief executive officer, who should not have his position as final arbiter jeopardized. Rotate the de facto chairmanship of each meeting so that the supplicant/grantor relationship is minimized. In general, the more businesslike and formal the meetings (with agenda, a recording secretary and minutes), the better the results.

More often than not, agreements to extend greater employment and employment rights to Negroes are not signed documents. Initialled minutes of meetings, outlining the general terms, are usually the only record. But, agreements should be sufficiently detailed to cover those matters which might give rise to future misunderstandings. For example, an agreement to upgrade qualified Negro employees should carefully take cognizance of seniority requirements.

Agreements should also stipulate whether they will be open to further negotiation, and when and through what process; whether any provision is to be made concerning reports of progress, and by whom, to whom, and how often; and if and how the agreements are to be released to the public and to the company internally.

Generally, agreements are implemented most easily when they are community-wide in nature, conform to an industry pattern, are administered firmly and unequivocally, and are accompanied by an educational program designed to reach supervisors as well as employees.

Preparing for disagreements

As for disagreements, when an employer feels he cannot meet what the Negro leaders consider their minimal demands, the latter most frequently resort to such pressure tactics as boycotts, sit-ins, pickets and demonstrations. The employer is then in a position where countermeasures are obligatory if he is to discharge his responsibility to stockholders by avoiding the possibility of violence and minimizing damage to his company.

Before the situation gets critical, however, management is advised to let all employees know what the issues are, what its position is, and what attitudes and actions are expected of company personnel. Every possible effort should be made to ensure that no employee action precipitates violence or disorder.

The recourse, once overt activity has begun, is through the courts. Continued or resumed negotiations is a possibility if either party to the dispute has a change of heart. Historically, Negro pressure groups have been firm in their demands.

Under no circumstances should company security forces be employed to maintain order, eject trespassers,

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Setting company policy

Apart from handling specific employment demands of Negro groups as they arise, the company will benefit from the instituting of permanent policies and practices on this subject. This is best done in advance of any serious confrontations with Negro groups, which often result in panic decisions of questionable merit.

Should policy and control be centralized or decentralized? Perhaps the soundest course is to establish broad guidelines of company policy, and to ask headquarters staff personnel to work with local management in translating company policy into local terms. The danger in total local autonomy is that local management primarily concerned with regional success, may arrive at policies which suit its needs but reflect adversely on the company as a whole.

For example, local management will be under heavy pressures from the press to comment on a local boycott or picket. Should local managers issue statements on their own? Should clearance of company headquarters be required? Should all inquires be referred to headquarters? The probable answer is "no" to all of these. Wisest course is for the headquarters staff, in close conference with local management, to draw up all public statements which are then issued by the local management.

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File 1483 Silver Lake Boulevard
L.A. 26, Calif

Gordon

To be answered sometime

February 18, 1964

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

All religious or quasi-religious appeals to decency, to a lessening of hatred (the aggressive form of fear), to a respect for law, can only be regarded as representing the end in naivete, pseudo-liberalism, cynicism, etc., *if*, at the same time, our country's more articulate spokesmen *fail* to indicate that we *must* have, in the United States, that which we have *never* really had---our formidable mythology notwithstanding---i.e., government more *genuinely* representative of the will and/or needs of *all* the people (where one person more *truly*, more democratically equals one vote; where equality before the law isn't simply a tragic, hollow mockery).

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On the assumption Lee Harvey Oswald killed the President---and I'm sure many of us still have some grave doubts about that---show me an *un*democratic society (such as ours) constantly subjected to *anti*-democratic pressures (with barely a whisper from the left), and, as the saying goes, I'll show you the foremost, logical consequence of such a condition, i.e., the 'lowest' member of such an order taking his 'revenge' upon the 'highest'.

However, as a *unique* aspect of *our* social milieu, what factor in American life, American thinking, may *especially* predispose us to act violently towards others, towards ourselves? *Regardless of ones 'station'*. Risking the wrath of, at least, everyone to the right of Adlai Stevenson, I affirm it to be the American Dream concept (Republican style):

In our culture, historically (perhaps not quite so nakedly today), as a rationalization to justify the retention of immense, *private* power, the aggressively-insecure 'ruling classes' have taught, have propagated, the facile, beguiling belief which asserts that if a person behaves as a Good Christian should, works hard to 'perfect' himself, strives to be 'superior', he may accomplish, yes, may achieve, virtually anything he chooses in American life; one is persuaded, exhorted and obliged to "reach the top", and, at the same time, discouraged from thinking that political *participation* with ones fellow citizen might, perchance, more realistically secure the more meaningful, more harmonious ends of existence. As night follows day, the logical, the philosophical, the statistical absurdity of this highly destructive (competitive) concept *generally* manifests itself in a futile, life cycle of *frustration-aggression-guilt-disillusionment and escape* (neurotic-psychotic behavior which fosters and creates pseudo-social or anti-social institutions and norms---which, in turn, reinforce the very dog-eat-dog, undemocratic values responsible for the meaninglessness and insecurity so ubiquitously a part of our "free" and "affluent" society).

To me---the highly publicized, material benefits notwithstanding---there is no better formula for the day-to-day physical ("poverty") and *psychological* destruction of human beings than the American Dream idea.

Sincerely,

Edward F. Nash

P.S.

In the U.S., greater *political* equality---deriving from much needed political reforms---*not* the systematic furtherance of *unreal* levels of aspiration and want (the "Dream")---is the more valid, more realistic key to interpersonal, and, global, harmony---a *truer* definition of freedom, by far.

If we are to survive the Bomb, and successfully exploit the constructive-cooperative potential of 20th Century science and technology, the time-honored (however publically forsworn) Ideology of Private Power (rooted in the anachronisms which maintains man is "inherently evil", insatiably acquisitive, not to be trusted) *Must* be superceded by the Ideology of Democratic Reason (which scientifically speculates that man's difficulties and conflicts are more *apparent*, i.e., environmental than *real*, i.e., inherent or hereditary.)

The curious alliance of the Negro and automation may open the door to *real* democracy for the first time in America and the world. We're in a race with the Bomb and the "population explosion". Things may prove to be bloody either way.

FEB 21 1964

If the Dallas tragedy-fiasco is not satisfactorily resolved---if the Commission's findings are not deemed just and unassailable by the American public---I think we can fully expect an unusual tide of popular cynicism, with lawlessness and violence which may as well be regarded as quasi-revolutionary activity; until, of course, government comes to more truly reflect the will of all the people---not the false consciousness created by the "popular press".

The topic of this letter relates primarily to 'white' America, since, today, ironically, the harsh realities faced by the Negro, in our country, do not readily admit to a belief in that absurdity of absurdities, the American Dream (the Republican version). Nevertheless, unless our social climate changes (as I expect it must), drastically, within the next few years, the Negro cannot help but be similarly entrapped along with the rest of us.

Thank you very much, Mr. Carey, for acknowledging my last letter. Sometimes I become a little discouraged when I think I might be writing "in the blind".

Mr. Farmer has really sharpened his arguments to a fine edge (Face the Nation, Feb. 16). He was incredibly quick, I thought.

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM
W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL	Day Letter
NL	Night Letter
LT	International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

UJB005 DEA228
DE CCY023 CCZ2 E CCZ2 PD FAX CHICAGO ILL917 NFT
MR JAMES L FARMER EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR CORE
38 PARK ROW NYK

PLEASE RUSH RESPONSE TO QUERY ON TEN LIVING WHITE PERSONS WHO HAVE DONE MOST TO HELP NEGRO CAUSE. URGENTLY NEED YOUR MATERIAL THIS WEEK

ALEX POINSETT

UJ 76-A NEW STREET
1964 FEB 17 PM 6 47

FEB 18 1964

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This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

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NE736 (57)SYA702

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1964 FEB 27 PM 10 00

JAMES FARMER

38 PARK ROW NYK

PLEASE WIRE COLLECT WHEN AND WHERE I MAY REACH JAMES FARMER BY AIRMAIL

L T WYLY 1210 GREGORY ST WILMETTE ILL.

FEB 28 1964

Mail may be sent to
James Farmer at CORE,
38 Park Row, N-Y-38,
Glenda Luhelsky

reply sent 2/28/64
collect

Glenda

MAR 8 1964

1210 Gregory 60091
Wilmette, Ill.
Mar. 2, 1964.

Miss Glenda Lubelsky, Secretary
Mr. James Farmer CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38 N.Y.

Dear Miss Lubelsky ;

Thank you for your letter of Feb. 28th, just received.

The New York Post Office still has my letter to Mr. Farmer- at least, I have not received it back.

The Kenilworth Post Office states that if you will phone the New York Post Office when Mr. Fammer arrives back in town that they will deliver it to his office for him to receive and sign for. Would you please try that ?

If this does not work will you please advise me ? Thank you.

Sincerely yours

L T Wyly

L.T.Wyly

MAR 2 1964

1210 Gregory St. 60091
Wilmette, Ill.
Feb. 29, 1964

Miss (or Misses) Glenda Lubelsky, Secretary
i/c James Farmer, CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38
N.Y.

Dear Miss Lubelsky ;

Thank you for answering my wire of Feb.27.

However you did not answer my question : When?

On Feb.4th, from Kenilworth, Ill., I mailed Mr. Farmer a letter, certified, fee paid for return receipt (50¢) signed by Mr. Farmer only.

To date I have not received any such return receipt signed by Mr. Farmer. Neither has my letter been returned.

On Feb. 19 I wrote my Farmer asking whether he had received my letter and whether he had signed any return receipt for the Post Office. I have had no answer to this letter also.

WILL YOU PLEASE WIRE ME COLLECT ADVISING WHEN I MAY WRITE MR. FARMER SO THAT HE WILL RECEIVE THE LETTER PERSONALLY ?

Thamk you.

Yours truly

L.T. Wyly

L.T.Wyly

3 March 1964

Mr. George Flynn
544 82 Street
Brooklyn, N. Y. 11209

Dear Mr. Flynn:

On behalf of Mr. Farmer I want to thank you for your recent postcard. As you are aware, CORE is an interracial organization, and we agree with you that we must continue to emphasize the fact that civil rights is the problem of everyone--black and white.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

Dear Mr. Farmer: I strongly support the struggle of American Negroes for complete equality. But I know that your movement will be much stronger if it has the widest possible base. You should emphasize UNCEASINGLY that this is the struggle of ALL Americans who are poor and oppressed in a variety of ways, and regardless of color or creed. I know you are aware of this already, but my plea is that you keep hitting this theme repeatedly. In this way ALL of the poor and oppressed in America will develop a stronger spine. In this way the struggle for REAL democracy in America will be won SOONER than otherwise.

Sardas

FEB 20 1964

Warmest Regards,

George Flynn

4 March 1964

Mr. Moyner Gason
Post Office Box 2321
Macon, Georgia

Dear Mr. Gason:

Mr. Farmer has asked me to acknowledge your letter of February 17 and to thank you for bringing your views to his attention.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

[illegible] 24 1964

Feb. 17th 1964.

Dear Mr. Farmer.

With interest I listened to your T.V. broadcast and this prompted me to drop you these lines, as to any one as highly educated as you are, it may be of interest. Let me start by telling you that I am Austrian by birth. I was born in Tientsin China & am the daughter of one of the greatest men China has ever known. After the death of the Empress Tsui-Che my father more or less "ruled" China for about 28. years. He was foreign adviser to the famous Lee-hung-Chang. I feel that if my father were still alive, China would not been in the mess it is in now.

Pres. Hoover, an old friend of ours agrees; my father was his adviser when he was just a young man. We are democrats.

My father was French-German from Elsas Lorraine & my mother

Austrian - I always feel as though
I were Chinese - I adore China & the
Chinese - My first husband, Killed in
World War one -, Sir John Kirkpatrick
met me in China -
For 26 most beautiful years China
Was my home. I had hoped to retire
There - my husband is a Colonel -
So you see after this back ground, I
could not dislike negros! I have
lived all over Europe, Asia & Africa -
India, Hawaii, Japan -
As you may know by now, I am white
however (this may surprise you). I get
on better & closer with the yellow
race - my best friends here are Chinese,
2 couples I am devoted to are negro -
Only one white couple I really
Consider friends -
Now I want to explain something
That you, I am sure, will realize
is distressing to me & I believe
Causes a hopeless situation with
The Negro race -
We helped this dear couple Ed. Johnson
& his wife (they are not married) to

obtain a nice little home-, in a lovely new Section of Town where more or less "better class" negros have settled-
Now they have the little home-, keep it lovely & clean inside-, but outside it already looks like a junk yard-
They are a lovely couple- I leave our house keys with them-, if we leave town, yet they wish to ruin a sweet little place by leaving the outside in a mess. So far I obtained 6. jobs for Ed- one with a Millionaire in Atlanta- as Butler- She was in charge of other maids. They had a lovely apt- But missing her friends came back here-
I now got him a job as assistant to a Veterinarian, with 2 boys under him, so far he is still there-
(One girl I had for 14 years & treated like my daughter (ate with her-, she slept in the house when my husband was away) said she adores me!-
I looked after her grand children-
Well she picked up & left Macon for New York without saying good bye-
I had placed her children in a lovely Catholic School- She took them

out as they had too much to study — Her son returned from Korea — I got him a job as Watchman at $250 a month. Three months later, he quit the Air Force Base — as he did not like night work — + went on "Unemployment compensation" — Mind, if you pay anything in advance they don't feel they want to have it deducted off the next weeks pay!!

I love my little maid. pay well, cook for her!! she has her lunch in my husband's room Watching T.V. I serve her!! (I like to) she is so appreciative. — I have given her lovely things — however, none of them have ever said. "You did so much for me let me do so + so in return —" Never!! no pay no work, no matter what one may have done for them!

My niece in Hollywood had a high Class Maid + Butler — They had an Apt. Overlooking Catalina Is. Tiled bath etc — in Bel Air — I lived with her during the war. They

told me he does not like to work!

simply could not understand why
I did not pick up a man while my
husband was overseas —
Their Apt. was furnished with the
finest furniture & Simmons beds — One
day these seemingly nice folks, left a
note telling my niece they would
not serve dinner after 6 — did not
approve of one of her friends etc etc
I advised her ~~to~~ let them go & took
over — That "Palace" was no problem
to take care of — When I got cleaners
in we found the rug soiled beyond
cleaning — the Bedroom head boards
soaked with oil had to be thrown
away — the bathroom was a sight —!
I would not care to see again — tub bowl-
Dried dirty soap all over clean-
yet they seemed nice & looked
All this fuss about "Sit Ins" — I consider
such behavior degrading to any
race — "Hooping" & "screaming" making
oneself "cheap" is the best way to loose
respect of any nation —
The Indians are far more American
than any of us — But they are such a
proud fine race, one can't help

but "look up" to them — I believe they have
done quite a bit during Pres. ~~Eisenhowers~~
Eisenhower's Term —. The poor are so poor
have no schools, no hospitals, no
place to live —, were driven out of their
own Country —, never, never complain —
God bless every one of them — They are
too proud to mix with the whites!
Too proud "too good" I would say —!
I hope oil wells will spring up all over
Indian Territory — They are the only
Americans real Americans —!
I checked on people living in a lovely
Apt. location here called "Tindell
Heights". All Brick buildings — Iron
framed Windows — In no Time All
Windows were broken — Door Screens
Torn out, wire Torn, my maid (who
left) lived in one of these — They have
3 bedrooms, Kitchen — Bath & living
room — They are a few years old —
I wish you could see them!!
Another place near by is for whites,
nothing has been disturbed there,
everything looks clean & tidy —

my maid – who left & I loved –,
Was the mother of a baby at 16 –
(no husband) later had another
man & 3 kids, he left – then
another (old man) & 3 more kids –
married ~~to~~ non –!! Completely un-
Concerned – So I checked on other
apts with permission of the lady in
the office, who told me that 3 couples
out of residents of 300 – apts. were
really married – I checked on a
few & found this correct.
My ex maid herself told me that
the girl next door locked herself in
when her husband left an actor for
a few days – that night a boy who
admired her, crept up a drain
& got in – She screamed & he cut
her up – Mable told me that goes
on all the time! –
I asked the police about that. The
reply was "Oh that goes on all the
time, no one can stop it" – if it
had been in a white section

8

God help the people - there are few
Cases, but if any thing happens they
"nail" the people right away." Mass
If such behavior goes on in
production" "What can one do?" - that
I Know for a fact nothing like
ever happens in Asian Countries,
India, Japan etc. I Know that.
As you see, I don't want to be mean
or unkind but there are facts - to
I bet once every thing is "Open"
the average Negros)
Negros - none (of Restaurants
will go to Hotels, few of us can
etc. because very these days!!
afford to do so
I Know too that the average Negro
Child simply cannot - Keep up
in classes with white! there are
exceptions I Know -
For years I tried to show my maid
(on a map) where so & so is - she always
placed Germany in to Japan, India
in Russia etc. so I "gave up" I am leaving

for England on a visit on Wednesday—
one does not know where to go to
find peace— Guess Cemetery is the
best—

Yrs truly
Moyra Mason

P.O. Box 2321— Macon. Ga—
(It will be forwarded)
if mail is received—

15

I love the poor, Negro or whites
adore Chinese—

But Chinese also don't ever want
to live with whites!!

China Town in Frisco— is China
Town, I, being Chinese at heart,
hope it will always remain
strictly Chinese!— I love it so—
would hate to have it taken over
by others—

I am sincerely sorry that the Negros
behave so poorly— If I were not
wanted in a home or unwelcome, I would
be far too proud to cheapen myself
to force my self in-or on to anyone

4 March 1964

Mr. W. DeVaughne Jones
Post Office Box 392
Bellmore, L. I., N. Y.

Dear Mr. Jones:

I am replying to your note to Mr. Farmer at his request. I want to thank you for your suggestions in regard to the filibuster. Your idea for a group of Negro veterans to march with United States flags sounds good. We are making plans now and shall certainly take your proposal into consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

5 March 1964

Mr. Jonathan Dolger
Simon and Schuster, Inc.
Rockefeller Center
630 Fifth Avenue
New York 20, New York

Dear Mr. Dolger:

I am sorry that your letter to Mr. Farmer was not answered earlier.

The most appropriate group of CORE members to receive The Negro Revolution in America would be our National Advisory Committee. Enclosed you will find a list of that Committee along with their home addresses.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP
Enc.

FEB 14 1964

SIMON AND SCHUSTER, INC.
publishers

ROCKEFELLER CENTER, *630 Fifth Avenue, New York 20* • CABLE ADDRESS *Essandess* • TELEPHONE *Circle 5-6400*

February 13,1964

Mr. James Farmer
The Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

advisory Cttee.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

On March 11th, Simon and Schuster will publish THE NEGRO REVOLUTION IN AMERICA, by William Brink and Louis Harris. The book is based on the nationwide survey of the American Negro community conducted last summer by Newsweek.

In order to bring this book to the attention of the appropriate people in the civil rights movement, we would be grateful if your office would furnish us with the names of your Board of Directors so that we may send them advance review copies.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Jonathan Dolger

JD:lm

6 March 1964

Mr. Lee Bowie
University of Khartoum
Khartoum, Sudan
AFRICA

Dear Mr. Bowie:

I am replying to your letter of February 27, which is being turned over to our Program Director, Norman Hill. Mr. Hill is in charge of our summer program. I am sure that he will send you the desired information after April 1, at Lake City, Iowa.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

cc: Norman Hill

MAR 17 1964

Gordon

Onondaga Valley Presbyterian Church

275 WEST SENECA TURNPIKE AT ACADEMY GREEN SYRACUSE 7, NEW YORK

DONALD C. HANSON, PASTOR MRS. RALPH HOPKINS, SECRETARY MRS. GORDON MacASKIE, DIRECTOR OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

TELEPHONE HOward 9-0946

4/4
10:30

4/3
10am

16 March 1964

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

April 2

On Friday and Saturday, April 3 and 4, the senior Hi youth group from this church will be in New York City. The group will be composed of approximately 20 students and 6 adults. Would you be willing to meet with this group at the Core offices on one of these mornings? In the course of such an interview, we would like to hear about what Core is doing nationally, your assessment of the struggle for racial equality in our country, your projection of what the future seems to promise or portend. I would hope that some time could also be given to questions from the group.

I know that your schedule is a very busy one, but if you are going to be in New York at the time of our visit, we would appreciate any time you could give us.

Sincerely,

Donald C Hanson
Donald C. Hanson

~~Appreciation~~
~~By Jim~~
~~Can't make it [illegible]~~

Suggest
Field Staff

TIME
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

TIME & LIFE BUILDING
ROCKEFELLER CENTER
NEW YORK 10020
JUDSON 6-1212

PUBLISHER'S OFFICE

MAR 17 1964

March 16, 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I wish to extend to you the TIME staff's collective -- and my personal -- thanks for the help you have given us this past year.

So often we count on the special knowledge that only those like yourself can supply. In no small way the extra detail, the broader range, the thoroughness that people recognize in TIME's reporting are a result of cooperation between TIME's staff and those outside it.

Again, many thanks for your help -- and warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Bernhard M. Auer

Bernhard M. Auer
Publisher

March 18, 1964

Mr. John D. McCabe
6506 East Halbert Road
Bethesda 14, Md.

Dear Mr. McCabe:

I have your letter of March 16 relative to the public accommodations bill in Maryland.

While we are very much pleased that Governor Tawes decided to get behind the bill and push it through the Assembly, and while we agree that he is to be congratulated for his action in this regard, however belated, I do not think that this belated codification of essential rights is an occasion for us to be "humbly proud". I think it is, rather, the occasion for us to press forward toward the day when all of our nation will be the home of the brave and the land of the free.

I would not be so arrogant as to suggest that I have a monopoly on a sense of timeliness, appropriateness and decency. There is room for much difference of opinion on these matters. Needless to say, I must act on my opinion until convinced that it is wrong. It is my opinion that our objectives should be the complete elimination of discrimination in all places of public accommodation, as well as in other areas of American life, and that such an objective can be achieved only by using limited victories as spring-boards to wider ones. I feel very strongly that such an approach should be encouraging to men who share those objectives, rather than demeaning to them.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

JOHN D. McCABE
6506 East Halbert Road
Bethesda 14, Maryland

MAR 18 1964

3-16-64

Dear Mr. Farmer —

Ten days ago it looked like the public accomodations bill would not get through the General Assembly in Maryland.

Now, much to our surprise, Governor Tawes got behind the bill + pushed it through the Assembly. The Governor is to be congratulated, and CORE, along with all other civil rights groups, should be humbly proud of this turn of events.

But what happens? CORE immediately pickets a bowling alley, and you say that the new bill is "a step, but only a step, in the right direction".

Don't you have any sense of what is timely, what is appropriate, what is the decent thing to do? Instead of picketing the bowling alley you should be leading a thanksgiving ceremony at Annapolis!

Certainly, the new bill is only a step, but its a big step and let's show some appreciation for it. Tawes did the right thing, let's give him some credit for it. He didn't have to push the bill, + if he hadn't pushed it it wd have died, despite the picketing.

We need to encourage men like Governor Tawes instead of demeaning him when he does something worthwhile.

John D. McCabe

3/18/64
R.B.S.

James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

The remarkable success of the February 3 one day boycott in New York gives further indication that CORE is, throughout this nation, beginning to develop a powerful mass movement among Negroes and our allies. The pioneering school boycott in Chicago set the pattern and proved that significant action of this type can be succesfully coordinated. In such cities as Boston, Cleveland, St. Louis and Cincinnatti, CORE has united with others in these kinds of projects and this represents a meaningful step toward solving problems in education. These projects express not only the desire to integrate and improve the quality of education, but they also voice the general frustration and restlessness of black people.

City-wide school boycotts should be a key factor in ending de facto segregation in many large metropolitan areas. I would encourage CORE chapters throughout the nation to explore the possibilities of taking part in such community projects. In addition to mass boycotts, however, we must simultaneously develop other programs and techniques for achieving racial balance in public schools As always, our actions should follow sincere attempts at negotiations with public officials.

There is no single plan of action which will work in every city. Each school~~s~~ system has its own problems, and each city has its own distinctive political climate.

Summarizing, I believe that the massive city-wide, one day boycott is probably the most effective means of convincing schools boards and the general population of our sincerity and of our deep frustration. Secondly, it is clear that in the immediate future boycotts should be planned to meet the specific needs of a city and not necessarily to coincide with efforts in other cities. Third, we should examine carefully our strategy to see if protracted and more localized boycotts may not be more effective than simply carrying out city-wide, one day protests. Fourth, it is important to have specific demands in order to educate the public and set a rational as well as militant tone to our action. Finally, it is important always to communicate with educators who are both competen~~ce~~t and sympathetic, for these are the persons who, ultimately, will implement our desires

March 20, 1964

Mr Charles L. Sanders
Associate Editor
EBONY
1820 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago 16, Illinois

Dear Mr. Sanders:

Enclosed is the belated statement from our National Director, James Farmer, regarding "Playing Hooky for Freedom." I am very sorry that it did not get to you in time for inclusion in the article but hopefully you can stash it away for future reference.

Sincerely,

Robert Brookins Gore
Assistant Community
Relations Director

RBG:mh
enc: 1

Ebony

FEB 14 1964

Bob Gore - Please try this for Jim - OK? Val

February 13, 1964

CA 5-1000

50-75 words

Dear Mr. Farmer:

We now have in production a forthcoming EBONY story, "Playing Hooky for Freedom." The story deals with school boycotts in a number of cities. We would like to include in the story a statement by you of your views concerning the boycotts, their purpose and their effectiveness.

It would be very helpful if you could find the time to send us the statement by next week. Make the statementas lengthy as you like.

I want you to know that EBONY appreciates your consideration of this request.

Very respectfully,

Charles L. Sanders

Charles L. Sanders
Associate Editor

Mr. James L. Farmer, Executive Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

CLS/pb

Enc.

1820 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE • CHICAGO 16, ILLINOIS

March 23, 1964

Honorable George L. P. Weaver
Assistant Secretary to Labor
Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Weaver:

I have been very pleased to learn that Miss Vera Rony, Executive Secretary of the League for Industrial Democracy and the Workers Defense League, is being, or may be, considered for a labor attache post. It would be difficult for me to think of a finer selection.

I have known Miss Rony for many years and have worked closely with her on numerous occasions on projects of mutual interest involving labor rights and civil rights. I have the utmost confidence in her skill, knowledgeability and commitment. Her ability to work with trade unionists and help bridge the gap between the labor movement and the civil rights movement is little short of miraculous.

Her selection for a labor attache post would be a significant asset for our government in its work abroad.

With very best personal regards,

I am,

Yours sincerely,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

cc: Vera Rony

24 March 1964

Mr. M. J. Jones
Research Coordinator
The Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action
433½ East Ninth Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Jones:

I am replying to your March 6 letter to Mr. Farmer. The Congress of Racial Equality would be most happy to endorse the regional Conference on Jobs, Freedom and Citizenship Responsibility being held by the Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action.

Mr. Farmer unfortunately will not be able to attend. However, he has suggested that the Associate Director, Mr. Richard Haley, might be able to do so. I am forwarding a copy your letter and my reply to Mr. Haley who should be in touch with you directly.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

cc: Richard Haley

Haley?
Urban League
sponsor

MAR 9 1964

4/14-15

THE CHATTANOOGA COUNCIL FOR COOPERATIVE ACTION

433½ EAST NINTH STREET
CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE
Telephone 267-9955

H. J. TRAYLOR, PRESIDENT

M. J. JONES, RESEARCH COORDINATOR

March 6, 1964

Mr. James L. Farmer
CORE Representative
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

The Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action is to sponsor a regional Conference on Jobs, Freedom and Citizenship Responsibility April 14-15, 1964 here in Chattanooga. The Conference is under the sponsorship of such organizations as: The Chattanooga Council for Cooperative Action, The Southern Regional Council, The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, The National Urban League, The Board of Christian Social Concerns of The Methodist Church, The Committee of Southern Churchmen, The Tennessee Council on Human Relations, etc.

I am wondering if in addition to soliciting your sponsorship, you would agree to accept some program responsibility in the area of giving us an assessment of "The Present Civil Rights Thrust from the Vantage Point of CORE".

We have taken the liberty of inviting three or four other persons to participate in other capacities. With your permission I hope they can participate.

Please let me know as soon as possible concerning sponsorship and your possible participation.

Very truly yours,

M. J. Jones

M. J. Jones

MJJ/lmp

24 March 1964

Mr. Herbert Roth
111-02 75th Road
Forest Hills, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Roth:

It would be quite convenient for Mr. Carey to meet with you this Friday, March 27. Please call me here at the CORE office to confirm the hour most suitable for you.

CORE greatly appreciates your gift for a task force worker. With the approach of summer and renewed, intensified projects to overcome racial discrimination and to educate the people to the realization of the importance of individual merit, CORE needs such contributions as yours desparately. Thank you so much.

Sincerely yours,

Lane Perdue
Secretary to
Gordon R. Carey

Enc. 25.00

MAR 24 1964

111-02 75th Rd.
Forest Hills 75, N.Y.

March 22, 1964

Gordon R. Carey
CORE, 38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Carey:

Tried as I have, I haven't been able to find the time to make an appointment to see you. (Your letter of 3-3-64).

How would this coming Friday be, late in the morning?

Am enclosing a check for one weeks expense for a task force worker in the South, but wish I could arrange things so that I could go myself (for one or two weeks).

Sincerely yours,

Herbert Roth
Herbert Roth

HR:hr

3 March 1964

Mr. Herbert Roth
111-02 75th Road
Forest Hills 75, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Roth:

Mr. Farmer has asked me to reply to your letter of March 1. His schedule will not permit him to see you for quite sometime.

May I suggest that you call me here at the office and I will arrange to spend somettime to discuss the school integration matter with you. I am anxious to hear your ideas and will look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

111-02 75th Rd.
Forest Hills 75, N.Y.

MAR 2 1964

March 1st, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am an occasional contributor to National CORE, and a (somewhat) active member of N.Y.CORE. I am thirty-seven years old, married, have three children, and live in an all-white neighborhood in Forest Hills. In addition to making a living for myself and my family, I am a full-time student (of philosophy) at the New School.

I have thought long and hard about school integration.

I am writing at this time to ask if you could possibly find fifteen or twenty (uninterrupted) minutes, during any hour of the day or night, during which time I would have an opportunity to offer you my views and feelings on the subject.

It is my feeling (which may well be incorrect), that due to the fact that I am a member of the middle-class white Northern Society; have white children attending a very good school; and, at the same time, am active in CORE, that my well-thought-out opinion might be worth something.

If it is impossible for you to find the time for me, and I am reasonably well aware of how busy you are, please let me know that this is the case, and I will write a rather long letter.

Thank you,

Respectfully,

Herbert Roth
Herbert Roth

HR:hr

March 26, 1964

Rev. Erwin A. Gerken
722 West Main
Puyallup, Washington 98371

Dear Reverend Gerken:

Mr. Farmer has asked me to thank you for your letter and to send you the enclosed photograph of himself which he has autographed.

Sincerely yours,

Glenda Lubelsky
Secretary to
James Farmer

Enc.

MAR 13 1964

IMMANUEL LUTHERAN CHURCH

PUYALLUP, WASHINGTON

ERWIN GERKEN, Pastor
Office: THornwall 5-1162
Residence: 722 West Main
Telephone THornwall 5-1025

yes

March 9, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I have the hobby of collecting photographs of people in news and also at the same time secure their autograph.

You are the head of CORE and as such have achieved high stature. I would like to include you in my collection.

Would it be possible to send me an autographed(by pen) photo of yourself? I hope so and would deeply appreciate it.

Thanking you in advance and wishing you continued success,

Sincerely,

Erwin A. Gerken

Erwin A. Gerken, Pastor
722 West Main
Puyallup, Washington 98371

"THE CHURCH OF THE LUTHERAN HOUR" and "THIS IS THE LIFE"

April 9, 1964

Miss Susan Bagley Bloom
AHEAD Foundation
Crystal Building
801 Second Avenue
New York City 17

Dear Miss Bloom:

I have your letter of April 1, and am terribly anxious to do something to help. However, I need to have the situation a little clearer in my mind. Must Mungai have commitments for scholarships for the full three years in order to enter the school, or is it a question of guaranteeing maintenance for that period? In either case, approximately how much additional is needed to solve the problem?

I hope that you can clear these matters up for me very quickly, so that I can get to work on it. I would suggest that you call my office. If I am not in, giee the information to my secretary, Miss Lubelsky. I should have this information before the 18th of the month, because on that date I will be talking with some persons who might be interested in helping out.

I assume that we should move as quickly on this whole thing as possible. Please be assured that I will do all that I possibly can to see that Mungai is able to attend the school.

It was nice of you and Mungai to come over to the apartment, and I hope that we shall have an opportunity of seeing you again soon.

Cordially yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

cc: Mungai Mbajah

AHEAD FOUNDATION
AMERICAN HEALTH EDUCATION FOR AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT, INC.
CRYSTAL BUILDING 801 SECOND AVENUE NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 6-4513 CABLE ADDRESS: AFRICAHEAD

April 1, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Many times I have remembered the pleasant evening Mungai and I spent with you and your family at your home. We enjoyed the visit so very much and I am looking forward to seeing you and Mrs. Farmer soon again.

As you may recall, I told Mungai that evening, of the one-year scholarship available for him to attend Middle Temple Law School in England. It is my understanding now that he is unable to enter the School without written financial assurance for the duration of the course, which is a total of 3 years. This means, therefore, that the one-year grant for him which is presently in my possession, must be held in abeyance until he is able to obtain the necessary additional support.

As you have expressed an interest in being of assistance to him, I am hopeful that you can suggest to us a course of action, or, even better, contact possible interested parties on his behalf.

I realize how involved you are with the numerous and varied activities which must consume a great deal of your time and for me to burden you with another problem, is, perhaps, somewhat officious. However, I know that you are equally as fond of Mungai as I am, and will agree with me that he is more than deserving of this chance.

Very truly yours,

Susan Bagley Bloom

Susan Bagley Bloom
President

cc: Mr. Mungai Mbayah

April 11, 1964

American Jewish Conference
on Soviet Jewry
515 Park Avenue
New York City

Gentlemen:

Mr. Farmer had dictated to me a message which he wished read at the Conference on Soviet Jewry on April 5. Unfortunately, I was out of the office for several days with a bad attack of 'flu, and the message did not get off in time. The following is Mr. Farmer's message:

Bigotry must be fought where ever it exists. As we struggle for equal rights in our country, North and South, we are not unmindful of similar struggles of other peoples elsewhere in the world. I wish to express my solidarity with you in expressing concern and outrage at the denial of equal religious and national rights to Jews in the Soviet Union. Liberty and human dignity are indivisible.

My apologies.

Sincerely yours,

Glenda Lubelsky
Secretary to
James Farmer

FIVE HUNDRED FIFTEEN PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

March 20, 1964

MAR 25 1964

James Farmer, Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

We are sure that you are aware of the intensification of Soviet denial of equal religious and nationality rights to Jews within the past two years. Indeed, the very cultural and spiritual survival of the Soviet Jewish community is at stake.

In response to this situation, all of the major American Jewish organizations will convene an American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry in Washington, D.C. on April 5 and 6, 1964. The main speakers will be Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg and Senators Jacob Javits and Abraham Ribicoff.

While the conference is under Jewish auspices and for the purpose of having the American Jewish Community publicly express its great concern, we feel that it will be of inestimable value to have expressions of support from leaders in theAmerican community, men and women like yourself who have stood for greater liberties for all Americans and whose concern for human dignity extends beyond the borders of their own country. The messages will be read to the assembled delegates and made a matter of public record.

We write now to ask you to kindly send such a message to the conference. The message may be sent to the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry, at the above address.

Yours truly,

Balfour Brickner Emanuel Muravchik Simon Siegel

Rabbi Balfour Brickner Emanuel Muravchik Dr. Simon Siegel

Subcommittee
AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE ON SOVIET JEWRY

April 11, 1964

Mr. Richard Ashman
5902 Marshal Foch Street
New Orleans 24, La.

Dear Mr. Ashman:

Thank you for your recent letter on poverty. We are very much concerned about the problems you raised and you will be interested to know some of the action we plan to take.

This summer, in one city soon to be selected, we are going to attempt to organize black and white unemployed around a demand for jobs and income rather than charity. If successful in this pilot project, we will contemplate direct action demanding full and fair employment. If it works in one city we will try to spread it.

I think that the poor who, to many Americans have been invisible, must now be made visible.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

5902 Marshal Foch St.,
New Orleans 24, La.
March 7, 1964.

MAR 10 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer:

My wife just gave ^{US}10, which might have gone to Core, ~~the~~ a Negro man who has a wife and several thoroughly hungry children. This man has done odd jobs for us for 25 or more years, and has, during most of that time, had hungry children. Consequently he has begged far more than he has earned.

He and his brother own a small patch of land in the country somewhere, and the woman who takes care of relief found this out. Therefore, he can't get a cent until after this land is sold and both he and his brother are thoroughly pauperized. And he, also, is ill and cannot work.

The ^{US}10 won't pay his rent, now owing, so he, his wife and children will be kicked out in the street. Meanwhile, if his property is worth, say, ^{US}500, you can be sure some typical southern white will buy it for ^{US}50 or so.

I am not wealthy; am 73 & have recently had a heart attack. So I'm not able to pay all the relief the government ought to pay.

A year ago, a Negro child of 5 was in the Charity Hospital here with Kwashkior Disease — a deficiency disease due to lack of protein. The child got only corn — which is deficient. This deficiency is found in Africa — at it's worst.

During the depression of 1930-42, thousands of tons of food were destroyed, while some people were really *starving*, because there was *too much food*. And we had poverty then, and have had it ever since with *too much food*. Because many people are rich, we see no misery — don't believe it exists.

Now China is *hated* as a Communist country. Yet China bought millions of tons of grain to feed its people, while we were destroying food and half starving many of ours. In Russia, since Stalin, *there has been* no starvation & little if any hunger. We millionaires curse Russia just because it feeds its own people and doesnot produce millionaires.

The child's father was employed!

I know that CORE cannot even whisper socialism — and you are not out to help the starving because they are too much worried by their hunger to join sit-ins and such. Yet until you end the conditions that permit the wealthy to batten at the expense of the poor, and prevent efforts to relieve poverty, you won't gain your objectives.

I've recently talked to an Economist (whom I knew years ago) from Washington, and have read Gunnar Myrdal's "Challenge to Affluence." The latter (unlike the former) was optimistic a year or more ago. But what have Kennedy & Johnson done about poverty? K forgot it. J. is going to talk & nothing can be done, of course. Congress won't act, effectively. Our power elite will block anything — because everything hopeful even will be called Communism.

Ask Johnson if his "Free Enterprise" he brags about means, "Hunger for Millions" & Communism in Russia means "Food for all." The question — which I've written him —

4

Does not commit one to communism, It's against Free Enterprise and Starvation.

No doubt Johnson is *somewhat* sincere — but can hope for little himself. It's a talking point for election.

I suggest the poor say: "Damn your *talk*. We want *food* — *and we're not disposed to wait*. Some of our children will be dead in a year." — or die of disease indirectly due to malnutrition.

Is Johnson or *his party* prepared to *try* to *starve* all the future juvenile delinquents? — to get rid of them?

I'm a socialist — and prefer Russia to what we have and long will have in the U.S. (except the weather!).

Sincerely.

Richard Ashman

April 15, 1964

Mr. Robert D. Retherford
2763 Garber
Berkeley 4, California

Dear Mr. Retherford:

I read with much interest your letter of March 31, with its suggestion of tax refusal. I like the idea ~~at~~ principle, but there are certain practical problems which you will see at once. Tax refusal is the ultimate in nonviolent civil disobedience and noncooperation. Some pacifist individuals have used this tactic, but here it remained merely a "personal witness", since only a handful of people were involved. I am not sure that the civil rights revolution has arrived at the stage of commitment on the part of its participants which this tactic would require. In other words, I do not know how many Negroes in Mississippi or Alabama would be prepared to spend one, two or more years in prison on this issue. Most of our jailees thus far want out on bail very shortly after arrest. To be a genuinely revolutionary strategy, as opposed to a "personal witness", large numbers of persons would have to be involved.

Nor am I convinced that more than one or two of the "civil rights leaders' would be prepared to risk a conspiracy charge and a long period of imprisonment for urging such a course of action, particularly when they have no assurance that any sizable number of "followers" would be with them.

The above are just some random reactions to what is basically a constructive suggestion. We will continue to explore the idea and to discuss it with other persons. [redacted] Before this battle is won, I think masses of Negroes and their allies may c come to the point of such a willingness to suffer. When and if such an announcement as you suggest is made, we must be prepared to follow through on it. When one draws a "gun" he must be prepared to "shoot". Consequently, I see no possibility of such an announcement being seriously made as early as April 16. I shall be glad to hear from you further on this matter.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

APR 3 1964

2763 Garber
Berkeley 4, California
March 31, 1964.

James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am a member of the campus chapter of CORE in Berkeley, California, but I am sending this letter as an individual and not as a member of CORE. That is, my chapter of CORE has not officially endorsed the contents of this letter, though most of the people I have talked to like the ideas presented below.

This letter proposes an action to proptest the disfranchisement of Negro voters in the South. I suggest that on April 16, the day after federal income taxes are due, or soon thereafter, the national leadership of CORE and other civil rights organizations hold a press conference in Washington. They will announce that a year from now, Negroes in Mississippi and Alabama and possibly other sections of the country will not pay federal income taxes, unless steps are taken between now and then to make into a reality the democratic right of every Negro in this country to vote. The justification of this action is--no taxation without representation.

This action would spur on the Justice Department to take Negro voter registration in the South more seriously. It would also cause both party conventions this summer to write stronger civil rights planks into their platforms.

Especially if the Civil Rights Bill in the Senate fails or is watered down, I think this taxation proposal is a good one.

I am sending a letter similar to this one to James Forman of SNCC.

Sincerely,
Robert D Retherford
Robert D. Retherford

Re File: Misc. Corres.

APR 20 1964

207 Byron St. N.
Whitby Ont. Canada
April 17/64

Dear Mr Farmer
Hear you are going to
speak on radio at 8 pm
or 3 pm
I hope nothing interferes
This talk about passing
Civil rights bill & wondering
it is this to help negros
equal rights or what?
I see Sterling Hayden
was ejected last week
for helping. When is the
war against white
and black people going
to end. Harmony must
prevail. I'm ignorant
on this matter of feelings
I have no enemies Among

White people, not too many. I try not to poke into other peoples affairs, but, others stick their noses into my own. I pray after a fashion. Some wishes to God Arent Answered. I hope Africa wont be a large "jumping place" for racial uprisings, my mind is impatient in waiting to visit two Countries U. S. A and Africa! History I've read for on both have caught my interest to such an extent I want to take off. Something pulls at me and I fume inwardly

3→ So, because of this, I have to keep my interest on needle craft and mental thought on interests of the world. I've got the rest of the summer cut out for me. Sewing and knitting odds and ends on quilts and Church Bazaar ideas.

All for now. Good luck and pleasant harmony

Sincerely yours
Phyllis Bullock

File: Misc. Corres.

APR 21 1964

2126 Roosevelt
Berkeley, Calif.

Dear Jim:

I have just received the minutes of the February NAC meeting and thought I would convey to you some random thoughts on some of the proposed constitutional amendmeants.

I have always felt that the national office had too little power with respect to the local groups and was chary about using the power it had - you may remember that I pleaded for firmer action in the Louisville situation in what seems now to be an age past. But granting that It does not seem wise to go to the other extreme as the new amendments propose. I will give my reasons below. The one I feel most stongly ~~thatx~~ about is the one most relevant to our own Berkeley situation so I'llgo into that at some length.

Take provison 1 in appendix 8. This is made to order for the distruction of the sane functioning elements in the Berkeley chapter. We remain despite the still unrelsolved strains of the Gooch dipute (kicking Gooch out is still pending but probable) an functioning group with good morale . There is a dissident faction that I am confident would be brought safely back into the mainstream when the Gooch case is finally ended which would if this trusteeship privision were available to them round up enough votes to put our group in trusteeship. What would then ensue would be the most unholy uproar against the national aoffice because our group is not, despite some malfunctionaing in need of any trusteeship. Such an action would create the a permanent group of anti-national haters crying for vengeance on all occasions - or which is as likely - the best people would leave in sheer disgust. Do not forget that the regional secretary comes from this group and most members consider themsleves much more capable of running their affairs than he is . I do myself. What this trusteeship provision means that in any minor crisis the group will not be able to resolve that crisis itself but will find all its autonomy taken away from it. You can imagine what this will do to program. During the period of trusteeship there would be no cooperation between the local group and the trustees and program would be halted. Leaderhsip and membership would drift away. You must remember that CORE is able to function with very high proportions of nuts in its midst. As high as 30% when offset by good people - as the nuts are in Berkeley CORE. I think I can predict that the passage of this amendment would mean that there is a 50-50 chance that an excellent, dynamic and growing chapter which is learning, admittedly the hard way, to handle its own problems, would simply be destroyed.

Secondly, you have issued yourselves a carte blanche to interfere at will with local chapters. I take it that the determination of whether conditions 2-5 have been met is up to the national office. That gives you room to move in whenever you want. But worse is the threat to move in. The meaning of this is pretty clear and I fear you will meet a wall of resistence in the local chapters which will greatly imbitter relationships. It is one thing to have practically no power such as now and it is another to have unlimited power. I don't think you can make a grabl for unlimited power and get away with it - so better not to try. Or least to have a greatly modified set of proposals in your back pocket. Even so I think it a shame you have gone on record with this appendix. Let us look at these provisions one by one.

1. What happens when the presiding officers are crummy and at odds with the group but are still basically controlled by the group (R. Leonard when president of Berkeley CORE)? If that person or the executive committee put the group into trusteeship, no matter what the good intentions of the trustees, resentment by the group would be impossible to overcome. I do believe that only the vote of over 50% of the active members should result in trustteeship.

2. This makes sense.

3. This is horribly vague and would get slaughtered on the convention floor both by left-wingers and civil libertarians who I expect are in a majority at CORE conventions. It smacks much too loudly of red-baiting to get by and would create endless division. If passed I think you might lose some chapters - not necessarily red-dominated or even dominated by fuzzy thinkers.

4. What is the standard for acting effectivly? Whatever you choose to call it. I think you need an objective standrad which would not be impossible to devise.

5. If you pass this you had better put in the by-laws just what is good order and reasonable bookkeeping practices. Actually is would not be out of line for you to prescribe uniform rules for the keeping of books and the handling of finances but it would be nice to know just what does or does not meet your standards.

Of course, I do not think the national office would abuse its powers - or let us say it rarely would and there is a crying need for it to have more powers. But you have created a frightening ogre here which will merely activate all the latent hostility that exists against the national office. I actually consider provison 1 the most dangerous as in my experience, the membership tends to be better than the officers and this puts a great power in the hands of the president , or officers or minority faction to clobber what I generally think is the sane majority. It does not matter that the national office has no such intention to clobber. Pullin their autonomy out form under them would destroy the membership whatever the national offices intentions. I realize that that provision in intended for groups with an insane majority and sane minority but that case would be better be handled by provision 2 and a revision of the Rules for Action - ~~which~~badly need revision. Please think this latter approach over.

In brief, it seems to me proviosion 2, revised Rules, and a majority request for trusteeship should give you the freedom to act which you need without undue license.

Another point. We find that the new campus chapter gets in our hair a bit but we would fight like Hell for their right to have the same number of votes as the community chapter. This I think is political dynamite and will lose you thestudents. Would their two extra votes really be so damaging as all that?

There is not esp cial need to reply to this letter but I would appreciate your ciculating it around to whoever on the staff might be interested.

Genevieve

COPY

4/27/64 6/2

Mr. Arthur Hays Sulzberger
Chairman of the Board
The New York Times
229 West 43rd Street
New York, New York 10036

RE: LOIS CHAFFEE

Dear Sir:

Lois Chaffee is a young woman from Kellogg, Idaho, who has been working for CORE in Mississippi. Prior to that she had been teaching in Tougaloo Christian College outside of Jackson.

On the day after Medgar Evers was killed you may recall there were demonstrations in Jackson. Many persons were arrested at this time. Lois Chaffee was one of these although she was not involved in a demonstration. (This is of particular significance.)

At her trial before Judge Russell Moore, one of the most ardent segregationists in Mississippi, she testified as to acts of the police using force in taking flags away from demonstrators.

Judge Moore instructed the City Attorney to submit this to the Grand Jury, apparently on the theory that Jackson Police do not use unnecessary force, and therefore she was committing perjury. (This is interesting in itself because of a Judge who must know that even if a statement is untrue it is not perjury unless it is material to the case on trial.) Since she had been charged with disorderly conduct it is difficult to see what bearing the materiality of her statement has on the issue of her disorderly conduct, if any.

The Grand Jury has indicted her for perjury, and she can be sentenced to ten years.

Claude Sitton was a witness to these events; in fact the Times ran at least one story about the overzealousness of the police.

Mr. Harrison Salisbury advised me that he could not permit Mr. Sitton to be a witness or give a statement. This has been confirmed after considerable correspondence with Mr. Goodale.

While one can understand the reluctance of the Times in a matter such as this, there is the overiding consideration that Lois Chaffee may go to jail for ten years for saying something everyone knows essentially to be true. Times reporters are not electronic computers merely taking transcriptions of matters in time and space, unrelated to these events.

Mr. Sitton witnessed an event; he did not just record it. As a citizen he has a moral responsibility, albeit under risk, to state what his eyes and ears saw and heard and registered.

The *Times* is having similar difficulties. It is in no way a derogation of the position of the *Times* simply to state the truth, danger though there may be.

Many are risking their personal safety and liberty in these times; the *Times* more than most should understand that the risk of living in this world must be shared.

Very truly yours,

Carl Rachlin, Esq.
General Counsel

April 27, 1964

File: General Correspond

APR 30 1964

Wittenberg University

SPRINGFIELD, OHIO

April 28, 1964

Mr. James Farmer, CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am drawing to completion a study of Pacifism and American Life from 1914 to 1941. My main sources have been the manuscripts at the Swarthmore College Peace Collection, the Kirby Page papers in California, specialized monographs, and the writings of pacifists.

With the aid of a research grant, I will drive eastward in July in order to (1) check selected manuscripts in Swarthmore and New York City, and to (2) interview a number of the men prominent in the movement between the wars. I would appreciate having the opportunity of visiting you and discussing this subject with you.

I know the story of pacifist development inadequately because I know it second hand. I feel that if my account is to have life, to have immediacy and insight as well as veracity, then I must have personal contact with men like yourself. I am especially interested in the relation of pacifism, nonviolence, and civil rights. I am eager to compare my conclusions with you impressions and understanding, and to fill gaps in my knowledge.

My present schedule will put me in New York City on Friday, July 24, and from August 5 to 8. I realize that it is very early to discuss summer plans. But perhaps you can give me some idea of whether or not it would be possible to visit you then.

Sincerely yours,
Charles Chatfield
Charles Chatfield,
Department of History

April 29, 1964

Mr. Bill Hahlbohm
261 Broad Street
Bridgeport, Conn.

Dear Mr. Hahlbohm:

Thank you very much for sending the $10. I was glad to be able to help you oot.

I too was greatly impressed by the fine spirit of our people at Hart's Island, and feel confident that we shall find it a part of the demonstrations which will be taking place this summer all over the country,

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

261 Broad Street
Bridgeport, Conn.
April 27, 1964

Acknowledg

Dear Mr. Farmer..

Enclosed is the $10.00 you lent me on Hart's Island. Thank you so much for being so generous.

If the spirit and morale of civil rights people all over the country is as high as it was on Hart's Island I know that we *shall* overcome. I will probably be moving to New York in a few weeks so I hope to see you again soon.

Your friend,

Bill Hahlbohm

file — misc

May 5, 1964

Rev. Nathaniel Thomas Grady, Jr.
St. Thomas A.M.E. Zion Church
54 West Street
Haverstraw, N.Y.

Dear Reverend Grady:

Congratulations on your 118th anniversary. CORE joins me in sending this message of appreciation for your many years of service in the village of Haverstraw.

Your Church is an important part of the cultural and religious background which has given rise to the present civil rights revolution. We honor you for standing true to your faith in human decency.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

St. Thomas A. M. E. Zion Church
Founded 1846
54 West Street
Haverstraw, New York

THE REVEREND NATHANIEL THOMAS GRADY, Jr.
Minister

Telephone
HA 9-2552

MAY 1 1964

April 28, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear

We at St. Thomas A.M.E. Zion Church will be celebrating our 118th anniversary on May 31, 1964. We are all excited and enthused because these have been years of service, development, and growth. We are also extremely proud because our church has been a historical landmark in the village of Haverstraw, being unique in its culture and religious background, having been founded in 1846.

This special occasion will be marked by a souvenir journal. May we ask you to honor us by taking a meaningful part in this momentous occasion by sending to us your greeting or message which we would insert in our program.

We certainly would be blessed by your message and it would lift us to a new spiritual dimension.

Looking forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience because we know that you would want to be a part of history in the making.

Yours in service,

Nathaniel T. Grady Jr.
Nathaniel T. Grady, Jr.

NTG:tin

May 6, 1964

Mrs. Eva G. Klein
LENA
119-121 Suffolk Street
New York City 2

Dear Mrs. Klein:

I have your letter of April 29, relative to your consideration of Mr. Milton Zatinsky for a position with your organization.

I have known Mr. Zatinsky for 20 years, and for at least 10 of those years have worked closely with him in various causes of mutual interest and concern. I have not the slightest hesitation in recommending him highly for a position with LENA. I think that he has the stability, reliability and competence to work well in a tension assignment.

If any further recommendation is needed for Mr. Zatinsky, may I suggest that you contact Mr. Norman Thomas at 112 East 19 Street, New York City.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

L E N A

LOWER EASTSIDE NEIGHBORHOODS ASSOCIATION, INC.
119-121 SUFFOLK STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10002
Telephone: SPring 7-9090

ACTING DIRECTOR
Milton Pulakos

MAY 1 1964

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April 29, 1964

C O N F I D E N T I A L

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress for Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer: RE: Mr. Milton Zatinsky

I am writing to solicit your help with respect to our consideration of the above named person for a position with our organization. We know that you realize the importance of our having capable, stable and reliable persons carrying out our type of program. Any weakness or shortcoming, quite tolerable in a normal situation, may be magnified in a tension assignment and thereby jeopardize the effectiveness of an entire vital program. We would appreciate your assistance in giving us your candid evaluation of this candidate's suitability in these terms.

Your comments will, of course, be kept in the strictest confidence. We should also be grateful if you would suggest the names of others who might be acquainted with the work and character of the candidate.

Sincerely,

Eva G. Klein

(Mrs.)Eva G. Klein
Office Manager

EGK:ts

371

TELEGRAM 5/6/64

JERRY WURF
DISTRICT COUNCIL 37
STATE, COUNTY AND MUNICIPAL EMPLOYESS
68 TRINITY PLACE
NEW YORK CITY

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR WELL DESERVED VICTORY. YOUR YEARS OF MILITANT AND CONSTRUCTIVE ACTION FOR DISTRICT COUNCIL 37 HAVE AT LAST BEEN RECOGNIZED BY THE ENTIRE UNION. I THINK YOU WILL GET THE MILLION MEMBERS YOU SEEK. WARM BEST WISHES.

JIM FARMER

May 6, 1964

Mr. Rowland Watts
Workers Defense League
112 East 19 Street
New York City

Dear Rowland:

I have just learned of the Roving Commission on Police Brutality which the Workers Defense League has planned, and think that it is a first-rate idea. Such a panel as you envisage can perform a highly significant service for America and particularly for the civil rights movement. I am most enthusiastic about the plan.

It occurs to me that one of the first locations for hearings might well be Chester, Pa., where massive police brutality has taken place during the demonstrations of the last two months. I think that the allegations here can be well documented. If you are interested, I would suggest that you contact Mr. Stanley E. Branche, Chairman of the Chester Committee for Freedom Now, 1705 West 3rd Street, Chester, Pa. His phone number is: TR 2-4742. In talking with Mr. Branche, feel free to use my name.

Best of luck on the project.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

8 May 1964

Mr. Jim Wiggins
3142 Charlotte Avenue
South San Gabriel, Calif.

Dear Mr. Wiggins:

Mr. Farmer has asked me to thank you for your kind and gracious letter, and to send you, as requested, an autographed photo.

Sincerely yours,

Glenda Lubelsky
Secretary to
James Farmer

GL:LP
ENC.

3142 Charlotte Ave
South San Gabriel, Calif.
March 2

MAR 6 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer,

The purpose of my writing is to ask a small favor which means a great deal to me. Will you please send me a personally autographed photograph of yourself for my autographed picture collection of outstanding American leaders? I certainly shall appreciate it, and I assure you the size of the photo does not matter as long as you personally sign the front of it. This is so the signature will be visible when the photo is framed.

It is indeed an honor to know you are taking time to read my letter and to consider my request. I shall be anxiously awaiting your reply.

In closing please accept my warmest personal regards for your health and happiness, and I sincerely wish you and yours the best of everything in life.

Respectfully yours,

Jim Wiggins

JIM WIGGINS
3142 CHARLOTTE AVE.
SOUTH SAN GABRIEL, CALIF.

Misc

12 May 1964

Miss Oretha Castle
917 North Tonti Street
New Orleans, La.

Dear Oretha:

I am returning your pen. I am sorry that I had kept it a little longer than I had intended. I meant to akk about the quilt that your grandmother was making for me. You will remember that I gave her $15.00 the last time I was in New Orleans. I simply would like to know if you have any idea when it would be completed.

It was good to see you again.

As always,

Gordon R. Carey

Clara Goldhurst

1776 BROADWAY NEW YORK 19, N. Y. CIRCLE 6-3224

Enc. 10.00

MAY 15 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director Core.,
38 Park Row
Neg York, NY

May 14th 1964

My dear Mr. Farmer:

I have been folllowing your good work., and feel certain that you will win. I have been rechiving some of your fine reading matter., and am taking this means of sending a small comtribution to help with the "postage"...

What prompted me to write ., is the fact that I just came across a letthr from you to my brother Harry Golden dated July 9th 1962 in which ;you thank him for his address to your conventiom At Miami beach...and also in which you state that his letter to the papers was a masterpiece.. Well, Mr Farmer your letter to him is also a masterpiece.

Have your staff put me on the list for all thag goes out to subssibers. Hope to greet in person some time in the near future.

Yours sincerely.,

Clara

PS
DID YOU GET HARRY'S LATEST BOOK?
MR KENNEDY AND THE NEGROES?
LET MEKNOW.HE WILL BE UP ON THE 25th
AND WILL SIGN IT UP..
CG

Misc

May 19, 1964

Mr. Milton Lambert
65-60 Booth Street
Rego Park
Queens, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Lambert:

Do forgive the delay in replying to your kind letter of April 12 but, as you can well imagine, my hectic schedule leaves little time for letter-writing these days.

Your good wishes were well received and much appreciated. In these days of increased activity and, sometimes, growing antagonism, it is good to know that he have staunch supporters.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

65-60 Booth St
Rego Park. Queens N.Y.

With
his letter.

APR 14 1964

April 12, 1964

Congress of Racial Equality
Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Thirty-Eight Park Row
New York N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Please accept my congratulations on your organization's efforts, to improve America for everyone.

Sincerely Yours
Milton Lambert

P.S. America is, truly. M.L.

May 21, 1964

Mr. James D. Brody
Special Agent
Federal Bureau of Investigation
201 East 69 Street
New YOrk City 21

Dear Mr. Brody:

Here are the copies of the two letters Mr. Farmer wanted you to have. If we receive any more, I shall send them on to you.

Sincerely yours,

Glenda Lubelsky
Secretary to
James Farmer

Enc.

To: J. Farmer:

MAY 20 1964

If your black nigger S.O.B.s. do not like it here why do you not go back to ~~Afica~~ Africa? with the rest of the Canibals? we do not need you here or any of your niggers The things your tribes men are doing here, they are certainly not helping their Cause any. they Act like a bunch animals, and idiots, they want Jobs they Can not handle, and you think buy putting your nigger kids in with White Children they are going to learn better, you Can not teach stupid kids, where there is no brains to start with. do yourself and your people a favor get lost. when the slobs get wise that it is only a Money makeing game on your part look, out!!!
And what they ought to do is put a bullet in that bone head of yours. you stink you bum.

J. Flay
608 Sterling Place
Brooklyn 16
N.Y.

Sat. May 9-1964

MAY 11 1964

John Fay
608 Sterling Place
Brooklyn 16 N.Y.

After reading and watching you bunch of Clowns do your stuff, it is a wonder to me that the bunch of half wits you are trying to Make out to help do not get wise to themselves, and see that it is only a money makeing move by you and the ~~so~~ rest of your Hooligans, you have about as Much Concern for the Negro as I have for the Chinaman, you phoney Conniver, you and the rest, Powell, and Ape face King - King of the Monkeys, and a few More of your Crackpots, did it ever dawn on you, that if you do not like it here, go back to Africa, we do not need you, and would be a lot better off with out you, and if I were you, I would tell some of them loud Mouth Monkeys to watch the threats, about Blood shed, because when we the white Veterans of this City get enough of your Boloney, we will show you some Blood shed, and it will not be all white, so Watch your lanuage, because we are not afraid of you at any time, you will get your Civil rights, but not the way you want it.

John Fay

28 May 1964

Rev. L. C. Nixon, Chairman
New Bern Civil Rights Committee
1024 Broad Street
New Bern, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Nixon:

Mr. Farmer has asked me to respond to your recent letter of May 21. We deeply regret that you have had difficulties in New Bern in organizing an effective campaign but are happy to know that the Civil Rights Committee is engaged in voter registration.

The Congress of Racial Equality would be most happy to investigate the possibilities of organizing a CORE chapter in New Bern. However, we are rather short of staff and I am not certain when we might be able to arrange a visit to your community.

I am sending copies of your letter to Mr. Farmer as well as copies of my reply to Attorney Floyd McKissick, National CORE Chairman, in Durham, North Carolina and to Mr. James T. McCain, Director of Organization at this office. I am certain that one of them will be in touch with you shortly to discuss further the situation in New Bern.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

cc: Floyd B. McKissick, Esq.
James T. McCain

New Bern Civil Rights Committee
1024 Broad St.
New Bern, N.C.
May 21, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Executive Director
C.O.R.E.
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

MAY 25 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer:

We, the undersigned, officers of the New Bern Civil Rights Committee, are writing to inquire about your organization. Our interest is to further the cause of civil and human rights in our community.

The local Civil Rights Group is the NAACP. This organization is inactive practically speaking in the field of Civil Rights. We have made repeated appeals to the national and state officers of this group since before Christmas to intervene and get things moving. So far nothing has been done.

We formed ourselves into the CIVIL RIGHTS COMMITTEE to try and keep things moving, while waiting for some positive action. We have despaired of this and therefore have decided to appeal to you for help. We are aware that we can not succeed in our task unless we have help and direction from some national group.

We would be pleased if you would let us know if we can become affiliated with your organization and if so, what are the proper procedures for doing so and how to obtain a charter. We think it would be helpful also for you to send a representative into the community to see for yourselves the conditions of things and to talk with us.

At present we are engaged in a Voting and Registration Drive. This is the only such organized drive in the city. We have been working on it for about three months. There has been little action of the Civil Rights Front since the demonstrations of last summer, which were conducted by the Youth Council of the NAACP. There resulted in some improvement in employment, but not in the desegregation of Public Facilities as was the goal. The Youth Council has since become inactive since the Adult Advisors were removed from office by the Adult Branch in Violation of established NAACP procedures.

We will await, we hope, a favorable response to your appeal for help in this great Christian task of securing rights for all.

Sincerely yours,

Rev. L. C. Wilson Chairman

Father F. P. Hadden Sec.

3 June 1964

Dr. Ruth Ann Bellinger, M.D.
812 South Hackberry Street
San Antonio 3, Texas

Dear Dr. Bellinger:

I am terribly sorry that your letter of April 6 has not been answered until now. The volume of correspondence in this office is so great and our schedules have been so hectic that it has been extremely difficult the past few months. I am replying to your letter on behalf of Mr. Farmer.

The primary elections, of course, are a thing of the past at this point. However, I would like to clarify a point of CORE policy. It was not clear in your letter whether the CORE members were working for Don Yarborough as individuals or as members of the chapter. While our sympathies are with you, it should be pointed out that CORE chapters are not permitted to take stands on partisantpolitical issues nor indorse political candidates. Thus it would have been impossible for Mr. Farmer to speak on behalf of any candidate. This does not prohibit CORE members from engaging in politics as individuals, but this distinction between CORE action and individual action must be kept.

This prohibition of partisan political activity is both constitutional and has been reinforced by by-laws passed as recently as November of 1963.

I do hope that the San Antonio chapter of CORE IS in touch with James McCain, our Director of Organization, Mr. McCain is in charge of relations with the chapters. The officers of San Antonio CORE should be placed on Mr. McCain's contact list to receivedvarious mailings from this office including the Convention announcement as enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP
ENC.

Ruth Ann Bellinger, M.D.
812 SO. HACKBERRY ST.
SAN ANTONIO 3, TEXAS
LE 4-8473

April 6, 1964

APR 7 1964

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York City 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Thank you for your letter clarifying the antagonism in programs between the Black Muslims and CORE. I believe your position will be taken in good faith by members here.

The primary elections in Texas will be held on May 2. There is a young man, Don Yarborough, running against the incumbent governor, John Connally, who on July 19, 1963 in a state-wide telecast came out in opposition to the public accommodations section of the pending federal Civil Rights bill. The current issue of Sepia Magazine endorses the candidacy of the present governor for re-election in spite of this. I am working along with all other members of CORE for Don Yarborough. We believe that a forceful letter from you to be published state-wide in newspapers and pamphlets will help to combat this and, also, will announce to the conservative "Negro Brethren" that you are directing CORE to take a forth-right stand against segregation and that you are fighting for legal measures to prevent segregation in all aspects of American life. Please inform me at your earliest convenience about this matter; State and local Yarborough headquarters are waiting for your answer on this.

If you plan to pass through Texas any time between now and May 2, and I have sufficient advance notice, I would like to arrange a Mass meeting in Houston or Fort Worth (with an honorarium) under the auspices of the Texas Council of Voters, a Negro state-wide voter organization. Let me know whether this can be included in your plans before May 2 and the approximate cost to the organization.

With best regards and my sincere hope that you can send us a letter and that we can find ways to have you in Texas before election.

Very truly yours,

Ruth Ann Bellinger, M.D.

Ruth Ann Bellinger, M. D.

RAB:ow

3 June 1964

Mr. Thomas E. Korson
East-West Center 1177
Honolulu 14, Hawaii 96822

Dear Mr. Korson:

I regret that your letter of March 8 was not answered earlier. As you can imagine this office has been so busy that we could simply not get around to certain things.

Membership in CORE is of two kinds: active and associate. Active membership is conferred only by local chapters. Should you care to get information about forming a CORE chapter in Honolulu, you should then write to Mr. James T. McCain, our Director of Organization, at this office. We do have a chapter in Greater Boston and are interested in forming others in Massachusetts.

Associate membership is conferred by this office to all persons who are financial contributors. The minimum contribution required is $3.00 per year. For a contribution of $3.00 or more you are place on our membership list to receive the COREIator (see sample enclosed) and other mailings.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assitant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

ENC.

Gordon

MAR 10 1964

East-West Center 1177
Honolulu 14, Hawaii 96822
March 8, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

You may remember meeting a young man from Massachusetts during the Associated Students of the University of Hawaii's Civil Rights Week here recently. We were, in fact, on a panel together, and outside the panel I asked you several questions. I mentioned to you once that I am strongly considering joining one of the civil rights organizations, and you suggested that I write to you.

I had hoped that my tape recording of your speeches here would accompany this letter. Unfortunately, however, my tape recorder has been in demand this week for a series of committee meetings, so that I've been unable to get to your project. As soon as possible, however, I'll send the tape along.

Could you send me information on membership in CORE? I would be most interested.

Very sincerely yours,

Thomas E. Korson (Tom)
Thomas E. Korson

~~[illegible]~~
Carey:
I guess he means Assoc. Mbrshp
J.F.

P.S. I understand that CORE is one of the participants in the equality button drive. I have just received my first batch of buttons which I will sell in the East-West Center cafeteria.

Misc

3 June 1964

Mr. Mike Kelly
48 Potomac Ave.
Terre Haute, Ind.

Dear Mr. Kelly:

I am terribly sorry that I was not able to reply to your letter before now. As you can imagine, my schedule is so busy that I have very little time at my desk. I particularly regret that I could not send you the enclosed information in time for your English project.

Enclosed you will find a copy of All About CORE and the most recent edition of our CORElator. I think that these will give you a great deal of information about our organization.

CORE, of course, supports the Civil Rights Bill. We feel that it should be strengthened rather than weakened as has been the case with the recent amendments proposed in the Senate. The Civil Rights Bill will not bring equality to Negro Americans, but will reinforce our rights and give us additional tools with which to move forward to a democratic society.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP
ENC.

Mar. 18, 1964
48 Potomac Ave.
Terre Haute, Ind.

MAR 27 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer,

My name is Mike Kelly. I am a ninth grade student at Woodrow Wilson Junior High School in Terre Haute, Indiana. The purpose of my letter is to fulfill an English-Literature project as well as giving me a chance to ask you a few questions.

I first learned about you a little while back, when you appeared on the television program, *Face the Nation*, and when I read an informative article in the February issue of the magazine, *Current Biography*. It was from this article that I obtained your address and my questions.

Although I obtained some information about CORE from this article I would like to know about the organization and what CORE's main goals are.

Also I was wondering, Sir, if you would please express to me your opinion

and views on the Civil Rights Bill.
I would deeply appreciate it if you would.
I would like to thank you, Mr. Farmer, for taking time out from your busy schedule and read my letter and answer my questions.
Thank you very much.

Sincerely
Mike Kelly

4 June 1964

Louis McClennen, Esq.
Attorney at Law
First National Bank Building
Phoenix, Arizona 85004

Dear Mr. McClennen:

Mr. Charles W. Cobb, Jr. of Arlington, Virginia forwarded your letter of April 16. You will recall that this was your comment about the "over-zealous proponents" of H.B. 164. I am, unfortunately, forced to concur that sometimes our demonstrations are not of a nature to achieve the results which we desire. I am sure that you are aware of the dilemma faced by the action arm of the civil rights movement. The tremendous frustration and resentment of the lower class Negro is beginning to be vocalized. It is taking the form of violence and unreasonable many cases. Unless we can channel this energy into constructive channels, the entire nation--North and South--is likely to be in for severe trouble.

Revolutions do not proceed in the orderly manner in which their proponents would desire. This is the case today. The only real answer is to work toward achieving the unfulfilled dream of our minority groups and to eradicate the causes of racism, discrimination and segregation.

CORE expends a great deal of its energies in training in both philosophy and tactics. Unfortunately, our resources are limited and we are unable to do the job as well as it should be done. For your information I am enclosing a copy of All About CORE. I believe that you will find it of interest.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP
ENC.

HENRY W. ALLEN
J. EARLY CRAIG
R. M. FENNEMORE
WALTER E. CRAIG
PHILIP E. VON AMMON
LOUIS McCLENNEN
CALVIN H. UDALL
KENT A. BLAKE
ARTHUR M. JOHNSON
JOHN J. O'CONNOR III
DANIEL T. BERGIN
LINWOOD PERKINS, JR.
PHILIP J. SHEA
THOMAS W. WILEY
ROGER G. STRAND
C. WEBB CROCKETT
LARRY V. CRONIN

FENNEMORE, CRAIG, ALLEN & McCLENNEN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING
PHOENIX, ARIZONA 85004
ALPINE 4-6441

VIRGIL T. BLEDSOE
COUNSEL

APR 20 1964

April 16, 1964

Mr. Charles W. Cobb, Jr.
6347 North Washington Blvd.
Arlington, Virginia

Dear Mr. Cobb:

The Arizona Legislature adjourned without taking any final action on H.B. 164. The Bill had a pretty good chance of getting through the Senate, but unfortunately some over-zealous proponents staged a sit-down demonstration in the Senate Building and had to be forcibly ejected. I know that this lost the vote of several Senators who were favorable to the Bill.

I think there is a fair chance it may go through next year.

Thank you for casting your vote for me.

Sincerely yours,

Louis McClennen

LMcC/er

LOUIS McCLENNEN

June 8, 1964

Mr. Mitchell Rossin
625 Pollock Avenue
Penn State University
University Park, Pa.

Dear Mr. Rossin:

Thank you for your recent letter, requesting information about Mr. Farmer. Your best source would be the February, 1964, issue of Current Biography, in which you will find a comprehensive and up-to-date biographical sketch.

If you have specific questions which are not covered in the article, please let me know, and I shall do my best to answer them.

Sincerely yours,

Glenda Lubelsky
Secretary to
James Farmer

JUN 8 1964

Dear sir:

For a research paper in sociology at the Penn State Univ. I am doing a study on Negro leadership and ideology. I would appreciate your cooperation in supplying me with the following information: a brochure on James Farmer including the father's occupation, place of birth, religious preference, occupation and income, education, and any other relevant information.

If at all possible I must have the information b y June 10, 1964. Thank you.

Very truly yours,
Mitchell Rossin
625 Pollock A
Penn State Univ.
Univ. Park, Penna.

LADIES OF THE PRESS
WOR-TV • 1440 BROADWAY • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10018 • AREA CODE 212 LO 4-8000

CLIFFORD EVANS
Producer

June 9, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Jim,

I thought you would be pleased to know of this recognition accorded "Ladies of the Press".

As always, much gratitude from me and so very many others for all your efforts on the national scene.

Sincerely,

Cliff Evans

ce/cg
enc.

NEW YORK . . . . STATION WOR-TV
LOS ANGELES . . STATION KHJ-TV

June 12, 1964

Mr. Clifford Evans
LADIES OF THE PRESS
1440 Broadway
New York City 10018

Dear Mr. Evans:

My "associate" has been living at his usual hectic pace and hasn't had a chance to look at the mail for several days. But I have, and your letter, which arrived in the midst of a more than usually heavy batch of the "crack-pot" variety, gave me joy.

I can think of no one more deserving of such an accolade. Your commitment to the achievement of a decent America is wholehearted and sincere. I am proud to know you.

Warmest regards,

LADIES OF THE PRESS
WOR-TV • 1440 BROADWAY • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10018 • AREA CODE 212 LO 4-8000

CLIFFORD EVANS
Producer

JUN 11 1964

June 10, 1964

Miss Glenda Lubelsky
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Miss Lubelsky,

I wanted you and your "associate" to know of the honor accorded LADIES OF THE PRESS.

Best,

Cliff Evans

ce/cg
enc.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
of B'nai B'rith

NATIONAL CHAIRMAN
DORE SCHARY
315 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016

JUN 11 1964

April 8, 1964

Mr. Clifford Evans
"Ladies of the Press"
WOR-TV
1440 Broadway
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Evans:

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is privileged to present its Human Relations Award to "Ladies of the Press", and to you, the producer of the program.

Sponsored by the Metal Trades Industry, whose membership is distinguished for its public service, we will celebrate this occasion on May 13 at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel.

Each year, the Human Relations Award is presented to an outstanding person or group in the communications field which has performed valuable service in advancing the cause of civil rights and civil liberties.

Previous award winners included Eric Sevareid, James Reston, Paul G. Hoffman, Harry Golden and David Schoenbrum.

This year's award is being presented to "Ladies of the Press" for its distinguished contribution to inter-group amity. Because of its continuing search into the problems of our times, it has brought millions of viewers throughout the nation a new and more powerful insight and understanding for the rights of all peoples. This pioneering spirit and purposeful programming have helped enrich the lives of all of us concerned with the difficulties and dilemmas of our times.

We look forward with great anticipation to the function on May 13.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Dore Schary

Dore Schary
National Chairman

12 June 1964

Mr. William A. Julien, Director
Harlem On-the-Job Training Program
9 West 125th Street
New York, New York 10027

Dear Mr. Julien:

I received with interest your announcement of the On-the-Job Training Project. CORE is deeply aware of the desperate need for this type of effort. I am referring your letter to our Program and Organization Departments for further implementation.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

cc: Mr. Norman Hill, Program Director
Mr. James McCain, Director of Organization

HARLEM ON-THE-JOB TRAINING PROGRAM
9 WEST 125TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y., 10027
FI. 8-2876

SPONSORS
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HARLEM LABOR UNION

MAY 27 1964

MAY 27 1964

May 26, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38
New York

Dear Sir:

I take pleasure in announcing our On-The-Job Training project and specifically notifying you and your organization with the view that you may become one of our prime trainee sources.

Briefly, the program intends to place young men and women of this community in a realistic job training situation. The age range will be from 17 to 25 years, and interviewing hours are from 9:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m., and from 3:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m. daily.

If further information is needed please feel free to call.

Respectfully yours,

William A. Julien

William A. Julien
Director

WAJ/mim

Misc

17 June 1964

Miss Dorothy Johnson
Box 262
Grants, New Mexico 87020

Dear Dorothy:

It was good to hear from you again, but I was of course sorry to hear of your difficulties in Louisiana. Unfortunately this type of situation still persists in some areas. Hopefully the Civil Rights Bill will help.

Your personal witness in situations like this is most important. We need more persons like yourself.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

Corey

Box 262
Grants, New Mexico, 87020
6-10-64

JUN 15 1964

Core
28 or 38 Park Row
N.Y.C., N.Y.

Dear Friends:

You may be interested in an incident that occurred yesterday afternoon in a small town in Louisiana.

I am on my way from New Mexico in my little Volkswagen to visit my daughter in Florida a couple of days & then to summer school to extend my teaching certificate.

I had a flat fortunately (I thought) near a small gas station & drive in. It was fifty or more miles or less from Baton Rouge going south with a restaurant attached. I needed to go to the Ladies Room but as I started in I saw 'White Only'. I came back & said - 'I need to go to the Ladies Room but I can't go along with your sign. Is there a colored one near here that I can go to?'

He said - 'You're white, aren't you -'

I said - 'No, I'm not any color. I never see color - I just see a human being. I'm just a human being as everyone else is.' [I refuse to say I'm white in such incidents -]

He said 'I'm sorry then I started to fix your tire.' I said - 'If you feel that way, I don't want you to. I'm sorry I bought gas here -'

He turned to the boy & told him to put the tire back on unfixed - we limped away - not knowing how many miles away the next service station was - about 5 miles - no signs.

Cordially, Dorothy Johnson

What Would He Do

What would Jesus do
I'd like to know
So that no matter where I go
I'll do what he would do.

If there were suffering of any kind
Do you suppose that he would mind
If unhappiness around him lay
Would he go merrily on his way
And think of only himself each day?
Would he turn aside from a soul in pain
Would he want someone to lose so
  that he could gain
Tell me true - what would Jesus do?

Would he be happy in a mansion
With beautiful cars and clothes
If want existed anywhere
Tell me - who knows?
Or would he want every child, everywhere
Free from the grief of charity,
  free from despair
Do you believe that he would care?

Would he shut you out because of your
  race or the color of your skin
Would he say because of that you
  shouldn't associate with him
Or would he say, 'If you discriminate
  against anyone, you also discriminate
  against me'
If so - just think how unhappy he must be.

Would he nag his husband
Or scold his wife
Would he gossip about someone
And wreck their life
Or would he speak good of all he knew
And thereby make them better too?

Would he even in self-defense
Kill his fellowman
Or would he against war and injustice
Take a strong non-violent stand
What would Jesus do?
I know - don't you!

Dorothy Scott Johnson

17 June 1964

Mr. Harold Fackert
320 Duncan Avenue
Apartment 81
Jersey City, New Jersey

Dear Harold:

Thanks for the copy of the letter to the Rev. Martin Luther King. We have forwarded the original to him as you requested. I hope you are well and keeping busy. CORE is thankful for your continued support and concern.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

duplicate of. Letter to Martin Luther King: You can keep

Rev. Martin Luther King:- Dear Sir:- It can be proven in many ways that the white man has by far, most of the guilt on his or her shoulders, in fact the guilty ones for the terrible dilemma in relationships that exist. The negro has been very patient. And now, that the negroes are coming out in protest, they are accused wrongly of impeding progress by indulging in sit-ins etc." I must use the word fillibuster to explain my version. Their sit-ins are not a fillibuster, but I say that those congressmen and officials, most of whom are from the south are the real fillibusterers blockading progress and preventing brotherhood and stopping constitutional rights for all, to become a reality.

You don't fail the cause of civil-rights and peace, withall the opposition. Great praise to you. Don't let the following discourage you. But here are some things that have happened.

I met a fine enthusiastic negro fellow, who is for the cause of civil rights. He was very much in disagreement with me and you too. He told me that a change to civil-rights must be brought about by violence. Here is where I met up with great disappointment. I tried to explain that civil-rights, social-justice, civil-liberties, intergration, brotherhood and all other good causes can never gain anything through bloodshed and violence. I told him that those business men who sell, guns, bullets and bombs and all other ungodly weapons, will always, sell more of these weapons to governments and to those reactionary anti-reform's side, because governments are

2) a steady customer in buying guns and other murder machines, because governments go to war against each other more often. Consequently all the governments on both sides of their ugly wars buy these bloodbath instruments from them. Krupp, Dupont, Schneider and Remington-Arms are all in the business and don't care who buys them, so they sell to both sides. But of course, in their sales to the rebels, to honest non-conformists, to workers, these ammunition manufacturers see to it that those steady customer, authority governments get the possession of most of the terror-weapons. Consequently those worthy reformers who choose the foolish violent way always lose. This proves that the non-violent way is best. Better a slow process to gain justice, than not to gain it at all. Violence never solves any problems.

Still our negro friend wouldn't realize this. A communist once told me the same thing, he wants the violent way.

On my way from WRL to AFSC (walking) I stopped at Union Square Park to listen to a speaker. Tears came to my eyes. There was another negro brother shouting "We've waited too long etc." I listened for 20 minutes. He was interrupted often, but he was able to continue to outshout the hecklers. Then I went over to him and talked softly to him. He, to my surprise listened. I presented the same story I have just written. He too wouldn't accept it. And I don't know how

3) our conversation got around to the story we have been reading in the papers about a group of negroes who say they will attack white people walking through Harlem. This compelled me to ask this speaker at Union Square this question. What I am about to ask has no ego on my part and without any self-righteousness. I don't want to be accused of any of these. So I asked him. How about me, if I walked through Harlem (of course I being unknown there) would I be killed? Wouldn't this deprive your cause of the future service of one who is working for your cause? He answered "That he was sorry that this could happen, because there is no other way to suit the purpose of bringing a hasty change." This is only one little sacrifice that has to be made" he said. This brought laughter from some of the crowd that were listening. I had to leave without knowing if the laughter happened because they thought the speaker's attitude was rediculous, or if they approved of it and I was the rediculous one. Because mob heckling doesn't bring about understanding ever, one way or the other.

To prove further how I can understand the reason for all the confusion, which I admit comes only from the original segregation, unnecessary hatreds and that ultimate-crime, wars of the barbarous past.

I have this to tell. Before I retired, I had occasions to ride an elevator often. A fine colored boy operated this elevator. I tried to be sociable with him. But he was not

1) sociable with me. So I asked another, a negro friend of mine why the operator wasn't sociable. My friend told me that the operator just came up from the south to live here, and that he mistrusted white people. My negro friend said "Fackert, I'll take care of this". To my surprise the operator said hello to me after that whenever I entered his elevator. We became great friends. The reason was this, the negro friend of mine told the negro operator that my friendliness toward him is trustworthy. Some day language barriers, separatisms, interracial-hatreds, fighting between nations will cease. Worldwide travel must be free, so peoples can meet peoples all over the world giving those like my negro friend a chance to deliver the messages from one to the other, that all can be friends, like he convinced the elevator operator that I am his friend.

Goodwill ambassadors will have a better chance internationally as well as domestically, like this elevator episode. God bless You Martin from whatever source you accept a blessing from. You deserve blessings from all mankind and if my blessing is important enough, please accept my blessing.

I live in a low rent Project. We have all races here. We all get along fine. Many baseball teams with boys from our Project apartments. Each team has negro and white on them. Never any quarrels. Maybe you will be disallusioned when I tell that I can't push CORE, NAACP

5) or SNNC activity too much, they think it is unnecessary because we all get along nicely. They say, let's let well enough alone.

I wish the world could have the following ↓

From all that dwell below the skies,
Let words of love and peace arise;
Let joyful songs of praise be sung,
Through every land, by every tongue.

Support For The World
Wide Peace Movement.

and I also wish the world would take Pope John's advice ↓

HALT ARMS RACE
OR PERISH
GET RID OF WAR
PSYCHOSIS.
POPE JOHN XXIII

and accept your splendid ideals you once explained "I never intend to become adjusted to the madness of militarism and the self defeating method of physical force or violence".

And Rabbi Simon Greenberg once said "Envy not a man of violence and choose none of his ways"

June 3, 1964 on Television program "First Impression" actor Robert Reed was asked "I would resort to violence if" He answered "I don't think I would ever resort to violence".

Comedian Buddy Hackett had been in Russia for a month or so. He was asked about his visit. He had met the People there. He answered "I don't hate anybody anymore".

With all these sane sentiments around us, why can't your wish for brotherhood come true. Good luck Martin. I am on your side.

Respectfully Harold E. Fackert
apt 81
320 Duncan Av., Jersey City, N.J. 07306

For Gordon to keep.

June 4, 1964

Dear Gordon Carey:- Hope you are well. Enclosed you will find a carbon copy of a the original letter I am sending to Martin Luther King, Could you forward the original to him for me? Thank you.

Keep the duplicate and read it, as if I sent it to you also. The blessings in it to you also, in the same words as in Martin's letter.

You are also working faithfully for the cause of brotherhood, interracially. and I know you are for the sentiments written by Rabbi Greenberg, King, and Pope John. Also in print ↓

From all that dwell below the skies
Let words of love and peace arise
Let joyful songs of praise be sung
From every land by every tongue
Support for the World
wide peace movement

JUN 5 1964

HALT ARMS RACE
OR PERISH
GET RID OF WAR
PSYCHOSIS -
POPE JOHN XXIII

Let's Stay Alive
Stop the Arms Race

Here's some more for you to read.

Wars can be prevented just as surely as they are provoked and we who fail to prevent them must share in the guilt for the dead.
General Omar Bradley

Bradley also said:- "We have defiled our intellect by the creation of such scientific instruments of murder and destruction."

Peace on earth we daily sing,
While out of all our factories spring
The tanks and bombs and planes and guns
To blow to bits Christ's Little Ones.

It is to be hoped that nations will stop being guilty of this

MOURN NOT THE DEAD . . .
BUT RATHER MOURN THE APATHETIC THRONG,
THE COWED AND MEEK,
WHO SEE THE H-BOMB THREAT; KNOW ITS WRONG
AND DARE NOT SPEAK.

We must stop being cowed and meek and start doing something to stop the ungodly manufacture of total suicide bombs and dismantle those in the ugly stockpiles

Let's Stay Alive
Stop the Arms Race

yes! yes!

HALT ARMS RACE
OR PERISH
GET RID OF WAR
PSYCHOSIS.
POPE JOHN XXIII

Pope John gave the world a great service when he suggested this

I never let any paper space go to waste.
Good luck to you
Respectfully Harold E. Frackert.

19 June 1964

Mr. John A. Lovelace
SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM--Communications Research Center
Syracuse University
Syracuse 10, New York

Dear Mr. Lovelace:

Mr. Marvin Rich, CORE Community Relations Director, is very pleased that he will be available for an interview with you on Thursday, June 25. Would you please call his secretary, Mrs. Jerome, early in the week in order to confirm a mutually convenient time for the interview.

CORE is very glad that we can assist you in your research on the progress of integration.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

cc: Mr. Marvin Rich

→ Marvin R. x 6/25 6/26

~~Public Relation~~ Carey

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY
SYRACUSE 10, NEW YORK

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM - Communications Research Center

-2

June 4, 1964

JUN 5 1964

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

Would one of your organization's top officers be available for an interview in your offices later this month?

I have been asked by Dr. George L. Bird, head of the Research Division of the Newhouse Communications Center, Syracuse University, to attempt to arrange such an interview.

Let me explain our interest: Under Dr. Bird's direction, a team of thirty graduate student communications researchers is nearing completion of an academic-year-long study of the progress of racial integration in this country since May 17, 1954. Using a variety of proven research methods and techniques, the team has developed several indixes to use in measuring integration's progress; those indices, in turn, will be converted into a graphic chart for submission to the mass media.

One of the techniques employed has been the drafting of a schedule of questions which I would propose to follow in the requested interview. You would appreciate, of course, that this schedule would be primarily a guide to help conserve interview time, but itcould be expanded or condensed as either you or I felt necessary.

From this interview we would expect to compile data and opinions which would add to our information on progress in such areas as housing, voting rights, public school education, access to public facilities, equal employment opportunities, health and access to mass media. Climaxing, as it would, the prolonged study, the information which I would expect to obtain can be so much more significant through personal interview than through mail questionnaire or, even, through telephone interview.

[illegible] 25 [illegible] Rich [illegible]

Because I expect to be in New York on other business early in the week beginning Monday, June 22, I could arrange to be at your office at any time on Thursday, June 25, or Friday, June 26. If neither of those dates is convenient with you, I would be available either Monday or Tuesday, June 29-30. One and one-half to two hours would seem quite ample, and I will leave it to your discretion whether morning or afternoon hours would be preferable.

As soon as I receive your favorable reply, I will make necessary travel and hotel arrangements.

Sincerely,

John A. Lovelace

John A. Lovelace

19 June 1964

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SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM--Communications Research Center
Syracuse University
Syracuse 10, New York

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Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

cc: Mr. Marvin Rich

20 June 1964

Mr. Simon L. Short
Post Office Box 66
King William, Va.

Dear Mr. Short:

Mr. Farmer has asked me to respond to your recent letter. Unfortunately, he is unable to handle all of the great volume of his correspondence personally.

We are certainly in sympathy with the situation which you face in your community. Sadly, there are many, many communities throughout the country which have problems similar to those which you mention. I do not believe that we would be in any position to be able to help you secure the money which is needed for your cultural and community center. However, should you want to engage in community action in order to alleviate the many wrongs which face the Negro community, then we may be able to be of assistance. If you believe you could help organizea CORE chapter in your town, you should write to this office to Mr. James T. McCain, Director of Organization. He might very likely be able to have a representative visit your community some time during this summer or early fall. For your information I am enclosing a copy of All About CORE.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP
ENC.

MAY 29 1964

Post Office Box 66
Kings William, Va.

Dear Mr. Farmer,

I am writing to you for help. I am sure you can help because, you know more people than I do. Please say that you will help. I know you have many problems to solve and I must say that I think you are doing an excellent job.

I am a teacher in a rural area. I didn't get my contract this year because, I like progress. I have a Principal who is an "uncle Tom". He doesn't ask for anything for the children, anything they dont want at the white school that is what we get. most of the people here are living in the 18th century. we have children here twelve and over who have never been to school a day. The children dont have any decent place to go. Our Principal doesn't try to help them at all and thats just what the white man wants. They say he's a good man. He wont let the parent use the school for anything. we have more than fifty students stoping a year. The girls stop and have babies and the boys stop to cut wood. not even 25% of the negroes vote. Our teachers have to beg for paper and chalk to use in the Class-room. They want to drive me out of the County because I Complained. I dont want to leave and leave a Community living like these people live. I want to help them, I feel that I must help them. I could go on and tell you much more but I am sure you get the picture.

I know you know some men who have money, I would like to get a loan of $10,000-$14,000. I could manage with $10,000 to build a Culture-ed Center so I might help these people get some of the things they want. I know I can pay the money back within ten years or less. I will pay you $150 if you can help me get the loan. I am willing to pay 10-12% interest on the money. The white youth here have two Receration centers they can go to. I dont want anyone to give me any-thing, I know I can pay the money back and will be more than glad to pay it back. I know you know someone who could help me if you are not able. Please try and see if you can get someone or some firm maybe even some Organization. I Can't leave these people the same way I found them five years ago. All of the banks here say they dont make that type loan, no, not to negroes but whites, yes. I have gone to 26 banks and loan Companies already. I still dont plan to give up. I beg of you Mr. Farmer please help and you will have no idea how many people you will make happy. If I Can get a building of my own I Can have these people demanding some of the things they want. when we live in someone else house we Can't have a group of people meet as we Could in our own house or place.

I beg you sir, please help me to get the money and you will never bee sorry. I will give you $100. a year as long as your live. Please let me hear from you real soon.

yours truly,

Simon L. Short

22 June 1964

Andrew T. Yang, Ph.D.
Psychologist
201 Park Street
Birmingham, Michigan

Dear Dr. Yang:

The Congress of Racial Equality is dedicated to the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination. While we are primarily made up of whites and Negroes, we do have active participation and support from Orientals. I am enclosing a copy of our City of Progress pamphlet in which Mr. Moon Eng played an important role. Orientals have also been active in many of our chapters--particularly those on the West coast and in New York City--and a Nisei was for a number of years a national officer in CORE.

The fact that no Oriental person appears on our advisory committee is an oversight. Perhaps we shall be able to rectify that situation. In fact, however, our main program does involve discrimination against Negroes. This is not because we are biased toward any one particular group but simply because the Negro constitutes America's largest racial minority and because the discrimination against the Negro is usually more rigid than discrimination against other racial and national groups.

I want to thank you for your comments and for your support. Support is certainly needed during these crucial times.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP
ENC.

HOURS BY APPOINTMENT TELEPHONE MIDWEST 4-3312

ANDREW T. YANG, PH.D.
PSYCHOLOGIST
201 PARK STREET
BIRMINGHAM, MICHIGAN

APR 20 1964

April 16, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
33 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I began to support CORE at the beginning of last year. I am always sympathetic with the racial equality movement in this country. For this reason I support your group's non-violent movement.

In reading your soliciting letter accompanied with the Louisiana story of 1963, I noticed the distinguished roster of names on your letterhead. I am amazed to find out that the names did not include a single oriental on the list. As an oriental person I am somewhat amazed to see a group devoted to racial equality but does not include the representation of the Asiatic minority group. Although I intend to continue my support to your movement, I feel some explanation from you is needed in this area.

The movement of racial equality I believe should begin from your own organization. Without equal participation of all racial groups I think the CORE will be poorer in its total structure and appeal to the minority group in the United States. I interpret the CORE movement as an equality for all racial groups, not only Negroes alone. I hope in the future your organization can give my feelings here some consideration.

I wish you continued success in your struggle for racial equality as well as racial harmony.

Sincerely,

Andrew T. Yang

Andrew T. Yang, Ph.D.

ATY:vb

June 22, 1964

Mr. Roger Horst
Human Relations Data Collection
930 Rogers Place
Cincinnati 6, Ohio

Dear Mr. Horst:

I was extremely interested to learn from your letter of June 19 of the establishment of the Human Relations Data Collection. A venture of this sort has been needed for a long time, and will be of great value.

I would very much like to meet with you but, unfortunately, I am going out of town to attend CORE's National Convention on June 29, and will not return to the city until late in July. However, Marvin Rich, our Community Relations Director, will be back from the Convention after July 10, and would like to arrange a meeting with you soon after that.

If you plan to be in New York again during the month of July, would you be good enough to contact Mr. Rich direct in order to work out a mutually convenient date.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

cc: Marvin Rich

Maw

HUMAN RELATIONS DATA COLLECTION
MOUNT BERRY, BOX 872 GEORGIA 30149
AREA CODE: 404-232-5374-EXT. 296

ORGANIZED BY:
FRANZISCA BOAS
MARTHA GRIFFIN
ROGER HERST
MAY PARISH

JUN 22 1964

June 19, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

It is no secret that today in America we are witnessing in the movement for Civil Rights a type of social revolution perhaps without parallel in history. But the daily events, thoughts, and records of this historic movement are being lost because they are not being collected. Hence, the Human Relations Data Collection has been founded in order to amass and to organize all the possible facts and records of the Civil Rights Movement.

The Human Relations Data Collection is a voluntary organization pledged to the principle of gathering, without prejudice, all information regarding the movement to achieve equal rights for American citizens. The material is gathered and filed for academic purposes, and it is available to those who wish to use the Collection for their research. All opinions and approaches to this movement are regarded with candor - believing that only after all types of opinions are recorded can an understanding of this historic development take place.

We have arranged with the personnel in the Social Sciences Department of Berry College in Rome, Georgia to assist in collecting, organizing and analyzing this human relations data. The fact that this material is amassed and available in Rome, Georgia is, I believe, also significant.

We are very excited about the way this library is growing, and we appreciate the importance it will have in the future.

I shall be in New York City during the week of June 29th. and should like very much to speak with you about this Collection. Would you please let me know if it would be convenient for you to meet with me sometime during the early part of that week.

Looking foward to seeing you, I am

Faithfully,

Roger Herst

Roger Herst
930 Rogers Pl.
Cincinnati 6, Ohio

CORE

22 June 1964

Floyd B. McKissick
213½ Est Main Street
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Floyd:

I am enclosing a letter from a Miss Jean Whitaker; a student at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. You will notice that her home address is in Oak Ridge, North Carolina.

The content of the letter you will notice deals exclusively with North Carolina. As a life long resident of North Carolina and as National Chairman of CORE, I felt that you would be the most qualified person to assist Miss Whitaker.

I would certainly appreciate it if you could take a few moments out of your busy schedule to reply to her. Thanks ever so much.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:lp

cc: Miss Jean Whitaker

ENC.

23 June 1964

Mr. Herbert Roth
111-02 75th Road
Forest Hills, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Roth:

Frankly, I am in the same position you are--in not knowing who represents me. Your idea is an excellent one. I am referring it to our New York Regional Field Secretary and hope that he can follow through on it. We will also check to see if any other organization like the League for Women Voters may have already developed something of the same nature. Thanks so much.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

23 June 1964

Mrs. Mable E. Williams
1166 Forest Avenue
Bronx 56, New York

Dear Mrs. Williams:

I am responding to your recent letter to Mr. Farmer. I am sorry that he is unable to handle all of his correspondence personally.

Should you like to get in touch with our Bronx chapter, you may do so by telephoning LU 9-8409 or by writing them at: Bronx CORE, 1301 Boston Road, Bronx, New York.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

APR 23 1964

1166 Forest Ave
April 22, 1964
Bronx 56, N.Y.

Mr. James Farmer
Core
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I received your letter on Wiseman film Production, and what I read of it, it is going to be a great Challenge on the race problem. I must see it.

You asked me if Core could be of any assistance to me, right now, I would like to be employed, or doing something Constructive.

I am deeply concerned about the freedom movement, and also willing to help any way Constructive.

Yours truly
Mable E. Williams

23 June 1964

Mrs. Maurice F. Blouin
Old Joy Farm
South Berwick, Maine

Dear Mrs. Blouin:

Thanks ever so much for your kind note sent in February. I am sorry that I was not able to acknowledge it sooner. I know you must be aware of the tremendous amount of work that comes across my desk. I enjoyed meeting you and certainly had a pleasant trip to Cedar Crest.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

Dear Mr. Farmer,

Just a belated word to tell you how much I enjoyed hearing you last week

at Cedar Crest FEB 18 1964

I am very grateful to Dr. Stone for giving me the chance to meet you.

It was good to have an opportunity to talk with you informally.

I want to help in whatever ways I can. I do hope our paths will cross again. And it would be es-

pecially nice to
meet your wife
and your little
girls.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely,

Carolyn Blouin

February the fifteenth

Mrs. Maurice F. BLOUIN
Old Joy Farm
South Berwick, Maine

23 June 1964

Mrs. Lottie Hampton
286 Hamilton Avenue
Paterson, New Jersey

Dear Mrs. Hampton:

Thank you for your thoughtful reply to my letter of March 28. There is some truth in your comments, but I would like to emphasize that until equal opportunities in every field are given to the Negro, he will not be able to overcome the barriers which divide him from his white brethren.

I would also like to point out that CORE has made constant efforts to help minority group members adjust to urban living and to improve their own home conditions. For example, when we have rent strikes to protest poor housing conditions we also form tenant councils to help educate them. Likewise, in the South we have community centers established in which people are trained in sewing, child care, home economics and some skills such as typing. We have recently established a nursery school in Mississippi and hope to expand this kind of effort.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

Paterson,N.J.
286 Hamilton Ave.
April 19,1964

Core 38 Park Row
New York 38,N.Y.
Mr.James Farmer
National Director

APR 21 1964

Deaß Sir:

Replying to your letter of March 28th,1964. I was Tuched at the condition you explained to me.And I belie Ave in your cause.Decent housing.

Mr. Farmer dont you think that no one white or Collored cand live decent if they are not taught how To live?

Citizens must have Training Centers some one to go in To Theare homes and teach them the emportance of how To keep home clean.

Surpose you took an old Building and put it in good Condition and rented it to a Family who hade children Because you wanted to help Huminity and only ask a rent You knew they could aford.And they fail to put out the Rubish fail to keep the place clean.And after six Month You d ecover they hade Rats roches that was not theair When you rented it to them.Who is to blame?

Blease belive me I am not aganst Negros I am for Them.But I see the great need for an education for New Adults Citizens comeing from the South to the NorTh-Mr. Farmer they are not the blame for not knlwing But Neather is the Northern Athorityes.The one to put The blsame on.Thousand of new comers to the North are Untrained as to the simple job of good House Keeping. Puting them in new building without teaching them how To respect the Building and themselves,is unwise if you Wish to establish a decent Comunity for Citizens to Live in d iginty for ever.They must be trained how to Live decent.

Mr. Farmer I want to know if the Northern States have Changed the Laws from Intergration to Seregation? This is a true Story I am going to tell you.

A little Girl 12 Years old travel from the South To the North.When she arrived in Washington,D.C. She was taken from a Train that hade only Colored people.A Seregated Car.She was traveling to a place in the North caled Paterson,N.J.

When she Changed Trains at Washington She was put In a car that White people was.And nex to Her was a White couple.Who smiled at her and made friends with Her.She was grateful because She was traveling alone

And when she arrived in Newark,N.J. this White Nothern couple stayed with Her untill her train arrived. Saw Her on the right train and they were going a difernt Way.That Little Girl hade never before hade any exprence Traveling and hade never been seperated from Negros so she Hade been taught that theare was a Law that forbid any Negro from mixing with the White Race.A Law a Southern Law.

When she arrived At her Relative Home she was so Startle to find them liveing in a White Comunity and they Hade a Beautiful Home.And was the only Negro Family.Shbe Went to a School that in her class she was the only Negro She was so pleased to see that no one mistreated Her she Was given all the attenion tat any other Studint receiave When she went to the Liberry she was treated just like Every one els no Seregation.At the Parks at the Station At the Hospitals all people was mix no seperation. When she wrote Home to her Realitives in the South She Told them aboute the differncs in the North and the SouTh.How nice the White people were to Her when She Went To School.She Said White and Negro Children go to School Togather Hear.And the Houses around Hear is all so beautiFul.I wish all the People in the South Could come Hear. Mr. Farmer has this change?

The South still Segerate Collored people Which is rong because it unjust.They have a Law that Give them the right to seperate the Races.And we know That and the reason we know.When The South give up the

The Law of Segeragation.The whole World will change the Way they think aboute the Race that is the Negro Race. To my way of thinking all the enanigy all the power all The money should go first to end the Lawful segeration in The South .That the Birth place of Race difference that Wheare is started that wheare it must end first.When It become unlawful to segerate Negrows from White people In the South your big problem will be solved.Then you cand Take up the Smaller on in the North.With indivulas.

The Northern States donot have Lawful Segeration. Or Am I rong?Please tell me if I am thinking rongly, Is the World Fail plaining to pratcis Segeragition? They didnot Segerate at the Last World Fair.Then why Make the Athorityes misable.for Other States rong doeing?

When Theare should be a diffenencs way of Dealing with the Race problem in the North.Because they Deal with The Citizens Hear diffenent.The Law protect the Negro Citizen from Public Segeration,I know theare are Privet conserns and people that do pratcis a differnt Way of Life but if you take them to Court you cand win. It not so in the Southern States.For what reason do our People come from the South in large numbers fleeing from Race differencs.Yet the North must pleat with the Negro Citizens for peace.It all seem so rong to me.We must know The Golden Roulds and put them in pratcis.If you posess Any good thing and fail to give thanks and appreshation You will loze it.I wish to congratulat your Chapter for The stand you taken aganst the Stopage of Traffic to the Worlds Fair.

Yours truly

Lottie Hampton

Lottie Hampton

Interracial Association of Binghamton, Inc.

HAND in HAND
WORK AND PLAY
INTERRACIAL - ASSOCIATION

45 CARROLL STREET
BINGHAMTON, N. Y.

FRANKLIN PRESTON
President
CONRETT R. WOODWARD
Executive Director

PHONE RA 3-8381
RA 3-8382

Misc

July 3, 1964

JUL 6 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38,
New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

In regards to your letter dated June 28, I am enclosing additional information concerning the Outlook Farm in Windsor, New York.

The owner of the property, Mr. Goldschmidt, has the property listed for $120,000, but is willing to consider an offer of $100,000 from a well-founded service organization. In this case the owner is also asking a 15% down payment, with a twenty year mortgage at 6% on the balance. Although it was not explicitly stated, I assume that the owner will arrange financing if the prospective purchaser so desires.

Please relay this information to those organizations which you felt might "conceivably be interested." I am enclosing a carbon copy description of the property similar to the one which you received in my previous correspondence.

Sincerely yours,

Richard W. Clark

Richard W. Clark
Program Director

RWC:f
Encl.

MEMBER AGENCY OF BROOME COUNTY UNITED FUND, INC.

OUTLOOK FARM WINDSOR, N. Y. R. D. #2

JUL 6 1964

OUTLOOK FARM is located on the outskirts of the Catskill and Pocono Mountains, overlooking the Susquehanna River Valley. It is in upstate New York on Rt. 79, 156 miles from New York City (George Washington Bridge), 15 miles from Binghamton, N.Y., 50 miles from Scranton, Pa., 2 miles from Windsor, N.Y., one mile from Expressway #17, 10 miles from the Penn-Can Freeway (connecting Pennsylvania Turnpike to Canada over Syracuse).

The property consists of 180 acres of land, bordering on the East the Susquehanna River, with about 4000 feet River frontage. On the West sloping pasture land, and 30 acres of mixed forest. The property is divided by Rt. 79, with 3700 feet highway frontage on the East and 2700 on the West.

BUILDINGS:

Main House: beautifully located, mansion built with exquisite woodwork, 150 feet of highway, circular driveway, large lawn. 17 rooms, 10 bedrooms with running water.

Motel: L shaped, 7 units.

Other Buildings: One building 60'x60', Childrens Dining Room and Recreation-combination.
House #2: 8 rooms and two bathrooms.

Barns:	Barn #1	120' x 40'	3 story high
	Barn #2	60' x 18'	
	Barn #3	30' x 15'	

All buildings are very well built in excellent condition and fully equiped.

LAKE: 5 acres, 200 feet from main house (excellent swimming, boating, fishing) well stocked with large mouth bass.

CHILDRENS CAMP: 1000 feet from main house on the Susquehanna River Bank, high above flood stage. Consisting of 5 buildings as follows:
4 cottages: Sizes: 40' x 18', 36' x 20', 36' x 26', 18' x 15', and a combination Dining-Recreation Hall and a kitchen and pantry 63' x 24'. All buildings have bathrooms and showers, and are in excellent condition, also playgrounds and sportsfield.

This property is very well suitable for a Summer Resort, Camp, for an Institution, Industry or Church organization.

There is a public golf course about 1 mile from the farm.

Note: The property is also equipped with automatic laundry facilities, and several commercial size freezers. It has been used as a summer resort and camp in the recent past.

Rwc.

June 28, 1964

Mr. Richard W. Clark
Program Director
Interracial Association of Binghamton, Inc.
45 Carroll Street
Binghamton, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Clark:

I have your letter of June 23, relative to Mr. Goldschmidt's interest in selling his farm on a long-term low down payment basis.

I can think of several organizations which might conceivably be interested. In all probability, though, their interest, in a practical sense, would depend in part upon the price of the property and the terms of payment. If you can pass such information on to me, I shall be glad to explore the matter further.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

Interracial Association of Binghamton, Inc.
45 CARROLL STREET BINGHAMTON, N. Y.

FRANKLIN PRESTON
President
CONRETT R. WOODWARD
Executive Director

PHONE RA 3-8381
RA 3-8382

June 23, 1964

JUN 26 1964

Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38,
New York

Dear Sir:

A Binghamton resident, Mr. Harry Goldschmidt is interested in selling his farm (description enclosed) to a well-founded service organization on a long term, low down payment basis.

I have seen the property and it definitely has great potential as a year-round camp or resort.

Would you please refer me to any organizattion (or refer any organization to me) which might be interested in the property.

Sincerely,

Richard W. Clark

Richard W. Clark
Program Director

RWC:f
Encl.

MEMBER AGENCY OF BROOME COUNTY UNITED FUND, INC.

OUTLOOK FARM WINDSOR, N. Y. R. D. #2

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Barn #3 30' x 15'

All buildings are very well built in excellent condition and fully equiped.

LAKE: 5 acres, 200 feet from main house (excellent swimming, boating, fishing) well stocked with large mouth bass.

CHILDRENS CAMP: 1000 feet from main house on the Susquehanna River Bank, high above flood stage. Consisting of 5 buildings as follows:
4 cottages: Sizes: 40' x 18', 36' x 20', 36' x 26', 18' x 15', and a combination Dining-Recreation Hall and a kitchen and pantry 63' x 24'. All buildings have bathrooms and showers, and are in excellent condition, also playgrounds and sportsfield.

This property is very well suitable for a Summer Resort, Camp, for an Institution, Industry or Church organization.

There is a public golf course about 1 mile from the farm.

Note: Property has long hill which would be suitable as a ski-slope.

Misc

8 July 1964

Mr. & Mrs. Hohn D. Leith, Jr.
602-K, Eagle Heights Apartments
Madison, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Leith:

I am terribly sorry that the enclosures promised in my last letter to you were not sent to you at that time. I hope that this oversight has nottinconvenienced you. The pamphlets, All About CORE and This is CORE, are enclosed in this letter.

The movement greatly needs your support and we encourage you to become actively envolved in your new home in Pittsburgh.

Sincerely yours,

Lane Perdue
Secretary to the
Assistant to the
National Director

ENC:

JUL 8 1964

5 July 1964

Mr. James Farmer, National Director, CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Thank you for your reply to our letter to you. We were happy to receive a copy of CORElator, but we have not received the two enclosures mentioned in your letter. We would like to see them.

Testing was referred to by some of the Madison City Council as "harassment", and I gathered that this is a term with legal meanings which I have not had time to investigate.

We are shortly moving to Pittsburgh, where we intend to continue and expand our support of activities promoting integration, including CORE.

Very truly yours,

John D Leith Jr.

John D. Leith, Jr., M.D.
602-K Eagle Heights
Madison, Wisconsin 53705

23 June 1964

Mr. & Mrs. John D. Leith, Jr.
602-K, Eagle Heights Apartments
Madison, Wisconsin 53705

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Leith:

Let me thank you for your thoughtful letter of May 4 in regard to Madison CORE. I have referred it to Mr. James McCain, our Director of Organization.

I am not intimately aware of all of the circumstances in Madison and therefore cannot comment fully on all of your remarks. I would, however, like to refer to testing to find evidence of discrimination in housing.

The Congress of Racial Equality has for many, many years used testers to determine patterns of racial discrimination.i In the enclosed pamphlets, This is CORE and All About CORE, you will note that securing full evidence is a CORE requisite for taking action. Testing is one of the means of determining whether or not a pattern of racial discrimination exists. Just as the students who sit-in at a lunch counter in the South may not actually want to eat at that counter, likewise, CORE members in the North often test housing facilities even though they are not actually interested in renting or purchasing. We believe that it is legitimate for us to use these techniques first of all to discern a pattern of discrimination and secondly to end that discrimination if it found to exist.

In regard to the Sears-Roebuck project, I am not, of course, aware whether or not the chapter went through the required steps leading up to direct action as mentioned above. The national organization does its best to train and adequately prepare our CORE members for meaningful roles in their communities. We do not always succeed. We need the support of persons like yourself in order to strengthen our efforts at training and discipline.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP
ENC.

MAY 7 1964

602-K, Eagle Hts. Apts.
Madison, Wis., 53705
May 4, 1964

President, Congress on Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Sir:

As contributors to CORE and proponents of equal rights for Negroes, we are concerned about the activities of the Madison chapter of CORE. There have been three separate incidents of which we disapprove in the last six months.

1) In December, the use of "testing" to provide a basis for accusing landlords in Madison of discriminating against Negroes. At a hearing before the city council, a CORE member succeeded in arousing a great deal of ill-will by testifying that even if a proposed Equal Opportunities Ordinance were passed, CORE would continue such testing. His testimony, which gave the impression of his being ill-informed,ill-prepared, and inarticulate, almost resulted in defeat of the ordinance. Fortunately, it was passed after being amended to include a penalty for "testing" (by couples who had no intention of renting or buying the property they came to look at.).

2) In March, a sit-in and lie-in at the Sears Roebuck store to protest alleged discrimination in Sears' hiring practices. CORE did not bother to explain its charges in its news releases. A subsequent hearing by the Equal Opportunities Commission, which one of us attended, revealed practically no proof of the charges made by CORE.

3) In April, an illegal display by Madison CORE members of anti-discrimination signs in the gallery of the Wisconsin Assembly.

Incidents like these do nothing to help the cause of equal rights for the Negro in Wisconsin. They are hurting the cause. They may also succeed in destroying the years of hard work put in by such organizations as the Wisconsin Citizens for Fair Housing, the NAACP, and the League of Women Voters of Madison, to name a few.

We urge you to read the enclosed clippings and attempt to get the Madison CORE chapter better organized and oriented toward constructive, co-operative efforts for ending discrimination in Wisconsin and the City of Madison. In particular, we urge that the local chapter acquire mature leaders who are legal residents and home-owners in the city if possible, so that their plans will be more likely to have been well-considered before execution. Members appearing in public need to look their best, to avoid being dismissed by the term "only students again". Beatniks attract attention, but no respect. Those who testify at public meetings must be selected not only for sincerity - all CORE members are sincere - but also for their ability to speak well under pressure and to organize their speech extemporaneously. Such persons are hard to find, and an effort should be made to unearth them in the local chapter. The chapter must provide them with as much information as possible before their appearance. Many organizations find it useful to have at the speaker's side a second person who may not speak but who is talented at providing the speaker quickly with specific information from a briefcase full of written material.

You might also write to Mr. Edwin Conrad, City Attorney, City-County Building, Madison for a copy of the Madison Equal Opportunities Ordinance. We believe it is a fine piece of legislation which can do much for Negroes, Jews, orientals, and other minority groups in our city. But it requires the cooperation of all citizens and groups to succeed.

Sincerely yours,

Priscilla M. Leith

(Mrs. John D. Leith, Jr.)

John D Leith, Jr.

John D. Leith, Jr.

IT HURTS CIVIL RIGHTS CAUSE

Apr [illegible]

Picketing at Sears-Roebuck

Do the young people of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) want to help the cause of the Madison Negroes or don't they?

It's time for them to sit down and take an honest look at their own motives.

In defiance of both law and the counsel of mature leaders of the civil rights cause, CORE demonstrated and picketed Saturday at the Sears Roebuck and Co. store here.

They accomplished exactly nothing—but ill will.

But obviously they had a whale of a good time.

It's exciting to picket and sit in and get your picture in the paper and —if possible—get arrested. It's dramatic to defy the law.

But pointless picketing only hurts the cause. And it is ridiculous to defy a law set up to achieve the very objective you claim to seek.

CORE supposedly was protesting alleged racial discrimination at the store. It insisted on the demonstration in spite of the advice of Madison leaders of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which knows of no complaint against the store and favors taking any complaint that may exist to the Equal Opportunities Commission.

CORE is composed chiefly of university students. Many of them, from other cities and states, have not troubled to learn much about the Madison situation — which is very different from what they may have known back home.

The NAACP is made up primarily of Madison residents who are more interested in solving problems than in having fun protesting them.

With the hard-hitting, intelligent support of the NAACP, Madison recently adopted the nation's most comprehensive equal opportunities ordinance.

It calls for bringing complaints of discrimination—with evidence—bebefore the Equal Opportunities Commission. No complaint involving the store has been brought to the commission.

The NAACP believes that this law should be used, not flouted.

CORE however chose to demonstrate instead of presenting a case.

Maybe the idealistic youngsters of CORE had better ask themselves why they wanted to picket instead of presenting the facts—if they had any?

Or instead of taking on the admittedly more demanding task of person-to-person help for Madison Negroes?

Other students — with a different kind of motivation, perhaps — are spending long hours tutoring Negro children who are having difficulties in school and working with potential high school dropouts.

Of course they don't get their pictures in the papers very often.

Wisconsin State Journal

PAGE 12, SECTION 1 . WEDNESDAY, APRIL 29, 1964

Page of Opinion

UNWISE DEMONSTRATIONS

Hard Road for Civil Rights

Civil rights demonstrators worked against their interests in Wisconsin Monday afternoon.

A session of the Wisconsin Legislature was senselessly disrupted for the first time in history by a civil rights demonstration.

Such ill-conceived actions in Madison and across the country damage the civil rights movement at a time when all possible public support is needed. Too many civil rights supporters are failing to keep their eye on their main objective: enactment by Congress of a fair but effective civil rights bill.

The civil rights movement loses the sympathy of supporters each time an indiscriminate demonstration affects the general population. It has been widely noted nationally that belligerence of civil rights leaders has caused increased resistance among white citizens which could gravely hurt or defeat their cause now before the U.S. Senate.

Monday's demonstration was poorly planned and without wise leadership.

The reaction of the legislators is important, just as public reaction to senseless demonstrations across the nation is significant. A few assemblymen applauded as the demonstrators joined hands and sang a civil rights song. But the majority of the legislators was reportedly irritated by the disruption.

The high school students who participated Monday can not be blamed for immature actions when they lack mature leadership. It is the fault of the adult leaders who fail to come up with constructive ideas which would help passage of the civil rights legislation, not hinder it.

Monday's demonstration comes as a setback to the constructive efforts of Madison's responsible leaders who have worked hard and intelligently for their cause. Just last Saturday they held a large public rally of the kind that helps their movement. They cannot be held responsible for the irresponsible ways of others.

The legitimate aspirations of Negroes should not be denied because of such unwise demonstrations, but such worthy goals would be easier to attain if some people stayed home.

GOO

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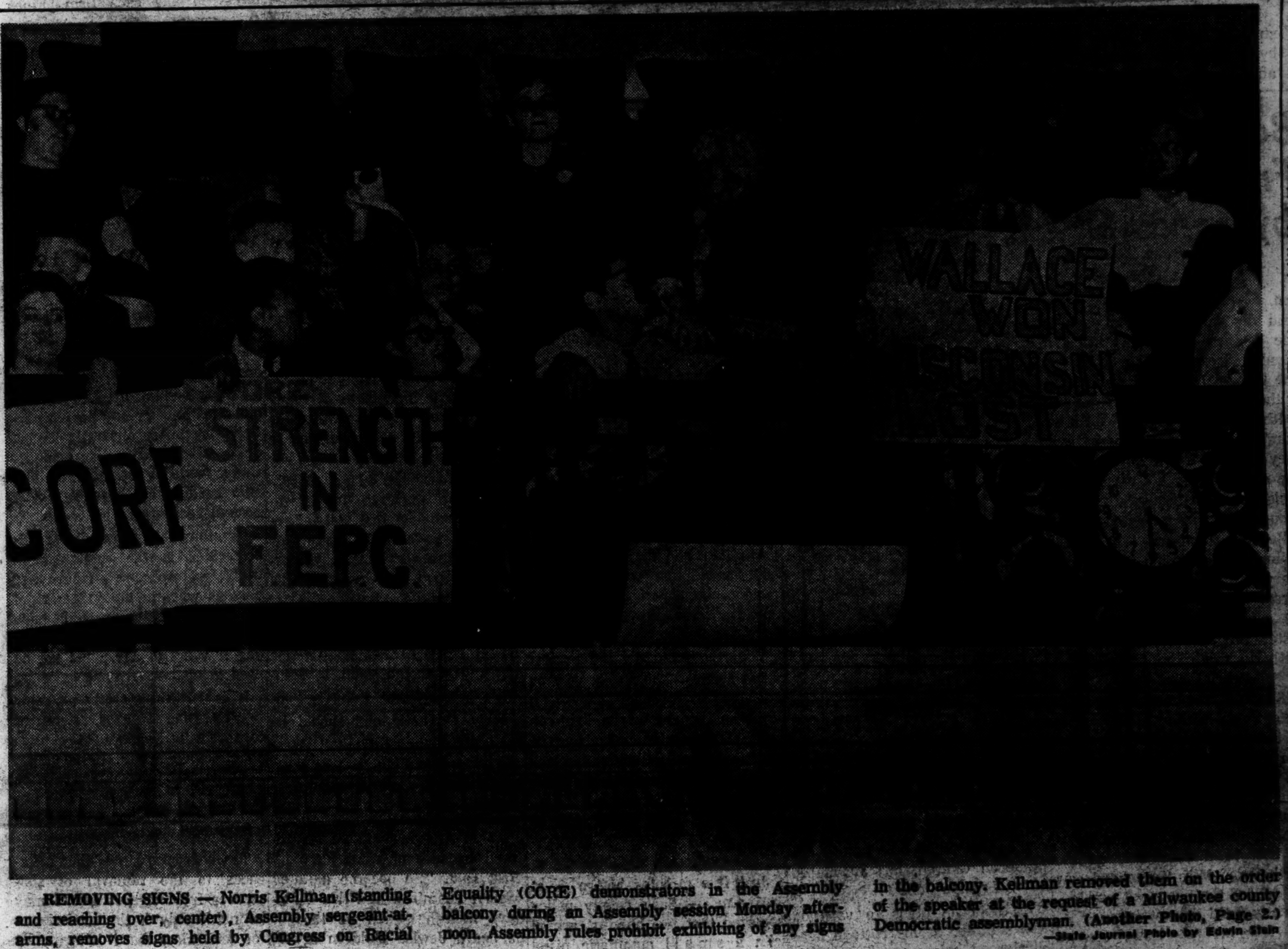
Wisconsin State

WEATHER: Cloudy Today With Showers Possible. Highs 60s. Lo

GOOD MORNING 28 PAGES, THREE SECTIONS Vol. 202, No. 23 125th Year MADISON, TUESDAY, APRIL 28, 1964 Second-Class P paid at Madis

BABY BOY ABDUC AT CHICAGO HOSPI



REMOVING SIGNS — Norris Kellman (standing and reaching over, center), Assembly sergeant-at-arms, removes signs held by Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) demonstrators in the Assembly balcony during an Assembly session Monday afternoon. Assembly rules prohibit exhibiting of any signs in the balcony. Kellman removed them on the order of the speaker at the request of a Milwaukee county Democratic assemblyman. (Another Photo, Page 2.)

—State Journal Photo by Edwin Stein

CORE Signs Draw Assembly Protests

By FRANK CREPEAU
(Associated Press Writer)

Persistent demonstrators from the Madison chapter of the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) stationed themselves in the gallery of the Assembly Monday and disrupted the legislative session.

Assembly Speaker Robert Haase (R-Marinette) recessed the session as the sergeant-at-arms scrambled about the gallery tearing signs out of the hands of the 30 demonstrators.

A few CORE members were present at a morning session of the Senate, distributing handbills asking the Legislature to enact a fair housing bill.

Removal Asked

When the Assembly convened in the afternoon, two CORE members brought a large paper sign into the gallery that read: "Get Rid of Ghettos, Fair Housing Now."

Assemblyman Wilfred Schuele, (D-Milwaukee), asked that the sign be removed as a violation of legislative rules and Assembly Sergeant-at-arms Norris Kellman tore the sign away from the demonstrators.

They reappeared moments later in a hall off the Assembly floor with a sign with read: "Special Session for Civil Rights."

Kellman confiscated the sign and admonished the demonstrators. He returned the sign when they promised to march outside the hall.

The 30 demonstrators, many of them high school children, waited until the Assembly had reached the end of the day's business and then, on signal, held up several more signs calling for fair housing and a $2 minimum wage.

'Once Is Enough'

One placard said: "Wallace won, Wisconsin lost."

Haase called on Kellman to "remove our guests — once is enough."

Kellman again rushed into the gallery and grabbed signs from the demonstrators.

"If the sergeant would ask these people to leave it wouldn't hurt my feelings," Haase said. "A motion to adjourn is in order."

As the Assembly recessed, the demonstrators stood, linked arms and began singing "We Shall Overcome." They then left the gallery singing.

Haase said the demonstrators had not caused the end of the session.

"We got word the Senate had quit for the day and we're just waiting on them," Haase said, "We're all caught up on our business."

The Assembly is awaiting Senate action on a bill that would grant property tax relief to Wisconsin's aged. (over)

WISCONSIN STATE

'WE SHALL OV
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HALL OVERCOME' — Twenty-seven CORE demon-
osslock hands and sing "We Shall Overcome," the
tegrationist demonstrators, in the Assembly balcony
nd of Monday's Assembly session in a CORE effort
to induce the governor and Legislature to enact civil rights bills against discrimination in housing and for stronger fair employment practices laws. (Another Photo, Story, Page 1.)

—State Journal Photo

Cigaret Makers Adopt Ad Code

Forbids Athletes To Plug Smoking

FROM PAGE 1

programs.

Persons shown smoking in ads shall be at least 25, the code states, and "shall not be dressed or otherwise made to appear to be less than 25 years of age." The provisions applies also to drawings.

The code bans pictures of persons "smoking in an exaggerated manner."

The code does not spell out how the administrator will be chosen although it was expected the nine companies of the Tobacco Institute would select him.

The code says he must not be an employe of any tobacco manufacturer or have a financial interest in any such firm. Fines for violation of the code may reach $100,000. The administrator is to determine when violations occur and the amount of the fine.

July 9, 1964

Mr. F. D. Patterson
Phelps-Stokes Fund
297 Park Avenue South
New York City 10

Dear Mr. Patterson:

Do forgive me for not responding sooner to your letter of June 5, but I have been out of my office almost constantly for the past three months. I am very sorry that I was unable to attend myself, or send a representative to the meeting with Mr. Kitchens on June 26. At that time we were all preoccupied with trying to find our three missing civil rights workers in Mississippi.

Had I been free, I would certainly have wanted to attend the meeting, because I am deeply concerned with the problems facing African students in this country, and the educational and social facilities which are made available.to them.

I would be most interested to learn the outcome of the meeting with Mr. Kitchens, and would appreciate being notified of any similar meetings which are planned in the future.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

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June 5, 1964

JUN 8 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Mr. Robert Kitchens of the training section of the Agency for International Development is anxious to sit down with a few of us to discuss plans for enriching the experience of African students and visitors to the United States in addition to discussing the geographical distribution of these students among the colleges and universities of the country. An effort will be made to assess not only the social and environmental experiences of these students, but also to talk about ways in which they can be brought in contact with the dynamics of race relations in the United States.

Mr. Kitchens has agreed to come to New York on Friday, June 26th for a discussion which would begin with lunch and extend a couple of hours into the afternoon. A light lunch will be served here in the conference room of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, thus permitting us to economize time by continuing our discussions without interruption.

I know how busy your schedule is, but the above matter is one of great concern to AID and the findings coming out of our discussions will greatly affect planning and appropriations for African students and visitors. For this reason we hope you will be able to share this meeting.

Sincerely yours,

F. D. Patterson
President

Farmer

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JAMES FARMER NATIONAL DIRECTOR
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

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WILLIAM ALLEN

JUL 29 1964

July 28, 1964

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

This will acknowledge receipt on July 27, 1964 of your night letter.

We have been advised that, on the basis of a similar communication addressed directly to the telephone company, an investigation of the matters therein has been made and they have reported the results to you.

Yours very truly,

William Allen
WILLIAM ALLEN
Executive Secretary

July 29, 1964

Mr. August Meier
617 Highland Avenue
Newark 4, N.J.

Dear Mr. Meier:

I am pleased to give you permission to use articles written by me, as requested in your letter of June 2.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

file ~~autograph~~s Misc

AUG 5 1964

New Boston, N.H.
July 31, 1964

Dear Sir,

I have an autograph collection and I would be honored if you would autograph the postcard for me.

Thank you.
Sincerely,
Jon Allan

(Send attached card
JF)

file misc   July '64

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Im a housewife, white, and I don't get around much so Im writing. And to you because I saw your name in the paper. and because you spoke about white people not saying Mr. I have always said Mr. & Sir. to both colored and white men. I have always as long as I have known about it felt very bad about the fact that eating (or drinking at a soda fountain) were the way they were. But I do hope that will soon be over and you and your people (if you insist) (to be seperated) will forget it just as most women have forgotten that women were once treated as less inteligent. Sometimes I wonder if they aren't. When I see the clothes they (don't) wear. But then again thats just another thing men do - (go around bare chested) and anything men can (some) do some women want to do very badly. Now I'd really prefer men didn't go without shirts. It doesn't exsite me at all but it used to be embarrassing. And I surely hate to ~~see~~ read about the poor unfortunates who commit crimes we are not sure they would commit if women were more ladylike. I wonder if colored people in trying to fight the fact they are colored will become as foolish as some women who try to fight the fact they are females.

I can't think of anything that a colored man should be barred from that a white man isn't. I am for intermarriage. But there are things some white men, colored men or any woman can't do as well as others and never forget that. It might be only because, the white and inteligent have buck teeth -

=2= "or some other unlovely facial marks. Now I have a very large nose. People havent always treated me white. But such people are not nice. And then when I was younger maybe I wasnt always nice either and caused some of my rejection. Tho I dont get out much but I do and no one has been rude to me a long time for since I realized.- All remarks about a big nose are not not insults. And one may even change that. And I think its funny too that sometimes it just burns a rude person up when one thinks his ownself is funny. Rude people are pitiable. Sometimes they dont know any better. But sometimes they are mean. One must try to not strike back. at least or unless he is sure. Well you just better be sure you can be meaner than they and I dont like to think of myself as such. Every time I ever struck back I was pityful. like once when I was real young. I was called half-wit by a real smart mean little girl. I called her a whole wit. And she knew what she was doing. I learned in the next few seconds what a wit is Not in a kind way either

I and my father have always tried to treat colored people as equals. And I realize there are many who are far above past me. Yourself for one I suspect is. You have more money and I am only an 8th grader. You have the respect of your race and many white people who actually know you.

There is a little problem many times. It may be only me. But I hope you who are educated help your side as well as I shall be trying to learn how to do better and help any one I can but Im not a leader you know.

In a mixed relationship (I have lots of trouble and arguments with white segragationest and they say and colored people hear it too." That Im poor white trash and thats all these colored people I ever associate

3. With think of me." Well its true Im poor. And its true also that I dont rub elbows with any one but poor colored people. I grant that some Ive seen are more cultured or graceful than I am (and I admire them) from working for trully fine white people. But do you know that some of them pick up some terrible ways. All white people arent neccessarily cultured who hire help.

I worked for a white school teacher once for a very short time. She had 3 children. There was no man and had not been for 4 or 5 years. There was a man she took week end trips with or men. No one knew him or who. (I listened to her neighbors). Men teachers had been seen at her house. She had two children and + ~~still~~ born twins in these last 3 or 4 years. When I would come to work in the mornings there would be whiskey bottles and glasses in the kitchen to clear away. She never paid me. In my mind culture is not the same as a high school diploma

But back to the trouble. These colored people who pick up from some rich uncultured people are the most impossible people on earth. You must admit that a colored skin is not the ideal just as I must admit a large nose is not (As for me I think too fair a skin is not ideal either. ~~So~~ a beauty contest winner may be too fair in my opinion) So I think when we find we are having a bad time we should check up on our own personality, not our skin + bone markings but the way we act and of course think. We must think in ways that help not hurt ourself or others. But I have never seen many who admit to having a bad time. I feel they are by their sharp, cross, or nasty remarks.
I pity them

=#4: "As for being called Mr. or Mrs. I hate to be called Mrs. Campbell But here is why. I think its kinda funny. Its happened more than once. but for now. I have a neighbor she is 1 year older than me. She insist on calling me Mrs. Campbell. I call her Mary. She says her mother taught her not to call older people by their given name. I wonder sometimes if I should not call her Mary. Everyone would be shocked. I think it over about it. Would I be catty. Mean. little, Nasty or nice if I called her Miss (she never married)? She has lots of little irritating ways. Meant to be mean. For instance she runs her lawn mower over on our front yard. She cuts grass short and my husband doesnt. Nor does my husband like to have people see her cutting his grass. Talk about sights. My husband is very good about keeping the ~~grass~~ cut. But an unmarried woman is something to live by. There is nothing wrong with her looks. But no one could have lived with her. We do not fuss with her.

The reason I am not going to sign my name is because I am going to say unkind things about my mother. She has changed and is not this way any more.

My mother was a pretty spoiled daughter of a man whose father had slaves. Her father was a haughty, and very mean person. (He also changed before he died) He was cruel to his animals and to share croppers as well as mean. He was vicious on the colored situation because he & his father were Southerners. My mother was trusted and she failed. When her father learned of her condition he put her out the door. He disowned her. But he was really a depraved charactor him self. And one of his sons was shot & killed by a white girl he Made pregnant and the other son is not known where he is today. His wife died (she was mistreated terribly and I saw it) then his eldest girl became pregnant out in the country with no one to blame but her father or younger bro. He disappeared. I have no doubts in this world that I have colored Great Uncle & Aunts in this world if they lived

My mother's school teacher married her and is my father. Her child died. Maybe due to the suffering of that cold nite of wandering around. But she hated my father. And she never turned against her father. She was so proud of him. She was towards these no good brothers of hers sorta like girls are towards John Wayne. She worshiped real he men. Who are brutal to women animals and colored people She hated soft & good men.

She hates intelectuals. One did. She has changed. But she never would and still wont allow anyone to call her by her given name. She is still mighty high. Mrs. to everyone. Its a sore point. She of course will never change her feelings of superiority. Colored people will be first name to her always. I wish you could laugh at her.

I tell you this to let you know that as far as Ive seen I do not think much of such white people. But for our own self forgive them. She was mean to me. Ive heard people say. "You would think I was her step-child." She let my husband (whom I divorced) date other women in her home. Her reason - To show me a man is that way any time. She had a baby younger than mine which may be my x husbands. Except she has this large nose ~~of~~ like mine. My mother is xtremely good to me now -

If you have read what Ive written - What I hope is to make you think about it. Of course I may be wrong or not very clear about this thing myself. Ive tried and succeeded too in getting my mother to belive colored people should be considered humans. No one will ever makes her and some others think all humans are equal and perhaps - well you know they are not.

My mother gets around and she will bring those she contacts along with her. She is a leader. She lives in the South. But you must help your people to realize the ways of getting along better. It takes a heap of understanding to get along.

Just as good but no better personalitues can be found than the ones some colored people have. And they get along but if Money was all that counted and hate and mean people were the power (and there are plenty of these in your own race coupled with those of the south what will we have?. But think of the white people who faught and died for you in the civil war. And are still trying to help. I hope God good and decent people win. If you reason it out they should. For hateful people hate one another. And they cant trust each other because of greed and envy. And they will actually kill to get what they want

Misc

13 August 1964

Mrs. Donna Powell
81 York Canyon Drive
Worthington, Ohio 43085

Dear Mrs. Powell:

Your letter, sent in March, was most kind and touching. I only regret that I did not have the opportunity to write sooner and that I was not able to meet you again in Columbus.

I well remember those days twenty years ago when I was doing my bit at the MYF, and particularly at Lake Louise. It is most remarkable that you remember me so well and it is humbling to know that what I might have said twenty years ago still is exercising an influence through you today. We are living in a different world today but the struggle is still the same. My greatest reward has been to see the Congress of Racial Equality--a tiny, almost insignificant organization back in those days--grow into the powerful moral force that it has become. I hope that we can continue to meet the challenges that face us.

I really appreciate hearing from someone with whom I have had no contact in over twenty years. Your support is heartening to me.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

March 5, 1964
81 York Canyon Drive
Worthington, O. 43085

MAR 9 1964

$5.00

James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Jim,

Once upon a time, long ago and far away I met you and you became a powerful influence in my life. For *years* all I knew about CORE was what you taught us one week at a Methodist Youth Fellowship summer camp (I *think* it was at Lake Louise, in northern Michigan, but since its 20 years or more ago you may have as much trouble recalling the details as I'm having.)

Anyway, you made such an impression on us that week that we went right home (to Flint, Mich.) and started our own local branch of CORE — with the help and guidance of the Rev. Paul Albery who was Conference youth director at that time. It was a wonderful experience — even if we didn't get our names in the paper or our frames in jail. The only "shock" I got was to discover (at the age of *16*) that my father was prejudiced. (Since mother was the moving force in that family I went in "mixed groups" to integrate the local lunch rooms whether Daddy approved or not!)

About the only contact I've had with CORE since then was while my husband and I (who were both students) were in Chicago and had been invited by a fellow-seminarian and friend of Fred's (my husband) to go to a local CORE meeting and try to do something about the communists who were trying to "infiltrate" the local group. That was the craziest occasion! It was a dance and since no one made any inflammatory speeches, I found it absolutely IMPOSSIBLE to distinguish a communist from a capitalist! (As a matter of fact it was so dark in the place it wasn't even easy to distinguish the colored people from the 'colorless'- as Harry Golden suggested we palefaces ought to be called!)

I had more than I could handle at that time as it was, with trying to be a wife and a scholar simultaneously, so I never went to another meeting, and if the Communists took over in Chicago I hope I never know it. I can always find enough to feel guilty about without adding that to my list!

There really isn't much of a reason for this long letter of reminiscence, except that I want you to know how PROUD I was when CORE started making headlines and I discovered that "our Jim Farmer" was not only still in CORE, but the NATIONAL DIRECTOR, no less! And something happened a few weeks ago that made me think of you and I thought, "Boy, if Jim Farmer could have heard that comment, he would have been proud of me — maybe." I had dropped in to discuss the "housing situation" at the rental office of the apartment complex that CORE has been working on (and sitting in, etc.) for some time now. There was one lonely-looking picket carrying a sign that said "Fight Racial Discrimination - NOW" and so I decided I'd do that very thing. I really had a long and enlightening discussion with these people (two men and a woman) and although I can't claim to have made much of a dent in their armor, I must have made *some* kind of an impression! The reason I make this not very humble-sounding statement is because of what the woman asked me. She wanted to know who paid my salary! Imagine! She claimed that I couldn't possibly do so convincing a job on the subject without having been *trained* and *hired* to do it. "You've been well trained," she said, and I told her that was the SWEETEST thing anyone had said to me for ages - and then little Donna just laughed and laughed - because she knew that the only "training" she'd ever had was *Twenty years* ago by James Farmer. Doesn't that make you feel *old*? It ought to make you feel mighty pleased with yourself too, though. Actually, the real *power* in what I had to say came from TRUTH and JUSTICE, not me or thee - and if I could just keep that fact FIRMLY in mind, I think I could work up enough courage to go talk to Mr. Leo Yassenoff - the man who OWNS these places and the only one who can really make the final decision. If he's in his eightys now I really owe it to him to give him a chance to shape up before he has to slip out and meet his maker on the "other side" - although I don't suppose it would be very nice to remind him of that morbid little detail.

Anyway, old friend, if nothing else, this letter ought to teach you to never get discouraged if you can't see the *immediate* results of your earnest efforts. I know you want FREEDOM *NOW*; but even with all the progress you've made and will make in the next few years - it ought to inspire you to know that your influence just keeps going on and on and on and doesn't completely wear off even after twenty years or more!

I almost got a chance to see you again last summer when you were in Ohio. I was living in the home of Mrs. Dorothy Wilson who is quite active in the Columbus CORE organization, but I was also trying to get some more education at OSU (after all these years and *8* colleges I'm still only in the Junior Year!) and your schedule and mine didn't coincide very well. I *did* see your picture though and didn't even recognize you! Twenty years of integrating restaurants has had its insidious effect on your waistline, I see. What a *delightful* "occupational hazard"! Oh well, don't feel bad— I don't look exactly like I did 20 years ago either!

I'm writing today because my boss (temporarily* at least, I'm secretary to Dr. David Chamberlain who is Ohio Area Director of the Program in Pastoral Care and Counseling for the Methodist Church) received a mailing from your office so now I know your address and no longer have this silly excuse for not writing this letter I've "been going to" write you for ages.

In case you can't remember what this long drawn out epistle was all about, this is about the gist of it:

"Dear Teacher,
It's been *good* to know you!
Thanks!"

Donna Powell

---

* In June my husband, who has been sick for the past year, will probably go back into the *full-time* Methodist ministry, so Heaven knows where we'll be then. The Bishop may know too, but he hasn't told *us* yet!

Check Martin

13 August 1964

Miss Sylvia Law
Antioch Union
Yellow Springs, Ohio

Dear Miss Law:

Mr. Farmer has asked me to reply to your letter of August 10 in which you inquired about working for CORE. I want to thank you very much for your interest in the civil rights movement. We would not have any openings on a professional staff at the present time, except for persons who might have a good deal of background in race relations.

However, we do have openings in clerical positions from time to time. I am referring your letter and a copy of my answer to Mrs. Clora Coleman who is in charge of hiring. I am sure that she would be willing to interview you sometime while you are in New York later this month.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

cc: Clora Coleman

AUG 11 1964

Antioch Union
Yellow Springs, Ohio
August 10, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Executive Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

May I introduce myself as Sylvia Law, a recent graduate of Antioch College. I am looking for a job with an organization that I believe is making a significant contribution to the effort to gain civil rights and equality of opportunity for Negro Americans.

The statements and acitivities of you and of C.O.R.E. have generally gained my greatest respect.

Since I hope to find a job that would be semi-permanent, work that presents a challenge is certainly preferable. However experience in the Antioch co-op system has given me an ability to make the most of menial tasks and also to live on a subsistance wage.

Any information that you could send me on job possibilities with C.O.R.E. would be most welcome. I will be in New York August 22-25, and would appreciate an interview with you, or with someone you might be able to suggest as helpful.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely,

Sylvia Law

Sylvia Law

Encl: Personal Profile

SYLVIA ANN LAW
Antioch Union
Yellow Springs, Ohio

Home Address:
11816 Karen Lane
Hopkins, Minnesota

PERSONAL DATA

Date and Place of Birth: May 29, 1942 --St. Paul, Minnesota
Height and Weight: 5' 11" --160
Marital Status: Single

EDUCATION

Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio - B.A., 1964
Major Field: Philosophy (with concentration in government, American history and sociology)

University of Guanajuato, Mexico; Fall, 1962; Spanish & Mexican History

SKILLS

Typing: 55 w.p.m.	Comprehension of Spanish
General Office	Teaching and counseling

WORK EXPERIENCE

1964 3 months	Dr. V. Lotkowski, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio Programmer, writing a course in earth science
1963 6 months	Encampment for Citizenship, 2 W. 64, N.Y., N.Y. Secretary-clerk (six weeks in Puerto Rico)
1963 3 months	Cleveland Press, Cleveland, Ohio Copy Girl
1962 3 months	National Committee for Children and Youth, Washington, D.C. Secretary-clerk
1961 3 months	Girl Scout Camp, Marcell, Minnesota Nature and Unit Counselor, Life Guard
1961 3 months	Boston University Sargent School Camp, Peterborough, N.H. Counselor-teacher

EXTRA-CURRICULAR

Hall Advisor responsible for advising 12 girls, 2 years, Antioch

Antioch Community Government (Civil Liberties Review Board, Education and Social Action Committee)

Student Peace Union, Students for a Democratic Society, N.A.A.C.P., and Antioch Committee for Racial Equality (elected officer in all)

VOCATIONAL GOAL

I want to work to alleviate problems of racial discrimination and unemployment in the United States. I plan to study at night for a degree in Law.

COLLEGE TRANSCRIPT AND REFERENCES SUPPLIED ON REQUEST

14 August 1964

Mr. Leonard M. Druyan
227-01 113th Drive
Queens Village 29,

Dear Mr. Druyan:

I am responding to your January letter on behalf of Mr. Farmer. I regret that we were unable to reply at that time. However, I would like you to be aware that CORE did take a position for continued free tuition. Not only did we make statements at the national level, but a number of our chapters participated in efforts, including demonstrations, on behalf of free tuition.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

See attached & Write Gov.

JAN 22 1964

227-01 113 Drive
Queens Village 29, N.Y.
January 20, 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer,

I have just read of your recent meeting with the President and I hope that it was one of accomplishment. As I read of your collective desires for increasing the educational opportunities for American Negro youth, I was reminded of the current controversy concerning the free-tuition status of our own City University. As you are probably aware, much pressure is being applied from upstate to the Board of Higher Education of NYC to begin a tuition policy at the now free-tuition schools. I wondered if you had kept up to date with the latest developments of this issue as its outcome is of crucial importance to the minority groups of this city. I trust that you will give a moment of your time to considering what role CORE may have in helping to ~~[illegible]~~ keep admission requirements at the municipal colleges free from those financial pressures which would hurt primarily those from low-income families.

May I say that I am writing as an individual expressing only my own feelings although they probably coinside with yours and many others.

Sincerely,

Leonard M. Druyan

CCNY '65

14 August 1964

Mr. Ferdinand Lundberg
598 Quaker Road
Chappaqua, New York

Dear Mr. Lundberg:

I am answering your March 25 letter on behalf of Mr. Farmer. Please excuse the delay in responding.

While there is not an exact parallel between the position of the Negro community today and the white minority groups that have migrated into this nation, CORE still feels that political action at the present time is the most meaningful type of demonstration.

While we have not supported the moratorium--and will not do so--most of our efforts in the North are currently aimed at voter registration and the attempt to defeat Mr. Goldwater at the polls in November.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

Ferdinand Lundberg
598 Quaker Road
Chappaqua, N. Y.
March 25, 1964

MAR 26 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York City

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I saw the program last Saturday evening on Television Station 13 and I was happy to see that you agreed with the suggestion of one of the speakers that the best remedy Negroes had in the present situation was through political action. I know there is a big effort being made to register Negroes in the South but I believe that your principal leverage lies in the northern cities---New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Pittsburgh, etc.--- where there are large percentages of Negroes, most of them politically inactive.

The public demonstrations thus far have been all to the good in dramatizing certain questions. But I believe anyone is mistaken in supposing that merely by bringing wrongs to light there will be effective remedial action by the majority of the white community. At most there will be token adjustments here and there, but nothing really effective.

Only through political action can the Negro be upgraded. And Negroes have such political action in their own power, especially in the north where they have a substantial balance of power in large cities---Boston and Philadelphia in addition to those named above.

I think the experience of the Irish immigrants in this country is relevant.

As far as the private economy was concerned the Irish in Boston and New York (and elsewhere) were acceptable only as day laborers, much like Negro field hands up from the South into the north or into southern cities. Two factors favored the Irish over most other immigrants: they knew English (which Negroes also know) and they had the benefit of the central organization of the Catholic Church.

By massed voting power in the cities the Irish elected candidates friendly to them, either Irish or non-Irish. The political victors then appointed Irish to civic jobs---as police, firemen, city laborers, etc., and soon as supervisors and workers in political bureaus. The road up for the Irish was not through the private economy but through public office and in civil service jobs. I think it is the road Negroes will also have to take. For quite a while to come there will be less acceptance of Negroes, qualified or unqualified, in the private sector than in the public sector where they have political influence.

With political influence will come needed improvements in Negro neighborhoods. I think that conditions in Harlem are politically ridiculous. With the voting power concentrated there I should think schools, hospitals and other public services should be, if anything, better than elsewhere in the city. Until recently Negroes have lacked active leadership but now that they have leadership of demonstrated competence I think that leadership should stress the political struggle.

I, too, objected to the sit-down on the Triborough Bridge but on grounds other than those cited. I thought it irrelevant, gaining no objective. I think that in the main it stirred irritation but gained no victory.

Now that the attention of the public has been focussed through such demonstrations on the condition of the Negroes it seems to me work should be concentrated in the political sphere.

The reason I say this is neither that I am pro-Negro or anti-Negro, nor is it particularly because I want to see civil rights vindicated and upheld for all.

The Negro at the moment is a force of great potential. The question is: What is going to happen to this potential? Is it going to be wasted? Is it going to fizzle? The outcome depends, it seems to me, on the Negro leadership. It depends upon where they channel efforts.

I, for one, have been all in favor of school integration. But something Negroes are going to discover, if they haven't discovered it already in some quarters, that the schools into which they are being integrated are not all they are cracked up to be. In most cases it isn't because of these schools that a dominant section of the white community is culturally superior. For most of the schools are known to educators to be below par. What enables some whites, despite the sub-standard of most all-white schools, to establish cultural superiority is through the projection of family interests in education. The family supplies the spur and makes up for deficiencies in the schools.

I would hope that politically active Negroes would come to see the deficiencies in the present school system as a whole and insist on something better for themselves where they have their own neighborhoods. It isn't the schools, at least not the schools alone, that give certain whites a cultural "edge" but an attitude brought to deficient schools by certain whites.

The statistical preponderance of Jews (in relation to their total number) in high-level occupations illustrates this point. Proportionately Jews do better, despite defective schools, than other whites because more Jews than non-Jews place a high premium on learning.

Out of their deprivation I would hope that Negroes might come to place a similar premium on learning and insist upon good schools for their children. As you may know, in many neighborhoods there is political pressure on schools not to be too exacting in their requirements of students. The result is that many students are given a once-over-lightly processing, leaving them with a deficient education. The general white attitude toward the whole Negro question shows educational deficiency, which some people have been able to transcend only because they have carried on the process of self-education for themselves.

In the meantime, Negroes could, after political action, do themselves much good by simply swamping the night schools in all the large cities. Negroes under forty, it seems to me, should be urged to go to night-school at whatever level they were competent. And, it seems to me, they should be urged to go continuously.

I seem to gather the impression that quite a large number of Negroes at the present time expect people like you, Martin Luther King, the NAACP to score spectacular forward passes or end runs, quickly landing everybody in the Promised Land. But this sudden result, I am sure you agree, will not be brought about.

But by political action, the acquisition of jobs on municipal payrolls, the agitation for better public facilities in Negro neighborhoods and by night-school attendance I think Negroes can significantly upgrade themselves.

A further hope I have is that Negroes, as more doors open to them through political action, will come to see the many rotten spots in current white society. As a short-cut to what I mean may I refer to a recent book , "Culture Against Man" by Jules Henry (Random House, 1963). Here an anthropologist evaluates the American cultural establishment, with what seems to me devastating results.

If equality with the white man is to lead the Negro to be a dark replica of the prevailing white man then I think the Negro will in the long run have been doubly injured. For white society, as Henry shows, is simply sick. But as relative newcomers within that society, in the sense of being increasingly accepted, I should hope that the Negroes would, mainly as a result of past tribulations, bring more sensitivity and awareness to bear. Negroes, it seems to me, should at least want to be more humane.

I have often had this curious impression while watching the current crop of Negro leaders on TV: I have felt as though I were listening to the spiritual kin of the Founding Fathers---Franklin, Jefferson, Washington, Madison, et al. I have detected the same earnestness, seriousness, zeal and fire. The two groups have functioned, for one thing, in an atmosphere of danger---and of hope. White leadership today is, comparatively, committed to relatively trivial goals.

But if there comes out of all this merely an adjustment of the Negro into the status quo then I think not too much will have been gained, either for Negroes or whites.

The sickness of this society, I think, can be shown to be mental sickness. And that mental sickness shows itself in the values that are most widely embraced.

Thanks for your attention.

Sincerely,

Ferdinand Lundberg

14 August 1964

Mr. Robert L. Meeks
1555 Elbur Avenue
Lakewood 7, Ohio

Dear Mr. Meeks:

I am replying to your April 10 letter on behalf of Mr. Farmer. I am sure that you can understand the delay in answering since this office has a tremendous volume of correspondence.

CORE was concerned, as were you, about the Lomax-Malcom X meeting in Cleveland. There is a crying need within CORE and throughout the movement to do a better job on training in non-violence. Within our limited resources we are doing our best.

Let me also take this opportunity to express to you CORE's appreciation for your constructive criticism. It is particularly meaningful when it comes from a person who has worked long and hard in our cause.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

14 August 1964

Mr. Robert L. Meeks
1555 Elbur Avenue
Lakewood 7, Ohio

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Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

APR 13 1964

Robert. L. Meeks
1555 Elbur Ave.
Lakewood 7, Ohio
April 10, 1964

Dear James Farmer,-

On Friday April 3, 1964 preaching an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, Louis Lomax and Malcolm spoke each an hour at a meeting sponsored by Cleveland CORE at Cory Methodist Church. The meeting had been advertised as a debate between these two men. It was a program in which two brilliant men both advocated the use of violence in return for any violence that might be used against one who supported the movement to obtain civil rights for all.

After these men spoke Miss Ruth Turner informed the audience that CORE members would picket at a certain school site on Monday . She invited every one who would be free from work Monday to come to the site.

Had you been present at the Friday night meeting I am sure that you with your far greater experience would have been no more surprised than I was when violence by civil rights supporters broke out after the death , ~~although~~ which was accidental , of Bruce Klunder.

I do not know who Lesley Brooks is nor how he knew of my interest in CORE and the Civil Rights for All movement. I do agree with his request of you to help Cleveland CORE to reground future action in the profound discipline of nonviolence.

I feel sure that your faith in the use of nonviolence in direct action projects as the best means to reach our great goal is even more firmly established than my own is.

Sincerely,

Robert L. Meeks

Over

I am 74 years old. Retired. I was Assistant
Principal of Lakewood High School when
you met with Social Studies classes there
for a week in the forties.
I was arrested in Jackson. Miss. in
November last and charged with trespassing
and interrupting church worship when
I attempted to help integrate a Methodist church
I am out on $1000. bond.

File Misc.

WILLIAM ROSS
50 COURT STREET
BROOKLYN 1, N.Y.

AUG 26 1964

August 24, 1964

National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
20 West 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

It is now an established fact that the average colored person can buy anything on the installment plan if approached by a clever salesman or a desire to own something beyond his needs or income.

In the August issue of The Reader's Digest there is a very excellent article entitled, "A New Way out of Debt". It speaks of an organization known as Family Debt Counselors, originally organized by white people in Phoenix. It is a non-profit organization organized by people who knew that much unhappiness of every description follows the unsatisfied, heartless debt collector. This organization is open to all those who cannot meet their obligations which were created thoughtlessly, beyond their means and frequently beyond their understanding. I happen to know of quite a number of cases of colored people who have bought houses beyond their need and means and without any investigation as to values. The pride of ownership, the desire for luxuries beyond their means including television sets, expensive furniture and automobiles, produce judgments which they can never pay and garnishees of salaries which the employer resents and therefore discharges the man in need of a job. Many colored merchants, politicians, doctors and lawyers also often take advantage of their own. Many of the clergymen are not trained in recognized theological schools. The rich colored people are very little concerned about the plight of their poor brethren.

The F.D.C. organization eventually obtained the support of small loan companies, banks, unions, department stores and doctors who are frequently unpaid because of over-commitment of many colored people without any plan or means of liquidation.

The organization communicates with all the creditors just as a merchant might do who is in financial trouble. They arrange for a plan of payment, over a period of years, which is within the means of their client. One very significant statement in this article in speaking of the accomplishments of the organization is as follows:

> "When a freezer-food-plan salesman came around,
> we flatly turned down his $800 deal. In the old days
> we would have been pushovers. Instead, we looked

> around and found that an acquaintance who handles property damaged in transit could get us a 20-cubic-foot freezer for $50 because it had been badly scratched in the freight-car. When we needed a new couch, we shunned installment stores." etc., etc.

The problem of the white family debt counselors is not as great as that of the colored people with large families. Many of them have not the means for the decent support of their children. May I therefore most respectfully suggest that you confer with the well-to-do colored people and have them create an advisory group in every colored community for the protection of their own (a) to better understand the meaning of an obligation (b) to beware of strange salesmen (c) the importance of thrift and savings and (d) the proper support and education of their children.

I hope that a more charitable attitude will soon be developed by the well-to-do colored people for the benefit of the less fortunate brethren.

Yours truly,

WILLIAM ROSS

WR:jf

COPY TO: MR. JAMES FARMER, CORE

27 August 1964

Mr. H. W. Lawson
2744 23rd Avenue
Oakland 6, Calif.

Dear Mr. Lawson:

Let me thank you for your frank letter of August 21. I am unable to locate your name on our mailing list, and the financial appeal which you received was an appeal sent out to a list other than CORE's. I trust that sometime in the future you may evaluate your position and once again give us your support.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

ENC: All About CORE

Core Corey AUG 18 1964

AUG 21 1964 [illegible]

done

Gentlemen. I have stopped my donations and I keep toward Core etc.

I have failed to see or hear Mr J. Farmer yet on the side of law and order.

Very disappointed in his not doing something to curb the violence.

I have personally 3 times lately been tackled standing in line by drunk negroes! I feel sorry for them but their leaders have done something to them. I dont know what.

Scratch my name off your list for the time being

Lawson

misc

31 August 1964

Mr. Donald Rugoff
Cinema V Incorporated
595 Madison Avenue
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Rugoff:

As you know, CORE has greatly increased its activities in the Deep South during the past two years. Both in Mississippi and Louisiana we have been operating community centers, freedom schools and conducting voter registration campaigns. Much of our work has been educational and has been done with groups with whom visual aids are most helpful.

I am aware of your deep interest in the field of civil rights. It is for this reason that I would like to make the following appeal to you. As I understand, you are distributing "The Cool World" produced by Wiseman Films, Incorporated. I was very much impressed with this film and feel that it would be of tremendous value to us in Mississippi and Louisiana. I would be greatly appreciated if you could make available to us a sixteen millimeter copy of "The Cool World."

CORE would, of course, use the film only for noncommercial purposes. We would also guarantee that it be used exclusively in the Deep South in areas where you are not able to distribute it.

We recognize that you probably have the film available only in thirty-five millimeters and that the cost of a sixteen millimeter print might be quite considerable. If you are in a position to have a sixteen millimeter print donated I can arrange to have it contributed to a non-profit corporation which does educational work in

continued...

the South. This organization is deductible for income tax purposes.

I hope very much to hear from you. Should you care to call the office, please call me or my assistant, Gordon R. Carey.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

cc: Mr. Fred Wiseman
60 Martin Street
Boston, Mass.

September 4, 1964

Mr. Gould Maynard
Zentnerstrasse 42
Munich 13,
Germany

Dear Gould:

I appreciate your bringing to my attention the plans of Melody Films to make a motion picture of Uncle Tom's Cabin.

I am unalterably opposed to any film revival of this ante bellum image of the Negro. Appearing at this time, such an image in film form would be in sharp contradiction to the image of today's Negroes who are waging a militant struggle for total equality. It could serve only to confuse the uninformed and to give aid and comfort to the racists who struggle to maintain the "magnolia myth" of an old and dying segregationist South.

No self-respecting Negro, however much he may need the money, should consent to appear in such a film.

At no time have I given approval--oral or written, explicit or implicit--to the production of such a film.

I hope this makes my position clear.

Thank you again for having brought the matter to my attention.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

Reply airmail
(see next page)

AUG 31 1964

Zentnerstrasse 42
Munich 13, Germany
Tel: 37-10-73

Mr. James Farmer
The Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

August 27,1964

Dear Jim:

This is an urgent matter, and since even your reputation is insirectly involved, I urge you to give it serious consideration.

A film company called Melody Films, with offices here in Munich, is preparing to make a motion picture from the book, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Al Houssman, an American Negro who has been living in Munich for several years, left Munich sometime ago, reportedly with two objectives: to induce Louis Armstrong, or Harry Belafonte, or Sidney Poitier, to star in the film - and to get statements of approval for the film from Roy Wilkins, Martin Luther King, and from you.

Houssman has now returned to Munich. Neither he, nor anyone connected with Melody Films, has stated publicly that either oral, or written approval was given by Martin, or Roy, or by you. But, by inference, the same effect has been achieved. Houssman is alleged to have told prospective Negro members of the cast that - he discussed the film with Martin, in New York, over the telephone - that he talked with "the people from the NAACP," and that "half of them were for it and half of them were against it." He has not said, I am informed, what your reaction is. However, the total effect of these innuendoes is that most Negroes, many whites, and the African student colony here, are inclined to believe that the making of this ante-bellum portrait of American Negroes as fawning, long suffering slaves, has the tacit approval of Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins, and you.

I am reliably informed that Sidney Poitier, while in Berlin, said simply "Nein," when asked to do the movie. Harry Belafonte is reported to have refused to read the script. And even Louis Armstrong turned it down.

The American Negroes who are being recruited for the film (which will be shot in Yugoslavia, incidentally) need the jobs, it is true, but they are also concerned that if this film gets made and shown in Africa, or in America, they will be regarded as traitors to the cause for which the rest of us are fighting.

My own code of ethics does not permit me to look with anything less than contempt on any Negroes who at this crucial stage of our struggle would play the parts of Judas Iscariots and lend themselves to any venture that so flagrantly distorts the image of American Negroes today. Further, I furiously resent this sell-out, this misuse by abuse, of your name, and Martin's and Roy's, by American Negroes, for the sole purpose of putting money in their own pitiful pockets. I'm so mad, I could spit on them.

There is something very simple that you can do. I urge you to write me a letter, clearly stating your position on this matter. I urge you to speak out and lend support to those of us here who consider *any* revival of Uncle Tom, a display of callous indifference to and contempt for, the struggle of American Negroes for full citizenship. And *please* - do it *now*!

The backers of this film are planning to invest five million German marks ($1,250,000) in their project. We must try to stop them from making the film; the least we can do is condemn it, and wherever possible, organize boycotts against it. I am trying to get Jimmy Baldwin in Paris by phone, to enlist his support from there. I am writing virtually verbatim copies of this letter to Martin, Roy Wilkins and to Whitney Young. And I am calling on thinking people everywhere, to join me in seeing to it that this film is shown to be a studied insult to Negroes.

Please hurry!

Sincerely yours,

Gould

Gould Maynard

September 9, 1964

Mr. James E. Little
General Manager
New York Courier
15 West 125 Street
New York City 27

Dear Mr. Little:

I was very pleased to receive your letter of September 6 clarifying the relationship of Mr. Schuyler with the New York Courier.

I have known Mr. Schuyler for many years and am fond of him personally, but our views on most issues could not be farther apart. It is good to know that he does not speak for the New York Courier or the Pittsburgh Courier and that his opinions are strictly his own.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

SEP 10 1964

Largest Negro Weekly
Newspaper Chain in the World

New York Courier
AMERICA'S BEST WEEKLY ★★

Member of the Audit
Bureau of Circulation

Published by The Pittsburgh Courier Publishing Company, Inc.

15 WEST 125th STREET
ATwater 9-3202, 3203, 3204
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

September 6, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Executive Director
Congress Of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

In recent weeks, the daily press, radio and other news media, have frequently referred to Mr. George S. Schuyler as Editor or Associate Editor of The New York Courier. Mr. Schuyler is neither. He is a columnistfor The Pittsburgh Courier and that is all. His columns "Views And Reviews" and "The World Today" have been published by The Pittsburgh Courier for many years. These columns are carried in The New York Courier. Mr. Schuyler was, until 1960, editor of the New York edition of The Pittsburgh Courier.

May we call your attention to a front-page editorial that we felt necessary to publish after Mr. Schuyler endorsed Senator Barry Goldwater for President of The United States. This editorial appeared in our issue of August 15, 1964. We are enclosing this page.

More recently, Mr. Schuyler was a member of the Grand Jury that cleared Police Lieutenant Thomas R. Gilligan in the killing of James Powell. We feel that Mr. Schuyler, in this case, is entitled to his opinion, but his opinion is not that of this newspaper. The editorial staff here is well aware of some conflicting evidence presented in this case, and we have come to no conclusion, expressed no opinion, and made no public statement. May I emphasize the fact again that George S. Schuyler is a respected columnist for The Pittsburgh Courier, not an editor of any kind. Mr. Edward R. Murrain is Managing Editor of the New York Courier.

Respectfully yours,

James K Little

James K. Little,
General Manager

JKL/jl

Where Were Negro 'Leaders' at

New Yorkers by the thousands paid their last respects Sunday to the two white civil rights workers, Andrew Goodman, 20, and Michael Schwerner, 24, whose beaten, riddled bodies, along with that of James Chaney, 21, were found in deeply dug graves near Philadelphia, Miss., on Aug. 4. The CORE voter registration volunteers had been missing since June 21.

While the FBI was issuing communiques that arrests in the brutal murders were expected "momentarily," streams of white and Negro New Yorkers attended rites for Goodman Sunday morning at the Ethical Culture Society building, 2 W. 64th St., and that evening at the Community Church, 40 E. 34th St., where a memorial service was held for Schwerner.

The mourners, in addition to Mr. and Mrs. Robert W. Goodman (parents of Andrew), Mrs. Nathan N. Schwerner and Mrs. Rita Schwerner (mother and widow of Michael), also included Mrs. Fannie Lee Chaney of Mississippi, mother of the Negro boy also murdered. In addition were Barbara Jones, Negro classmate of Goodman; James Farmer, national director of CORE; Davis Dennis, Mississippi CORE director, and John Lewis, chairman of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

Notable by their absence were most of the local and national Negro leaders; a fact which has been deplored by the Rev. Thomas Kinloch, chairman of the New York-based Mississippi Relief Committee, who recently returned from a five-week stay in that deep South state.

In a letter to **The Courier** Monday, the Rev. Mr. Kinloch demanded:

"Where was the Negro leadership at the funeral of Andrew Goodman on Sunday morning at 11:30 o'clock, on Aug. 9?
in Philadelp

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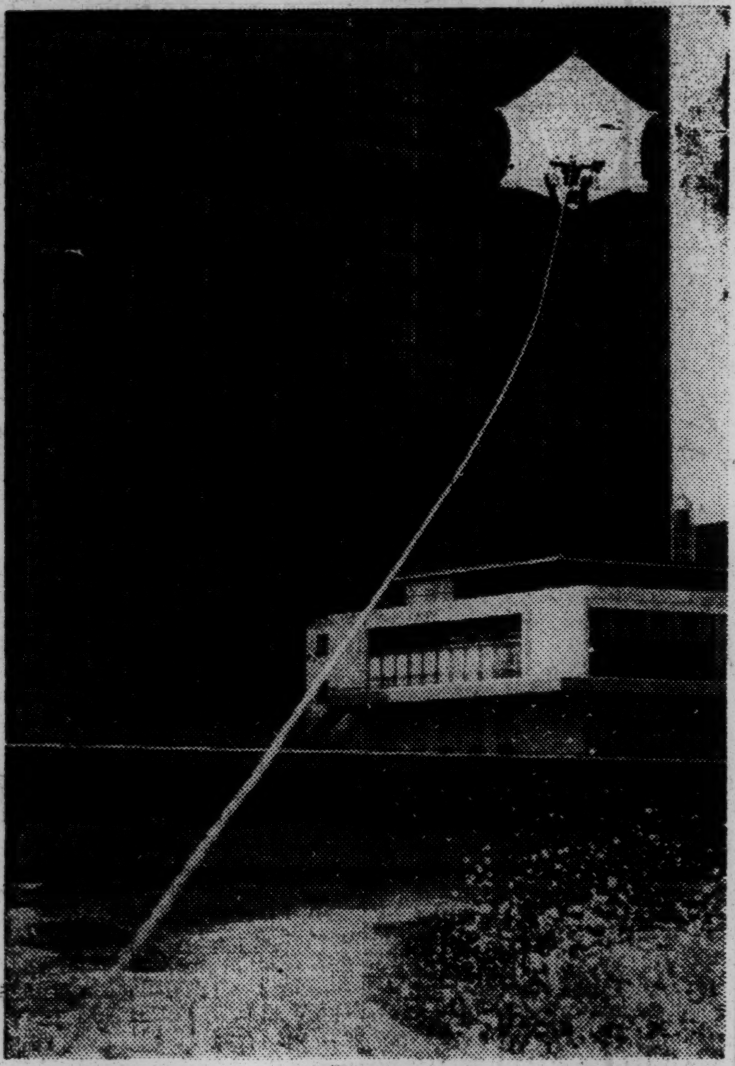

HUMAN KITE—World champion aerialist-water skier Alphonso Woodhall of Miami, Fla., soars near the top of the United Nations building along New York's East River during a recent sightseeing tour. Woodhall and his kite are being pulled by a speedboat. Woodhall, who has been "flying" for seven years, makes his own kites (from aluminum and sail cloth). He is in New York for a month, attempting to break into the lucrative marine product advertising field. The father of five children, Woodhall was awarded the Carnegie Medal in 1959 for rescuing a duck hunter from Lake Erie in Ohio.

NEW YORK Co

Vol. 5—No. 33 14 August 1

Angry at Ha
Adam Blasts

Boston Groups Unite to Fight Sen. Goldwater

BOSTON, Mass.—Civil rights organizations in Boston are banding together to conduct a concerted drive against Senator Goldwater in his bid for the Presidency.

A committee has been formed by approximately a dozen organizations for this purpose. Heading the committee is Canon James P. Breeden of the Episcopal Church.

The canon made a statement in which he called Goldwater's

at Rights Worker's Funeral?

Aug. 9? He was the young man, one of three, killed Philadelphia, Miss.

"At the funeral there were thousands of people n all walks of life, but the disturbing part was, there en't too many Negroes, and no Negro leadership of Harlem community.

"This young man gave his life for equal opportuni- and equality for all, with the others who were ggling for freedom, that men and women every- re could have the right to register and vote. It is sgrace that Harlem didn't take a larger part in the eral. It would have been a great tribute to the three ng men.

"We could not all go to Mississippi, but a great num- of us could have gone to the funeral, even if we to stand outside. I hope that the three young men d not have looked down from heaven and seen the Negroes. I know if they could have, they would e wondered what they had given their lives for.

"I hope that the small showing of Negroes will not hurt our chances, or hurt the feelings of the masses of whites who were at the funeral this morning, or the feelings of the thousands of white and colored workers which we have in the field, who are being intimidated morning, noon and night, by the local Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Councils and the local enforcement agencies.

"As I was shaking hands with Mrs. Goodman, the mother of the deceased, at the funeral, I could sense that there was a lack of Negro leaders. I was the only one there to comfort the family, as a Negro, but not a Negro leader. None of the national, local or community leaders were there to take part or to be a representative or to comfort.

"I would still like to know where the Negro leadership, and the rank and file Negroes were."

AMERICA'S ◆ BEST WEEKLY
ourier

ugust 15, 1964 20 Pages—2 Sections Price 15c New York City, 20c Elsewhere

laving Been Ignored s King and Wagner

Powell Returns, Seeks Voiding of 46 G Award

By MAJOR ROBINSON
(Of The New York Courier)

At his Sunday best, Congressman Adam Powell, before a packed congregation at the Abyssinian Baptist Church, blasted Dr. Martin Luther King for coming to town to talk with Mayor Wagner and ignoring him and other community leaders, predicted more riots unless the mayor met the "demands" of the Unity Council and vowed that he would be eventually vindicated by the courts of having to pay $46,500 to a Harlem widow.

Coming into his pulpit for the first time since July when a new summons was issued [illegible]

Launch Program

awarded the Carnegie Medal in 1959 for rescuing a duck hunter from Lake Erie in Ohio.

An Editorial

Wrong Conclusion

Mr. George S. Schuyler, author of "Views and Reviews" and "The World Today," two columns which have been published in The Pittsburgh Courier for many years, was interviewed by Radio Station KMOX, St. Louis, Tuesday afternoon, Aug. 4, on its "At Your Service" broadcast from 3:10 to 4 P.M. In that interview, Mr. Schuyler stated that he is supporting Senator Barry Goldwater for President. He also criticized present Negro leadership at some length and downgraded methods being used by Negroes to improve their lot. There have been many times in the course of Mr. Schuyler's long association with The Courier when his opinions have differed from those of the publisher and editor. Also, his timing has differed.

We must presume that in introducing Mr. Schuyler to the radio audience, Mr. Schuyler was referred to as the associate editor of The Pittsburgh Courier. In the development of the press release by KMOX, Mr. Schuyler became the editor and finally he became The Courier itself. On Wednesday, August 5, United Press International released a story, nation-wide, to the effect that The Pittsburgh Courier had endorsed Senator Goldwater. That was untrue. It is still untrue.

Mr. Schuyler is a highly regarded columnist for The Pittsburgh Courier, not an editor of any kind. He does not speak or write for The Courier in matters regarding policy. He would be the first to admit this. And we imagine that no one is more greatly embarrassed to learn that anyone jumped to the conclusion that opinions expressed by him should be attributed to The Courier.

The Courier has endorsed no one, neither President Johnson nor Senator Goldwater. It has been the practice of The Courier over many years to refrain from endorsements until the last week of the campaign. We thus give ourselves a chance to learn more definitely how the candidates stand on the various issues which we believe to be important to Courier readers and to our great nation. This practice will be followed this year.

Until such time as we feel we should make a choice, both candidates will be treated alike and impartially so far as news about them is concerned.

6 Pass Exam For Plumber's Union

The center of a bitter controversy over alleged racial discrimination, Local 2 of the Plumbers Union disclosed last week that five Negroes and one Puerto Rican have passed the written entrance examination for union membership.

The next step for them will be to take the work test. If the six gain union status the number of non-whites in the 4,100 man local will be increased to 20.

Those who took and passed the exam are Cecila Le Doux, Elijah Chewning, Charles Nash, Harry Robinson, Walter Flynn and Jack Haseny.

Last spring during the building of a $25,000,000 Bronx Terminal Market, construction was brought to a halt when a subcontractor hired three Puerto Ricans and one Negro. The union men walked off the job contending that the quartet was non-union.

For two weeks city and Federal officials argued with the union to take the men into their ranks. The dispute was ended when Local 2 agreed to let them take an exam, which they failed later on.

purpose. Heading the committee is Canon James P. Breedon of the Episcopal Church.

The canon made a statement in which he called Goldwater's supporters: "The men who have seized control of the Republican party have contemptuously slapped the face of all citizens who have recently turned America toward the goal of equality for all."

IN MEMORIAM—The New York City Mission Society and Camp Minisink will host a Service of Thanksgiving on Sunday, Aug. 23 (2 P.M.), to dedicate a Memorial Lodge in remembrance of the late and beloved Camp Minisink director, Alberta T. (Ma) Kline, who died early this year. The dedication will take place at Camp Minisink, located in Port Jervis, N.Y.

ELKS
SPECIAL
EDITION

THE PITTSBURGH COURIER
"America's Best Weekly"

will run an IBPOE of W., Edition next week telling all about the Antlered Herd at Miami Beach, Florida. Elk registration will begin on August 21. Get your copy early, on all news stands.

NEXT WEEK

CRICKET CUTIE—Roxanne Gilbert, "
Beaux Arts of 1964," holds the team
phy, awarded to Gilbert Alleyne (ri
captain of the championship Broo

Deplores N
As 'Dope C

The Brooklyn Division of the Protestant Council said recently that the fact that this city is the unquestioned "dope center of the world" sharply underscores the need for a sweeping legislative program designed to halt the rising tide of addiction.

The Rev. V. Simpson Turner, executive secretary, said that rampant addiction is a contributing factor in social, economic and racial unrest and can ultimately destroy the moral fiber of a community.

Noting that estimates of the number of addicts in the city runs as high as 70,000 Dr. Turner said the forthcoming session of the Legislature must

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Negro American Labor
Expels 'Communist' Ep

In a statement issued Friday, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Negro American Labor Council, announced that William Epton, chairman of the Progressive Labor Movement, would be expelled immediately from membership in NALC because he is a "self-proclaimed Communist" and, according to press reports, had admitted identification with and support of the Communist movement. The full text of Mr. Randolph's statement follows:

"In view of the fact the Negro American Labor Council is unalterably committed to the philosophy, program and practice of free, democratic trade unionism and is therefore opposed to, and rejects, Communism and Communists as a menace and danger to the Negro freedom movement and the labor movement, I, as president of the Negro American Labor Council, take this opportunity to announce the expulsion of William Epton, self-proclaimed Communist and chairman of the Progressive

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Gilbert, "Miss the team tro- eyne (right), hip Brooklyn Cricket Team. The trophy was donated by the F&M Schaefer Brewing Company, and presented by Schaefer representative Edward Brown (left).—Layne Photo

NY City Tag
e Center of World'

give the dope problem high priority and act decisively to cope with this peril.

He said the division strongly supports legislation which would accomplish the following:

1. Establish a 1,000-bed maximum security hospital in this state where addicts could receive comprehensive treatment for their affliction.

2. Create rehabilitation camps for addicts who are released from hospital care, where they could receive appropiate vocational guidance and counseling.

Dr. Turner said that "every effort must be made to provide addicts, particularly the youth who have fallen prey to this evil, with the opportunity to assume a productive role in society."

Jail sentences, he said, do not provide a long-range solution to the problem. Addicts are afflicted with a disease and should receive treatment just as any other stricken person, Dr. Turner added.

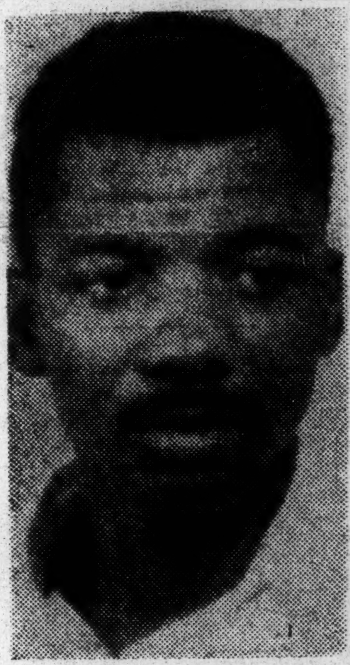
Labor Council
st' Epton

Labor Movement in Harlem, from NALC.

"This action is taken after reading in the press of Mr. Epton's admitted identification with the support of the Communist movement and his dire threats against the police, judges and the state.

"This is not to be construed as evidence of any widespread infiltration of Communists in the civil rights movement, or of Communist motivation of the recent demonstrations in Harlem, Rochester or Jersey City and the Negro liberation struggle. This is not the case. Negroes do not need Communists, or anybody else, to tell them when to resent, protest and demonstrate against police brutality and race bias.

"However, eternal vigilance is necessary to prevent Communists from infiltrating the black civil rights forces since it is a well-known fact that they are not concerned about the advancement of civil rights but only seek, if not blocked, to rule, or ruin any movement **they can capture."**



INDICTED—In the first such action in New York County since 1919, William Epton, 32, of Harlem, was indicted Wednesday by a New York Grand Jury on charges of advocating criminal anarchy. Epton, chairman of the Progressive Labor Movement, and a self-styled disciple of the Chinese Communists, had been arrested for demonstrating in front of the 32nd Police Precinct, and for allegedly making remarks calling for the overthrow of the city government. His $10,000 bail was pledged by the son of a Texas oil millionaire.

and vowed that he would be eventually vindicated by the courts of having to pay $46,500 to a Harlem widow.

Coming into his pulpit for the first time since July when a new summons was issued that called for his arrest even on the Sabbath, the militant minister was greeted by his flock like a knight in shining armor. He explained to them that when he had read the fine print of the warrant, he realized that it couldn't be served on him even on Sunday.

In a court action that started in 1960, Mrs. Esther James first won $200,000 in a libel judgement suit for him allegedly calling her a "graft collection woman for the police department."

Later that amount was reduced by a higher court to $46,500, which she still hasn't been able to collect as yet despite numerous legal maneuvers by her shrewd attorney, Raymond Rubin.

In a press conference that followed services, Adam relaxed in his private office and expounded on a number of his political, social and economic views. Levelling his vocal guns at Mayor Wagner and Democratic County Chairman Edward Costiykan, Mr. Powell said:

"Bob (the Mayor) is a weak man who doesn't understand the score. Right now, I, along with several other powerful Democratic leaders like Congressman Buckley of the Bronx, can control the nomination for the Democratic candidate for U.S. Senator from New York."

(Continued on Page 2)

Launch Program To Train Negro Teachers in NYC

Registration was started Friday for a new program to enable qualified Negro teachers who hold education degrees to obtain their New York City teaching licenses.

Sponsored by the New York Urban League and Yeshiva University in cooperation with the Federal government, the program is designed to upgrade teaching skills. It concentrates on written and oral English and student teaching.

An appliant can apply for participation in the program by writing to Ira Asherman, industrial field secretary, New York Urban League, 204 West 136 St., New York, N. Y. 10030, or by phoning AUdubon 6-8000.

During the month of September, Yeshiva University will test all applicants, from which the first class in the program will be chosen. Starting on Oct. 5, the class will last nine weeks, from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. Stipends will be available for those students who qualify as heads of households.

Additional classes are scheduled to start in January, March and June, 1965.

Making of a Delinquent . . . In Twelve Easy Stages

How to create a juvenile delinquent in 12 easy steps today was defined by Arthur J. Rogers, executive director of the New York City Youth Board. The chief of the city's 500-man social service agency outlined the evolutionary process as a warning to parents, guardians, teachers and the community at large:

1. **Deprive the young child of love and understanding.**
2. **Make him feel rejected, unwanted, inferior.**
3. **Set no restraints for children. Let them hang about the streets, day and night. Don't check on their friends.**
4. **Slap the kid around on occasions. Show him who's boss.**
5. **Set no rules for discipline. Don't give him any chores to do.**
6. **Parents should air their differences in front of children. A good family brawl helps a lot.**
7. **Bawl out the teacher for trying to discipline your child.**
8. **Let your teen-ager know how you are cheating on taxes, chiselling shopkeepers, evading creditors, breaking the law.**
9. **Use foul language and drink to excess.**
10. **Let him see all of the horror films; watch violence and sex on TV and the movies; read the wildest comic books; buy him toys of destruction.**
11. **Stay away from religion.**
12. **Last but not least, teach him to dishonor his father and his mother.**

September 14, 1964

Mr. Robert Curvin
106 Huntington Terrace
Newark, N.J.

Dear Bob:

Here are copies of the correspondence on the "Citizens for Krebs" Dinner.

I sent off the check for the tickets today, and they will be sent to your home. Please let us know what other expenses you incur and we will reimburse you.

Hope you and Pat have a good time.

Warmest regards,

Glenda Lubelsky
Secretary to
James Farmer

Enc.

September 14, 1964

Mr. Charles H. Kerrigan
Director
Region #9-A UAW-AFL-CIO
393 Seventh Avenue
New York City 1

Dear Charlie:

My apologies for the delay in responding to your good letter of August 10 regarding the "Citizens for Krebs" Dinner on September 19 but, as you can well imagine, life has been impossibly hectic for us this summer and I have had no time at all at my desk.

Unfortunately, a previous commitment will prevent me from attending the dinner, but CORE will be represented by Mr. and Mrs. Robert Curvin. Mr. Curvin is a member of our National Action Council.

Kindest regards and best wishes for a successful occasion.

Cordially yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

cc: Robert Curvin

PLEASE REPLY TO
CHARLES H. KERRIGAN, DIRECTOR
REGION No. 9-A UAW-AFL-CIO
393 SEVENTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 1, NEW YORK
PENNSYLVANIA 6-8077

UAW

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AEROSPACE & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA-UAW

WALTER P. REUTHER.........PRESIDENT
EMIL MAZEY......SECRETARY-TREASURER
RICHARD GOSSER......VICE-PRESIDENT
PAT GREATHOUSE.......VICE-PRESIDENT
LEONARD WOODCOCK..VICE-PRESIDENT

[illegible]

August 10, 1964

AUG 12 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director - CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Jim:

Paul J. Krebs has been a friend and associate of mine for more than twenty years. During most of that time he has been one of the members of our staff. He has worked hard and effectively in the educational, political and legislative fields and served as President of the New Jersey State Council for seven years preceding the merger.

Now Paul is the Democratic candidate in New Jersey's 12th Congressional District and the support of every liberal and labor group is vital in this crucial and marginal district.

In Congress, Paul will provide the type of representation which could, very well, serve as a model for other congressmen.

A "Citizens for Krebs" Dinner will be held in his honor on SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1964 at 7:00 P.M. at the Hotel Essex House in Newark.

Tickets are $15.00 and a table consists of ten tickets. A reservation blank is enclosed for your convenience. I am sure you and your associates will want to join in this effort to make this outstanding spokesman for progressive legislation the next Congressman from New Jersey's 12th District.

With best regards,

Charlie
CHARLES H. KERRIGAN
DIRECTOR

CHK:TD:WD
oeiu153aflcio

enc.

cc: BSB Currie

98

15 September 1964

Mr. Leon Spencer
6408 Reynolda Station
Winston-Salem, N.C.

Dear Mr. Spencer:

It was a pleasure to receive your letter of September 2nd. I believe that the ideasccontained therein are excellent and that there may well be fruitful ways in which CORE and some of the North Carolina colleges may cooperate.

Our National Chairman, Mr. Floyd B. McKissick, an attorney, is located in Durham. He has a number of staff representatives working under him. I am sending a copy of your letter and a copy of this reply to him. I am hopeful that you and he may be able to arrange a meeting to discuss your proposal further.

I am enclosing a copy of our most recent CORE-lator. Mr. McKissick will have additional literature and information about CORE. Again let me thank you for your suggestion and express the hope that we may be able to work together.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP
ENC.

cc: Mr. Floyd B. McKissick
213½ West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina

Carey

Old Gold and Black

"Covers the Campus Like the Magnolias"

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ASSISTANT EDITOR

BOX 7567
REYNOLDA STATION
WINSTON-SALEM, N. C. 27106

SEP 8 1964

6408 Reynolda Station
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

September 2, 1964

Gentlemen:

As Intercollegiate Activities Chairman of student government at Wake Forest College, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, I would like to propose the following program which would require a working arrangement between CORE and several North Carolina colleges.

There are seven Baptist colleges in North Carolina, Wake Forest included. It might be advantageous, it would seem to me, to have a group of students in these seven locales who would be available to CORE when needed to assist in its activities. My committee, under this arrangement, would organize the groups in each of these colleges. From there CORE would contact either me or leaders of the groups in each college to assist in voter registration, demonstrations, or whatever you at the time felt was needed.

I am suggesting t his for several reasons. First, I have found that many white university students in North Carolina are "sympathetic" to the cause of human rights, but are not "sympathetic" to the extent of taking any degree of an active part. If we were to provide an outlet for those who desire to be active, and confronted the "sympathetic" directly with such an organization, we might benefit both the students involved and the human rights movement.

I will look forward to your reply. If you feel such an arrangement has potential, we may either continue correspondance or perhaps I might meet with an area representative of CORE. If it does not, feel free to say so. I will arrive in Winston-Salem by September 13 or so, so little can be done before then.

I have personally been an active member of the N.C. Intercollegiate Council for Human Rights, have participated in several civil rights activities, and have recently returned from a summer working in West Africa, and feel that I have sufficiently mature attitude to be beneficial to you in this area.

Sincerely yours,

Leon SPENCER

Leon Spencer

STUDENT NEWSPAPER OF WAKE FOREST COLLEGE
—ESTABLISHED 1916—

Glenda

misc

16 September 1964

Mr Marvin Robinson
Action for Appalachian Youth
P O Box 3228
Charleston, West Virginia 25332

Dear Marvin:

Farmer was glad to get your letter of July 15 in regard to the trip of Mr Gordon Jaeck To the best of my knoweledge, however, Mr. Jaeck did not arrive in this office. We have been looking forward to meeting him since we would like to have a closer relationship with "Action for Appalachian Youth."

I am glad that you are in a meaningful position and doing so well. It was certainly good to hear from you again. Please assure Mr. Jaeck that if he does get to New York, we would be most anxious to talk with him.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

misc

September 18, 1964

Mrs. Ann Traum
23 Couch Street
South Norwalk,
Connecticut

Dear Mrs. Traum:

Your note to Mr. Farmer sent late in June has just come to my attention. I am terribly sorry about the October 8th letter to Mr. Haley which you say was unanswered. Unfortunately, I really am not in a position to know what might have happened to that particular letter. Please forgive us for not replying. There is so much work in this office and such a tremendous volume of correspondence that we certainly do get behind at times.

I do want to thank you for the $25.00 check which you sent last year. Should you care to write me directly, I would be more than happy to answer any inquiries which you might have.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the National
Director

GRC/em

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

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Goodwin Watson
Joseph Willen
Jerry Wurf
Charles S. Zimmerman

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treasurer
James Peck
CORElator editor

STAFF
Norman Hill
program director
James McCain
director of organization
Marvin Rich
community relations director

June, 1964

> "In every great cause it is not the number of fighters that counts but it is the quality of which they are made that becomes the deciding factor."
>
> M. K. Gandhi

Dear Friend:

What can be done to guide the young and courageous? How can the inexperienced learn truly nonviolent methods of protest?

CORE has an answer. A good one; intensive workshops to meet the need for practical training in nonviolence. This summer 175 key leaders will receive intensive training. In Chicago, we will analyze nonviolence of mind and spirit as it applies in the crowded, urban ghettoes of the North. In Louisiana and Mississippi there will be training programs for our southern workers who peaceably, quietly, firmly, successfully challenge the evils of segregation.

These summer workshops are part of an expanded training program. We also plan two week-long staff retreats and 25 weekend area leadership conferences.

The training program is effective. It has worked. The strain has been intense, the pressure difficult to take, but trained CORE members have shown remarkable maturity and wisdom.

As CORE has grown from a small tightly-knit and disciplined organization to a major national movement, it has attracted thousands of new members from every walk of life. Many have had no previous organizational experience. They need training, understanding and discipline. They want it. We must give it.

How many will we be able to help? The answer is in your hands. Only with your help can we provide room and board scholarship aid for those who want to learn and grow.

Won't you send your check immediately? In time for us to provide scholarships for many of the young students who so desperately want to achieve equality and dignity.

Sincerely,

James Farmer

James Farmer
National Director

Please turn over →

JUN 2 6 1964

my dear mr. farmer:

on october 8, 1963, i wrote mr. richard haley
a two page letter. i asked him three questions;
and i also sent core a check for $25.00. **core**
acknowledged receipt of the money, but gave me
no answer to my letter.
this is angering.
and so, until i receive an answer from you, i shall
send you no more monetary support.

most respectfully,

Ann Traum
ann traum
(mrs. c.c. traum)
23 couch st.
so. norwalk, conn.

june 23, 1964.

Fmical

September 18, 1964

Mr. J. F. Mahoney
107 Trinity Place
Bricks Town, N.J. 08723

Dear Mr. Mahoney:

I would like to thank you for your views expressed in your letter of July 18th to Mr. Farmer. While I do not believe that CORE can subscribe to your economic theories, I do want you to be assurred that we are constantly looking for new approaches to the problems facing the Negro and all Americans.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the National
Director

GRC/em

107 Trinity Pl.
Brick Town N.J. 08723
July 18, 1964

C.O.R.E. National Director James Farmer

Dear Mr. Farmer

On many occasions I have wanted to write to CORE the NAACP and other organizations and I am stopped for lack of a mailing address. In regard to your WABC broadcast today I would like to expound some of my philosophy.

Over the past 30 years or so in my opinion inflation as caused by Federal deficit spending has increased the cost of living three fold but the poor, the near poor and or the poverty stricken lack the means to increase their income to properly compensate. In the mean time Joe Kennedy the Johnsons, Billie Sol Estes, Bobby Baker and others in government or with government connections have managed to increase their wealth and fill their pocket books to quite a degree and in some if not many cases with wheeler dealer methods.

Naturally as these sums of money come out of the Federal tax take some one has to supply it and by way of the inflationary increase in the cost of living or the inflation tax those who can least afford it are paying and being forced in the direction of duress as caused by financial pressure or poverty. It is natural that under such duress the behavior pattern socially and morally for people under duress is not likely to be as good as the average who are not squeezed or under duress.

It appears to me that over the years while Johnson was working in government and advocating inflationary measures he was at the same time stuffing his pockets and in effect putting the pressure on the poor or more honest people who want to have the pride of standing on their own two feet and not be dependent on hand outs.

In this respect Goldwaters attitude on fiscal responsibility would eliminate the inflation tax which is so costly to the poverty groups and when these groups move against him and his election it seems to me they in effect are biting the hand that is trying to help them.

Have you and your associates considered the situation from this view point?

Consider that if those in the poverty groups had the kind of cash Johnson, Joe Kennedy, Billie Sol or Bobbie Baker have they would have no desire to mix socially with the average American citizen. In effect in my opinion the whole racial problem is one of cash, the greed and selfishness on the part of some with questionable ethical standards and the price this ultimately costs others in nerves, health and frustrations which are factors that can lead to various types of poor social behavior and even crime.

With thanks for your consideration of this

Sincerely

J. F. Mahoney

P.S. If this thesis is of any interest to you I would be glad to go into the matter more deeply should you so advise.

Special

September 18, 1964

Mrs. Ann Allen
1415 St. Lawrence
Gonzales, Texas

Dear Mrs. Allen:

I would like to thank you for your letter of July 26th to Mr. Farmer. I am afraid that I would have to disagree with your views on why there is such a great degree of unemployment amongst Negroes. The problem cannot be answered simply by urging people to go to work or suggesting a migration westward.

In the first place, there is still a fantastic amount of outright discrimination in housing and employment against Negroes. Secondly, Negroes have been denied educational opportunities over many, many decades. Consequently, tremendous steps are going to have to be made by our governmental agencies in order to overcome the disabilities of past years. For your further information about CORE, I am enclosing a copy of "All About CORE".

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the National
Director

GRC/em
Enc.

1415 St. Lawrence
Gonzales, Texas
July 26, 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer:

JUL 29 1964

Yesterday, I heard your comments on television, and I have long admired your public speaking ability. Instead of begging and beseeching the government to give jobs, better housing, etc., to the negroes, why don't you use your great leadership ability to inspire the New York negroes to leave their ghettos and migrate west in search of work?

Thousands of Mexican wetbacks cross the border and migrate even as far as Michigan for the purpose of harvesting the Crops- Why can't the negroes in New York do the same thing?

When the great civic leaders, the Clergy, and the legislature start developing moral Character and stop the government paychecks for lazy indigents, I believe the we will have greater respect for our government, renewed faith in our people, and less resentment of the tax burden.

I advise you to cease expecting the hardworking, responsible men and women of America to sacrifice their money, and their social life, to pour down a drain. The hard won livelihood, the refinement of breeding and consequent cultural heritage of the children are too precious to be sacrificed without a struggle to the death—

The example of educated and refined negroes like you should inspire others to imitate you— There are many who are gifted, and I question the wisdom of your strategy. You have won legal rights, now why don't the negroes finally go to work anywhere they can find it? Our patience is at an end, and that is that—

Yours very truly,

Mrs. Ann Allen

September 18, 1964

Mr. Samuel Leiken
Executive Committee
Fast for Freedom
514 W. 126 Street
New York City 27

Dear Mr. Leiken:

Thank you very much for letting me know about your plans for the FAST FOR FREEDOM this year.

CORE is pleased to endorse this project, and will help in any way feasible to make it a success.

I am particularly glad to know of your plans for expanding this very valuable and worthwhile endeavour.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

FAST FOR FREEDOM
514 W. 126th Street
New York, N.Y. 10027

September 10, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Executive Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038

SEP 11 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer:

The Executive Committee of the third annual Fast for Freedom would like to have you endorse the Fast this year. We know of your concern about the poverty-stricken north and south and the excellent work CORE has done to give national publicity to this problem.

The Fast works in a very simple way. On a specific day students are asked to give up their evening meal and have the money saved given to the Fast committee through a bank account at Brandeis University. The money collected will then be used to purchase food which will be distributed by COFO, the Committee for Miners and the Northern Student Movement. Last year, with the help of Richard Haley of CORE, the Fast for Freedom sent $15,000 to the Mississippi delta. We earnestly hope to double that figure by increasing the number of participating colleges from forty to one hundred.

It is also our intention to publicize to the nation the tragedy and wastage that poverty causes. We hope to build student support not only for the Fast itself but for the era dication of the causes of poverty.

We hope that CORE will again endorse the Fast and provide us with the same valuable assisstance we received last year. Since we must begin to prepare printed materials, we would appreciate an immediate reply, so that credit would be properly given.

In freedom,

Samuel Leiken

Samuel Leiken,
temporary chairman,
Executive Committe-
Fast for Freedom

FAST FOR FREEDOM
73 Morningside Drive, New York, N. Y. 10027

July 31, 1964

James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

AUG 4 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer,

The Executive Committee of the third annual Fast for Freedom would like you to endorse the Fast this year. We have chosen you as one of the national leaders who has expressed to the nation your concern about the problems of poverty in the United States.

The Fast for Freedom was started two years ago by the Brandeis Chapter of the Northern Student Movement. The goal was then, as it is now, to provide food for the many families, black and white, who live in the depressed areas of our nation. Last year, with the participation of forty colleges, among them Columbia University, Brandeis University, Colgate University, and the University of Chicago, the Fast sent $15,000 worth of food to the Mississippi delta. Last year's success has encouraged us to believe that the Fast for Freedom can expand into a truly national endeavor. We hope to spread the Fast to more campuses, high schools, fraternal organizations, church groups and labor unions.

The Fast will be administrated in the same way as last year. A "Fast for Freedom" day will be declared in the middle of November. People throughout the country shall volunteer to sacrifice their evening meal and send the money saved to a special bank account at Brandeis University. The food then purchased shall be distributed by the Committee for Miners, the Northern Student Movement, and the Council of Federated Organizations.

We also intend to expand the educational function of the Fast by publicizing the agony and human waste that poverty causes.

Last year's Fast for Freedom was sponsored by the Northern Student Movement, the National Student Association, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, the United States Youth Council, the National Student Christian Federation, the Congress of Racial Equality, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the B'nai Brith Hillel Foundation. This year's expanded program will need the additional help of your sponsorship.

It is our earnest hope that this year's expanded Fast for Freedom merits your endorsement. We would appreciate an immediate acknowledgment from you, since we are preparing materials now and we want to insure that proper credit is given.

In freedom,

Samuel Leiken

Samuel Leiken
for the Executive Committee of
the Fast for Freedom.

Executive Committee:

Samuel Leiken, Northern Student Movement
Frank Millspaugh, National Student Association
William Caspe, Brandeis Northern Student Movement
Bruce Fleegler, Brandeis Northern Student Movement

file
Misc 64

Les Milandes le 18 Septembre 1964

Mme Joséphine BAKER
Les Milandes
Castelnaud-Fayrac
(Dordogne)

SEP 23 1964

Monsieur FARMER
38 Parc Row
à NEW YORK -City
(U S A)

Cher Mr.FARMER,

Juste un mot pour vous dire combien je suis de tout coeur près de vous tous en ce moment de détresse nationale qui touche le monde entier.

Je sais combien vous êtes tous courageux,mais il est bon de sentir près de soi des âmes soeurs au moment de la lutte.Je suis cette âme soeur.

Je regrette seulement que ma convalescence m'empêche d'être auprès de vous. A vrai dire,c'est un un peu la raison de mon attaque au coeur,(le résultat de mes craintes depuis des années,car on ne peut pas toujours presser le citron,même le fer s'use à la longue).

L'abcès commence seulement à se percer.Il y a beaucoup de luttes devant nous,mais je sais aussi qu'une révolution morale fait l'évolution-et le temps fera le reste.

Vous savez que je ne suis pas surprise de ce qui se passe,(car on ne fait pas d'omelettes sans casser des oeufs).

Je prie Dieu qu'aucun de l'ancienne équipe GOLDWATER-NIXON-WALLACE,ne reviennent au pouvoir.Ce serait le désastre final,non seulement pour les U.S.A, mais pour le monde entier.

Je suis sûre que votre sagesse vous dictera de garder JOHNSON comme Président et,Robert KENNEDY à NEW YORK.Ces ddux sont absolument indispensables pour la stabilité nationale et internationale.Tout le monde aura confiance si ces deux personnes sont au pouvoir.

N'oubliez pas que la confiance complète venait des KENNEDY.

JOHNSON a pris une responsabilité au moment de la mort du Président JOhn KENNEDY.Ce n'est pas le

....../....

moment de le changer.

JOHNSON et Robert KENNEDY forment l'équipe nécessaire pour la présente époque trouble. Mettez toutes vos forces auprès d'eux, vous gagnerez. Autrement ce serait le désastre absolu.

Robert est jeune, mais les Etats-Unis sont jeunes. Faites lui confiance, vous n'aurez pas à le regretter, je suis sûre.

Je n'ai qu'un seul désir, que mon pays natal soit de plus en plus sur un très haut piédestal de dignité, respect et confiance mondialE.

Votre bien sincère./

Joséphine BAKER

Courage courage
to all of you, complet
victory is not far away
J Baker

1 October 1964

Mrs. Stanley Paterson
5600 54th Avenue
Riverdale, Maryland

Dear Mrs. Paterson:

Let me thank you for your August 7 letter to Mr. Farmer and apologize for the delay in answering. I am referring this matter to Marvin Rich, our Community Relations Director, for advice on how CORE may best be of assistance. We were shocked as was the entire nation at the tragic murder of Mr. Penn. We trust that your efforts to provide an education fund for his three children will be fulfilled.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

1 October 1964

Mr. David Nolan
University of Virginia Chapter of the
Virginia Council on Human Relations
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Mr. Nolan:

Mr. Farmer's secretary, Miss Lubelsky, will be in touch with you shortly in regard to possible dates for his appearance at the University in March 1965.

I understand that you will be able to pay expanses and that you will make an additional contribution. We will appreciate whatever contribution to CORE that you are able to make.

We are most happy that we are able to be of assistance to you and Mr. Farmer is looking forward to his trip.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

OCT 7 1964

October 2, 1964.

Honorable Dean Rusk
Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

As Director of the recent American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa held in Washington, September 24th - 27th, I wish to express my sincere appreciation for the significant and historic contribution which you made at our luncheon on Friday, September 25th.

The interest evoked in our conference, and opinions expressed since its close, have been most encouraging. We are in the process of editing the resolutions passed at the conference and should, in the next few days, send a copy of them to you.

Mr. Wilkins and Mr. Young, both of whom are out of the city, have asked me to inform you that their expressions of thanks and appreciation will be sent very shortly. They will also request that a representative committee of this conference meet with you to discuss the subjects dealt with in the sessions.

In closing I would like, again, to express my personal and official appreciation.

With every good wish, I am,

Respectfully yours

Theodore E. Brown
Director

TEB/t

Ccs: Messrs. J.W. Fredericks
Roy Wilkins
Whitney M. Young
A. Philip Randolph
✓ James Farmer
Dr. M.L. King
Miss Dorothy Height

October 6, 1964.

Rev. James H. Robinson
Operation Crossroads Africa, Inc.
150 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York.

OCT 7 1964

Dear Jim:

Thank you for your letter of September 29th with your searching observations about the Washington conference. I am sorry that you did not stay for the entire period so that you could have been present when many of the questions you raise in your letter were discussed and resolved in a resolution passed unanimously. This resolution called for the creation of a permanent organization and set forth the initial steps to be taken by the Call Committee to implement it.

I am also sorry you were unable to attend the Arden House Conference. Having experienced the problems, and the enthusiasm, following that conference, I strongly recognize the need for a carefully structured permanent organization and the funds to support its effective functioning. Therefore, I think it is going to require of all of us not only a high degree of sincerity, but also a realistic determination if we are to overcome the obstacles ahead. (I devoted an average of 42 hours a week to the work of the Conference, apart from the period July 1962 to August 1963 when it occupied even more of my time. Numerous 12 and 14 hour a day work sessions were put in for two months immediately preceding the Washington meetings.)

Further, you will be gratified to know that the accountant's financial statement was read and discussed, and it was agreed that the detailed report would be circulated after the bills are all received. Incidentally, many delegates were moved to make immediate pledges to what is already obviously a conference deficit.

Cordially

Theodore E. Brown

P.S.
I think it proper that those persons with whom you shared your letter to me should also have a copy of this reply. Since you specified only the Call Committee, I am somewhat limited in this endeavor!

misc

Louis E. Lomax
~~8461 FRANKLIN AVENUE~~
~~HOLLYWOOD, CALIFORNIA~~

P. O. Box 46631
Los Angeles, Calif. 90046

OCT 14 1964

October 12, 1964

Miss Glenda Lubowski
c/o CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Glenda:

Thank you for your helping hand over the weekend.

Please get the material to me as soon as possible and I assure you that it will be held in the greatest confidence.

Meanwhile, let me know about your plans to visit California and I will do my best to come up with some idea as to just how you can earn your fare.

Best wishes, Freedom Now!

Cordially yours,

Lou

Louis E. Lomax

LEL:pah

Misc

October 13, 1964

Mr. Capus Waynick
High Point,
North Carolina

Dear Mr. Waynick:

Now that my schedule allows me to spend a little more time in the office, I have had an opportunity to read "North Carolina and the Negro," and am greatly impressed with it. It is excellent and a well documented volume, and will be very hblpful to us.

Thank you veyy much for your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer,
National Director

JF/mt

Acknowledge briefly

CAPUS WAYNICK
HIGH POINT, NORTH CAROLINA

August 12, 1964

AUG 17 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director of CORE
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Under the guidance of the Mayors' Co-operating Committee, we have been developing a report of the Negro protest movement in North Carolina and the reaction of local and State government to it. Knowing your interest in this area of public concern, I am taking the liberty of having a copy of this report, which has been published in book form, titled "North Carolina and the Negro," sent to you from Raleigh.

The enactment of the Civil Rights Federal Statute has altered the conditions under which response to the Negro petitions has been proceeding but it has not impaired the necessity for a solution of the problem based on co-operation of the leaders of the two races in a spirit of mutual respect.

This report was intended originally to furnish suggestions for community action without additional law. We believe that it still may be helpful.

Sincerely,

Capus Waynick

W/etp

FIELDSTONE FARM
TELEPHONE 888-5824

15 October 1964

Mr. Joshua Williams
2816 Eighth Avenue
New York City, N.Y. 10039

Dear Mr. Williams:

I am replying to your June 10 letter to Mr. Farmer. You may be assured that the reason your letter was not answered earlier was not due to our lack of interest. The fact is that Mr. Farmer's office is extremely busy, and we have fallen far behind in his correspondence.

Membership in CORE is of two kinds. You may become an Associate Member simply be contributing $3.00 or more annually to the National Organization. National Associate Members receive the CORElator (see enclosed) regularly. One may become an active member by participating in the activities of one of the local chapters. For further information about active membership, please be in touch with our Regional Director, Mr. Louis Smith at 48 125th Street, New York City or phone: 369-0100.

CORE is vitally concerned about the two problems that you mentioned, i.e. sanitation and the lack of Negro policemen. As a matter of fact, I was in Harlem the other day and in a two block area on 125th Street I counted 18 policemen but not one was a Negro. Because of CORE's interest in this problem, I am referring your letter and a copy of my reply to Mr. Smith.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP
ENC.

cc: Mr. Louis Smith

(Morse

October 15, 1964

Mrs. Selma W. Warner
Wide World Lecture Bureau, Inc.
18 East 48th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mrs. Warner:

Thank you very much for your letter of October 2, and also for your several telephone calls.

As Miss Lubelsky has explained, I am at present accepting some of my speaking engagements through another lecture bureau, and am in negotiation with them as to the terms of our relationship. In the circumstances, I do not feel that it would be appropriate to accept any engagements through your agency at this time.

I do appreciate your interest and the trouble that you have taken.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer,
National Director

JF/mt

PLAZA 2-7747

WIDE WORLD LECTURE BUREAU, INC.
18 EAST 48TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

SELMA W. WARNER, PRESIDENT
ELIZABETH BROWN, VICE-PRESIDENT

October 2, 1964

[illegible] 5 1964

~~1964~~

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
CORE
38 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I would very much appreciate an opportunity to talk with you about professional lecturing in college and community forums across the country.

A copy of our current roster of speakers is enclosed. We service the program needs of leading college and community forums throughout this country and Canada. While I am aware that you receive many invitations directly, I feel that we could be useful to you in screening out the most important ones, both in terms of their customary ability and willingness to pay substantial fees and in terms of public relations values to CORE. Also, of course, because of our nation-wide organization we could organize the speaking into geographical groupings in limited periods of time and thus make it possible for you to get the most from the time you are able to devote to speaking outside your own groups.

In any event it would be a pleasure and a privilege to meet you. I will take the liberty of phoning your secretary and hope that a mutually convenient engagement can be arranged.

Sincerely yours,

Selma Warner

SELMA W. WARNER

SWW:lt
Encl.

19 October 1964

Mr. LeRoy Williams
5086 Cobb Drive
Dayton, Ohio 45431

Dear Mr. Williams:

I am replying to your October 7 letter to Mr. Farmer. I regret that I do not feel there is much that the Congress of Racial Equality can do to help you in your present circumstances There are, however, several local organizations in Dayton to which you might apply for assistance. I am certain that the local NAACP would be glad to discuss the problem with you.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

OCT 7 1964

5086 Cobb Drive
Dayton Ohio 45431
A2C LeRoy Williams
AF18619251

Mr James Farmer;
Dear Sir,

I am writing you concerning the practice of descrimination in the 2046 Communication Squadron, Wright-Patterson AFB, Ohio. I have been a personnel Specialist in this Squadron for appraximately two years before that I Was stationed in South Dakota where I Was promoted to my Present grade. I have twenty Eight month in my present grade and only need twelve to be Considered for promotion, There are a number of Caucasians in my unit who have been promoted ahead of me and when I was promoted to Airman Second Class they Weren't even in the Air Force, but now they out rank me. I have tried to get out of service and have Written letters to Senator Young and president Johnson to assist me in this matter, and I would duply appreciate any thing that you could do for me.

Thank You
LeRoy Williams

PLAZA 2-7747

[illegible] Misc

WIDE WORLD LECTURE BUREAU, INC.
18 EAST 48TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

SELMA W. WARNER, PRESIDENT

ELIZABETH BROWN, VICE-PRESIDENT

OCT 21 1964

October 20, 1964

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

It was a keen disappointment to receive your note. I would appreciate an opportunity to discuss our services sometime at your convenience even if you feel that you are already committed to the immediate future.

Sincerely yours,

Selma Warner

Selma W. Warner

November 24, 1964

Mr. Lee Sloan
Assistant Instructor
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

Dear Mr. Sloan:

Thank you for your letter of September 25, addressed to Mr. Farmer. Please accept our sincere apologies for the long delay in replying. Our office has been deluged with mail during the past couple of months, and since we are understaffed we are only now beginning to catch up.

I am referring your letter to Marvin Rich, Director of Community Relations. We are interested in the kind of research in which you are engaged, and Mr. Rich is in a better position to follow through on this, should it be appropriate.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:nm

Spuk – accept

11/11

October 26, 1964

Mr. Richard Rosen
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Room 301
52 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Rosen:

I am pleased to be able to confirm that Mr. Farmer will speak at the MIT Civil Rights Committee on Wednesday, November 11, at 8:00 P.M. The subject of his lecture will be The Negro In The North.

Please find enclosed a photograph and biographical sketch.

Sincerely yours,

Glenda Lubelsky
Secretary to
James Farmer

GL/mt
Enc.

cc: Alan Gartner.

Richard Rosen

11/11

OCT 5 1964

Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Room 301
52 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, Massachusetts
October 2, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Civil Rights Committee would like to invite you to speak at Kresge Auditorium on November 11, 1964 at 8:00 PM. The auditorium, which has a capacity of 1250 has already been procured for the night in question and we will begin publicizing at MIT, Harvard, Boston University and other colleges as soon as we receive a definite reply from your office.

The admission charge will be $1.00, tickets being available in advance at the various colleges. Since our assets are not extensive, the Civil Rights Committee will have to depend on the proceeds from ticket sales to meet the costs of the evening. We will be glad to commit ourselves to a minimum contribution of $250 to CORE and up to $500 depending on ticket sales; we expect to achieve the latter contribution.

We would appreciate a definite reply by the end of this week so that we can begin arrangements for publicity and tickets. Please include the topic on which you plan to speak.

Yours truly,

Harry Davitian

Harry Davitian, Treasurer
MIT Civil Rights Committee

Rachlin taking care of this

OFFICE
HE. 1-4122

RESIDENCE
561-7261

FRED D. ROSEBORO
ATTORNEY AT LAW
Room 6—Cleveland Trust Bank Building
5424 Woodland Avenue
Cleveland 4, Ohio

file

November 28, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Re: Cleveland Core Chapter and Jack Green

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to my letter to you on October 9th, 1964, on the claim mentioned therein, I had a conference with Attorney Milus J. Graham and your general counsel, Attorney Carl Rachlin. I submitted a figure of $1,250.00 as the amount for which we could settle the claim; both attorneys thought the claim was a just one and expressed a desire that it be settled without litigation and they thought the amount $1,250.00 was reasonable. On October 29th, 1964 at said meeting, it was stated by Mr. Graham that the Cleveland Chapter didn't have more than three or four hundred dollars, Mr. Rachlin stated he would talk over the matter with you when he returned to the home office.

On November 10th, 1964, Attorney Graham called me by phone and stated he had heard from Mr. Rachlin at the home office and he stated he had been authorized to make a counter offer of $950.00; Mr. Green, my client, upon my insistence, reluctantly agreed to accept this offer. I called Mr. Graham a few days ago and he stated he had informed your office of our willing to accept the counter offer and he had received no further word concerning same.

The purpose of this letter is to ascertain the exact time we can expect this claim to be paid.

I am mindful of the unfavorable publicity it would cause C.O.R.E. to have to bring legal action and unfavorable publicity to one civil rights organization inures to the disadvantage of other such organizations; I am trying to avoid such but can't prevent it much longer. I promised my client to have something definite to inform him in a few days.

Very truly yours,

Fred D. Roseboro

Fred D. Roseboro

FDR:bw
cc: Attorney Carl Rachlin
Attorney Milus J. Graham

misc

11/19

November 1, 1964

Miss Lillian Lang
Radio Program Director
British Broadcasting Corporation
630 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Miss Lang:

Thank you very much for your letter of October 26.

I shall be delighted to meet Mr. Bridson and suggest 11:30 A.M. on Monday, November 9. Please be good enough to let Miss Lubelsky know if this time would be convenient for Mr. Bridson.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer,
National Director

JF/mt

OCT 28 1964

BRITISH BROADCASTING CORPORATION
630 FIFTH AVENUE · NEW YORK, N. Y. 10020
CABLES: BROADCASTS, NEW YORK LT 1-7100 INTERNATIONAL TELEX: 420093

October 26, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

During a recent telephone conversation with Miss Lubelsky she suggested that I write to you concerning the following BBC request:

D.G. Bridson, one of our distinguished producers, is responsible for a series of programs currently scheduled in our Third Programme called "The Negro in America". These programs cover a broad range of subjects, i.e. Negro jazz, poetry, plays, gospel songs, plus three documentaries tracing the course of the integration struggle since 1954.

Mr. Bridson is coming to New York on November 9th to gather the last of the material he requires and would be very grateful if he could set up an appointment with you during the few days he is in town. He would be most grateful if you could set aside one hour at any time which is convenient to you from Monday, November 9th through Friday, November 13th. Mr. Bridson would like to discuss the subject with you at that time and record a brief interview. Incidentally, he is hoping to make similar appointments with Mr. Whitney Young, Mr. Roy Wilkins, and Mr. John Lewis.

May I look forward to receiving your reply in the near future.

Sincerely yours,

Lillian Lang

Lillian Lang
Radio Program Director

LL:sk

file / 44 Elinor

Sunday, Nov 29, 1964

DEC 1 1964

Dear Jim:

I'm very pleased to see your group making the much needed change of direction as you are now doing for the civil rights movement. I suppose you have a few things against me, specifically my ciritisism of LeRoy Wilkins in my last letter to you. Think what you will about him, and regardless of how long you've known him. To me, he can only harm the negro movement. He has no intention of uprooting evils like the Gilligan case and the murders in Mississippi. He has even praised the Police and the FBI on more than one occassion, and note that he alone of all the main negro leaders has not demanded the resignation of J. Edgar Hoover (at least I don't recall him doing so). These evils like those I mentioned must be attacked and attacked and attacked. They are evils that cry out for justice and unless they are ended, there will never be peace in either the white or negro community. Wilkins won't call for justice against these evils, because he knows that once that comes, the negro revolution is over and with victory, there is no longer any cause to hate and complain and more than anything else, he wants to keep those avenues of hate open. My critisism of Wilkins still holds. He is the HoChi Minh of the negro movement cagey and wiley, and ~~but~~ no less dangerous. I hope you will someday come to see things my way. And don't please go along with him that the crimes in Mississippi and the Gilligan crime will stick. They will only stick if you allow them to stick, if you stop fighting.

I have many things I want to talk about, a lot of praisem, and a little critisism too. First the critisism. Your evaluation of Tschombe is completely wrong and I know why you don't like him. You don't like him because he has taken help from the whites in the racist South Africa governement. But you arent looking deep enough into this thing. The trouble in South Africa started in early 1960 when the country was torn by negro rioting. I guess there was a good deal of injustice to the negroes or there would have been no cause for the riots, just as was the case later in the Congo. In that rioting, a white anti-racist (and quite possibly a communist also, for all communists are anti-racist) shot the premier of South Africa in the jaw. All this served only to inflame the boss, Henrich Veervoerd (or something like that) even more against the negroes, and caused him to react even more bitterly and racist against the negro community in that country, in a sense blaming the negro indirectly for his jaw wound. Thus the thing that you and I now hate in South Africa is not the blame of the Government completely, but of one lone troublemaker with a pistol. But Tschombe is wise and he understands this. Tschombe is wise because he has suffered, and he's been in jail just as many of you negroes here have--all for unjust reasons. He has condemened negro atrocities in that area against whites as bitterly as any negro in America rest assured. He wants peace between the 2 communities and he wants peace again in South Africa too and he alone will get that peace in both places. Go over there and have a talk with Tschombe and drink from some of his wisdom. Let him tell you what it feels like to see his country virtually raped by that ridiculous thing we call the UN. Let him tell you what it feels like to bury his pride and rule the people who once threw him unjustly ~~xx~~ in jail, without the will for revenge. Let him tell you how sick he feels now about taking help from the U.S. after we virtually (thru our diplomats) put him on a cross back in 1961 and 1962. It takes a real man to go thru all that, to bury all thoughts of revenge and still be determined to save Africa from the dangers of black nationalism and communism.

My next critisism is on this business of MFY. You know what MFY is to me and to 9 out of every 10 New Yorkers, negroes included? It's a rat, a rat that has to be killed off. It feeds on City injustices like slumlords and discrimination. Maybe in that sense the rat is needed, for it's bite is directed at the right man, the man that feeds it the cheese. But you should be wise enough to know that Wagner is going to go in 1965 if you negroes and the Republicans have the courage to put up a battling candidate who will dump him right into the junk heap welfare city that he has created. And when Wagner goes, ~~MX~~ MFY has to go. It isn't directed at helping youths, only instigating them and leading them to disorder. Play it smart my freind and keep your CORE members out of MFY which is communist led and directed. Dont condemn MFY either. Condemn the Mayor who keeps it in operation by keeping the injustices going. And if some of your members are in that organization and don't want to leave it, then let core leave them. If as you say, you want no communists or communist fronters to partake in CORE, then you have to take that advice. Even if you see them reading red literature be skeptical of them unless they can prove that they just want to familiarize themselves with communism, not to partake in it.

Next is this War on Poverty. Lets face it. Your no kid. You know that all that was was an election gimmick. It's no problem for Johnson to take a billion out of the coffers of the taxpayer's treasury and use such a trick to try for votes. We've been warring on poverty ever since the New Deal days and the result has been more poverty now than ever. What it really amounts to is a raid on the taxpayer's pocketbooks to get votes. That's the truth of it all. But if you don't beleive me, ask Johnson for a personal donation for a war on poverty to show his sincerity. You may as well ask a dog to surrendered a meaty bone. Johnson's been warring on poverty ever since his political beginnings, and he has made himself plenty rich in the process. He's a crook and a grafter and if he don't like that charge let him challenge me to prove it. I'd sure love the chance. What I'm getting at is this. Don't fall for any catch phrases and big handouts. Your'e right in wanting to elevate the poor people of Harlem and to want to give them a better break, but money alone will never cure the problem or only a fraction of it. It's people that will do it, people you hear? People that arent afraid to dump their garbage right in front of City Hall when the Mayor fails to get the sanitation Dept. to clear it out. People that are ready to go to jail if they don't get their just demands, people that battle the slumlords on their own terms by making sure to vote out the judges ~~who keep the~~ and politicians who keep the slumlords in power; people who make it known that they wont pay taxes to keep such a corrupt regime in power; People who will carry the Gilligan case right up to the Supreme Court and the President if necessary; people who make up their minds to remove graft taking cops and Mayors and Deputy Mayors. There's the cause of your negro ghetto and your negro injustices, a crooked, lying, Mayor who doesn't give a hoot about justice. You either get rid of him or if you can't do that, set up your own Harlem Mayor, but until he goes, the ghetto will always exist. His indifference to clean streets will make Harlem and all other poor communities continue to look like slums. His indifference to justice will continue to keep the slumlords going and you know it, and it will keep brutal cops on the force too, and you know it. His lust to make New York workers the highest paid in the world will continue to put poor negroes out of work, and his rotten example of crime and graft in the highest city office is an invitation for New Yorkers all over to follow his lead which eventually leads into a killer stalking the streets. What do you need a lenghty dissertation on how much of a phoney he is? I can do it you know. All the things he stands for breeds slums. Keep Wagner and you keep slums. Get rid of him and you get rid of slums. It's just that simeple. Wagner belongs in jail. First declare war on Wagner and make sure he gets to where he belongs. Then we'll tackle the battle on poverty the right way----with the right people, OK?

The next point is housing. You have to ask yourself first, which is more important for negroes, integrated housing or decent housing? The fact is that the negroe will never be accepted by the white community as long as the white community is able to look at Harlem and see it as a slum. He fears that by letting the negroe into his community, he may let in a new negro slum. So the job of cleaning up Harlem comes first. Sure it's a big job. But you're a big man and as such, can do a big job. Forget about that now. Assume that after 3 hard months you have finally straightened out the attic (the Harlem community). You have thrown out the dope pushers, the slumlords, and you've applied the whip to the City agencies that have heretofore ignored your problems. Harlem is now shining, and whites begin to see this. Will the negro now be accepted in the white community? The answer is no, not fully, because many whites will be a bit afraid, not just of one or 2 negroes, but of being surrounded eventually by all negroes. I may be wrong on this, but here's the way I'm thinking. Different races in different neighborhoods has always been an accepted thing. After all, God made the world that way so it must be proper. I know it for a fact that as

3) an Italian, I have always felt more at home with Italians. Mind you it's not that I couldn't love any non-Italians as much as I do an Italian. But it's just that the common interests and backrounds makes me better equipped to get along with Italians. Actually though, this isn't true of me now, for nowadays I feel as though I should belong to everyone of all races and creeds that would have me as a freind. But of Italians less mature than myself (if I may describe myself in that way) these would much rather live with their own, and if you had a previously all Italian neighborhood that was suddenly invaded by anyone of another race, be it negroes or Irish or whatever, I am sure you could understand their resentment (the original Italians). And it is true also among a lot of negroes who would prefer to stay with their own. What I'm getting at is this. There is ample opportunity for negroes and whites to cross paths and mix in our society without trying to integrate neighborhoods and schools. This is not an area of injustice. It should not receive too much attention in the civil rights struggle. Your first concern has to be with the injustices that lead to racial strife. Your first concern should be with racial peace, and I'm beginning to learn now that racial peace can best be acheived when there is no attempt to mix the races deliberately to acheive a so called balance. Neither do I say that we should do as they do in the south and deliberately segregate the races by force, the opposite to what we are doing in New York. Forget about the Supreme Court for now. Forget about the whole U,S. govt and the City and State Govt. We're building the whole thing anew here, right? Since races get along better among themselves and those of their own race, then logic tells us that it is wrong to deliberately try to mix races. This is conducive to racial peace, hence good as St. Thomas would say. If on the other hand a negro should want to try to mix, not to create unrest, but say to try to make white freinds, what should be the view of society's bosses at large (our next Mayor and Governor for instance)? They should encourage negro leaders to make sure that that negro is a better than average negro. I don't mean by this a richer or smarter negro, but a negro that knows how to take the rough times, one who won't run at the first insult hurled his way in a strange community. Also the community chosen to be moved into by the negro should be a better class neighborhood, and preferrably one that is already integrated in an ethnic sense, so that there will be less danger of the feeling getting around that someone is trying to break up the nice Italian or Irish clique or whatever it is. In other words, you have to be selective and wise about this business of integrating communities and not just go around with a chip on your shoulder whenever you see a community that seems lilly white to you. In attempting to place a negro in a white community, you should try to be polite to the people and try to sell them on their new neighbor and hope that the negro you introduce to the new white community will really make the right impression. Above all, you musn't approach this thing with the attitude that "this neighborhood is going to be integrated wether it likes it or not". I see that attitude too often with many negro leaders and it's wrong, very much so. Remember the goal----racial peace. Keep that first in mind.

In the schools it's pretty much the same thing. I used to think otherwise, I'll admit. I used to think that if we can get racial peace rooted in the early days, that the battle is over later on. But I know now how wrong I was. You see, I drive a school bus and on it are 11 kids, 3 negroe boys and 8 mixed white boys and girls. I realize now that an integrated school system may even do more harm than good. For you see kids can get pretty wild. And wether they are negro or white, when they get wild, they must be punished, and when they fight they have to get wallopped by their teacher or driver, whoever it is. Yet if I was to really give one of these negro youths the whipping that he needs, I'm sure that not only his father would be after my hide, but that it might even start a race riot. On the other hand, take a typical exchange between a white and negro youngster; WHITE BOY: Give me my candy back. ME: What did I tell you brats about eating on the bus? NEGRO BOY: That candy was on the floor when I found it. WHITE BOY: You black crook. NEGRO BOY: Shut up you white guinea pig; And so it goes Jim. Kids are too wild. Integrating schools by force would only compound the problems for both races. On the other hand if we wait till the kids get older before we integrate them at jobs, when they are more mature and less prone to argue over petty things,

4) ~~and the~~ then chances for better racial adjustment is improved. Likewise with the schools as well as with the negro community, the answer to negro problems is to upgrade the negro community altogether---schools as well as housing. Tell the Board of Ed to save the money they spend on bussing and spend it instead on upgrading negro schools. Let integration by bussing be a voluntary thing. I can't repeat that enough. Remember the goal----racial peace.

Now I want to start patting you on the back a bit. Cooling off the demonstrations unless it's for something very important----that's real ~~smar~~ smart indeed. Don't ~~x~~ discount that white backlash though. When the white community starts getting hurt by the ~~wh~~ things the negro does, then you'll see a real white backlash. In the past your demonstrations have only been aimed at the guilty. You've wanted them punished and have found instead a City administration that doesn't give a damn. So, why bat your head against a brick wall? The thing to do is to get rid of that City Administration. Pray hard enough and get up the will to fight and the job is as good as done. Meanwhile try instead to reward the worthy people who have given negroes good jobs and a better way of life. Show them your gratitude and punish the guilty indirectly. Buy in Yonkers, New Jersey and Nassau and don't give them in the City Administration a dime of your taxes. Get into Politics and don't give Wagner and Rockerfeller an ounce of your support. Fight them every step of the way. You've got the right idea in forming new unions and inviting whites in. You've got a newspaper strike and a bus strike coming up soon and probably a lot more. Form new labor unions in all these feilds, especially in the union feilds that discriminate, and let your unions do the job for cheaper so that the men will get work and the city and state and private firms will be tempted to perform more work (having the money to pay) and hence more people will ~~be~~ be put to work. I'll be glad to bust up a strike in any one of those feilds and ~~I've got some~~ I've got some fists of my own to throw back at any punks that try to rough me up as I go thru a strike line. I figure I'Ll ~~t~~ have to do all the fighting of my own what with the kind of cops you have in this town. I want to read my newspapers next year, and I'll be glad to join any new strike busting newspaper union that's formed to exercise that right. I also like the old price of 2 cents a paper even though our present money hungry newspaper union leaders have other ideas. Don't worry about ~~that~~ the fact that Stanley Lowell is against you on this business of battling the unions that discriminate for jobs. Just make sure that the new unions you form are made of stern stuff and ready to handle any and all that come at them without help from the cops. Like I said, I'm particularly interested in the new strike busting newspaper union. I've already worked for the Daily News before, and I learn fast, and I'm not half as greedy as ~~they are.~~ the others are.

In getting into politics, you negroes should easily be able to take a large share of the white votes, but if you want to win, you've got to move out into new issues and new feilds like foreign policy, inflation, communism, and above all, treason. Read that book by John Stormer "None Dare Call it Treason". Goldwater as much as repudiated that book, but it's still a best seller. The country wants to know about treason and they surely aren't getting much help from the FBI. Any man well versed in the communist menace in America and who dares to call it for what it is in an election year is a sure winner, I don't care what his race or religion is. The country wants that type of leader. Keep those reds out of your CORE group too. Take a good look around you. The book by E.G. Hoover called Masters of Deceit is also a great one on alerting us to the dangers of communism. But that book ~~wa~~ was written in the days when Hoover was one of the good guys. Now it appears that he has himself become one of the deceivers. Don't you beleive that Warren Report or anything you get from the ~~FBI~~ FBI on that Kennedy Assassination. I'll venture to say, that for every page of truth contained in the Warren Report, you have another 1 page of lies and 2 pages of concealed information that Warren & Co. don't want us to know. Here are some facts I will state categorically now that I know to be true, each of which has been denied by the Commission 1) The Communist underground planned the crime 2) There were 2 assassins, not one 3) neither one of those assassins was Oswald 4) There were 2 Oswald's, the real Oswald being still alive 5) Ruby had a communist backround and was linked with one of the 2 Oswalds, probably the phoney one. 6) Ruby was ordered by the reds to kill the captured Oswald and used his influence with the police to effect that killing. 6) At least one Policeman is involved in the plot and possibly more. 7) Both Ruby and Oswald were paid CIA agents and were ready to be arrested in the ~~killing of Gen.~~ attempted killing of Gen. Walker when good old Bobby Kennedy then of the Justice Dept. freed the budding assassins so that they could later go on to plot the life of JFK.

I have clippings and all sorts of data to back up those charges too, but the liars that run our government think they can just mow down little guys like myself rather than give us a hearing. They don't dare air these charges before the nation as a court of law brings both sides together to present their case to an impartial jury. I guess the only justice Johnson wants is a hangman's noose for himself. And maybe that's the only way to teach these fools a lesson. But for my part, the lie has had it's day and the liars too. What the nation decides to do with them is not going to be my problem, but before Johnson stops me from getting the truth to the nation, he's going to have to hang me first. It's either me or him now. He's chosen sides and so have I and I fight to the finish. I don't get taken prisoner.

Sincerely
Pat Matteo

P.S.- Keep battling in Mississippi. That boil has come to a head now in Mississippi and we have to bust it and let all that hate come out. Get your best men to go down there, men ready to die. Don't look for Govt. troops which would only bring on a new civil war. Resign yourselves to take it on the chin. Mississippi has a deep grudge going back to Civil War days and to the march of Gen. Sherman. I guess they need to plunder some northerners to even the score. I'd like to join you there Jim, but I know I have other things to do before I can get on to that business. If I had to go down there to Mississppi to be persecuted with you other integrationists and fighters for equal rights, I would rather do it as an important person for then it would count more. Meanwhile try to get some of those gallant and vehement pro-civil rights politicians to join you down there that is if they don't mind foregoing some of their many congressional privileges for the glory of getting roughed up in the effort to get negroes registered to vote in a free country. I'm sure too that the fallen Sen. Keating is ever so anxious to really be of service to the nation as a citizen. Lets also see if Pres. Johnson and his teammate have some of their own bodies to offer for the cause of integration or if they would rather see the bodies of young soldiers and Mississipians fall to the dust instead. Heed these words Jim! Sending troops there would only bring on a civil war and whites all over the nation would hate negroes more than ever if that ever happened. We've got to bust that boil with Christian troops, armed with a prayer or a rosary. Then the hate will all come out and the nation will be whole again and we can all be proud of those Mississippi Christian soldiers for uniting the nation in a time of crisis. Don't let Johnson send a single troop down to Mississippi, unless he wants to lead that army and unless it's an Army without guns.

P.S.#2 - Keep fighting on that Gilligan case. We still dont know for sure wether or not Gilligan really was attacked with a knife & neither he, nor the conflicting witnesses have been given lie detector tests on that important issue. Everyone on that Grand Jury just ignored the conflicting testimony & instead of getting at the truth as they should have, they just gave the cop the benefit of the doubt & passed a verdict of guilty on a poor dead boy who has no chance to defend himself. This Powell kid may have been a wise guy, but he didnt deserve to die & a good cop could have spared him. ~~Either way~~ That cop should be punished & indicted for murder if the lie test shows he was not attacked.

December 2, 1964

Mr. Harold Staley
25 West 132nd Street
New York, New York 10037

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your letters of November 1 and 27 and your generous contribution - I appreciate it.

Sorry to hear of your troubles here in New York, but am glad you had a relaxing vacation in ~~[illegible]~~. Savannah

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer,
National Director

JF/m

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Mr. Harold Staley
25 West 132nd Street
New York, New York 10037

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your letters of November 1 and 27 and your generous contribution - I appreciate it.

Sorry to hear of your troubles here in New York, but am glad you had a relaxing vacation in ~~[illegible]~~. Savannah

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer,
National Director

JF/m

Dear Harold —

Thanks for yr letters of Nov 1
& Nov 21 and your generous
contribution — I appreciate it.

Sorry to hear of your troubles
here in N.Y., but am
glad you have had a
[illegible] vacation —
[illegible] [illegible]

Loving.

NOV 30 1964

Manger
Towne & Country
Motor Lodge

ROUTE 4, BOX 217A
PHONE ADAMS 6-8236

RESTAURANT · TELEPHONES
TELEVISION · SWIMMING POOL

ROUTE U.S. 17 AND 17A SOUTH OF SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

Friday Nov 27, 1964

I was making it too hot for the devils who are pushing dope to youngsters. the following happen to me: Air was let out of my car tire, A big peice of glass fell??? out of the window as I was entering my building, garbage was strewn on my incinerator floor, A black man came in to my apartment and cheated me out of twenty five dollar for supposedly cleaning my floors.

Be cause of all this and my belifs my doctor decided I needed to go into the Hospital for my own safety. It is most interesting that the New York City Hospital Dept said about 8 months ago that I was distrube and Irresponsible yet when I wanted to be admitted to their Hospital to ascertain their allegation they (the NYC Hospital Dept.) said I couldn't be admitted because I don't live in Bellevue's district. Now every body know that if you are supposedly distrubed they ship you to Bellevue and Farm you out to a State

Manger
Towne & Country
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ROUTE 4, BOX 217A
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RESTAURANT · TELEPHONES
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ROUTE U.S. 17 AND 17A SOUTH OF SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

Hospital if you need further treatment but with me they wouldn't even admit me.

I took the train to my home the Red Clay banks of Georgia. I joined the Fast For Freedom here that was called for one day and on my own Fasted (taking only bread and water) from 11-19-64 to 6 PM on 11-22-64 in memory of our late President John F. Kennedy. In addition I did some investigation work in Claxton Ga. for the NAACP and on Nov 22, 1964 I was the main speaker at their Freedom Rally. I accomplished (wrong word) the Savannah State College Chapter Advisor and the Georgia State President to Glenwood County to participate in a county wide thanksgiving service on Nov 26, 1964 and I am still fasting (Had two light meals for the entire period that I have been here)

I have intergrated the above Motor Lodge for the last three days.

Although I had planned to stay only one day the service was so excellent and the atmosphere so peaceful and relaxing I have stayed

AAA
SUPERIOR

this long. Now I can't un intergrate the place because I don't have no money to check out (I gave it to the Churches and the Freedom movement) but I am not worried

I will make out and not by using anybody or beating them for what they have for I know God is on my side and he will lead and guide me.

I say:

"I do not to others what they have done to us, for if I do, I am no better than they are"

Staley

I Shall Return

25 West 132nd st.
New York, N.Y. 10037

NOV 3 1964

35' 0

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Jim:

I am enclosing a money order for $25.00. More will follow but I am not going to commit myself in terms of what I would like to do and what I can sacrafice to do. I made this mistake last year.

During the last year I have been relatively quite. The killing of those children and the assasination of the late President Kennedy and what I could see happening right here in New York cause me to invoke a year of silence because of this sick, sick, sick society.

During that year I have not only evaluate this society but myself. Let me say here that I strongly believe in a democratic society however I have been contending all along that a true democratic society does not exist in this country.

Race is pitted against race and even with in a race of people one is pitted against the other (light against dark, West Indian against American Negro) and the rich against the poor and vice a versa. Some of the "have nots" will use any method to take away from the "Haves" (negative thinking) rather than moving forward to acheive what the "Haves" have (that probably pretty poor english. segregated education)

On the other hand some of the "Haves" are so determine to keep what they have with out sharing in the knowledge, experience etc that they will use any method to keep what they have

Backlash Northern style

Please note I said Backlash. Here how it work

Because many Northerner were

Secretly prejudice to begin with here is what happen.

The attack is not on race but on the labor unions that have pratice what they preach.

Examples

1. In an effort to prove that they are alright some will hire Negro worker (minimum number) and kick out white worker

2. In other instances where there are already a good number of Negro workers they will bring in white workers who they claim are "better qualified". Not saying that present employees aren't "qualified" but these new workers are "better qualified". That to me is the superiority theory for if you have had worker for 2, 3, 4 years who were efficient why now seek better qualified ones particularly when the job qualifications may not necessary call for or pay a salary comparable to the qualification that the worker posess. In other words the job call for a high school education but

They recruit on a college level.

3. Last year we kept hearing the word "qualified". Some people realizing that they did not necessarily qualify for a higher position and wanting to advance themselves thru further schooling etc. find that they are not now even "qualified" to go and get further qualification.

This is negative thinking and I question whether they want you to qualify to begin with. A few okay but not too many.

4. I have always maintain that a Negro or Puerto Rican need to be a "super qualifier" (Jackie Robinson etc) in order to be accepted into the inner circle of "average qualifiers".

On the basis of my personal experience (not talking about the job but relationship with people you deal with) I find the same thing. You are presecuted, humiliated and punished if you don't act

Right.

If you don't act right you will find that a case can be built against you for during what your job call for although other employees in similiar on the same title who do the same thing but who are not Negroes do the same thing. In addition they will find one of your own to lead the way or join in their conspiracy therefore you can't easily say discrimination. Quite often the "Blackmail" method will be used although they may be as guilty of similiar offenses or worse.

This is democracy I say this is plain and simple oppressiveness

Thanks for listening to me. Next time I will tell you about dual applications of the rules and how a Negro or Puerto Rican can succeed under the present form of government unless he move to be prefect or Christ like.

This is too much of a burden for a Race of people (any race) in this false society.

Fraternally yours
Harold E. Staley

"My Blue print for sucess"

December 2, 1964

Reverend Russell Jack Ballard
1207 Kemp Boulevard
Wichita Falls, Texas

Dear Mr. Ballard:

Thank you very much for your letter of November 17th, addressed to Mr. Farmer.

We are forwarding your letter to Mr. Isaac Reynolds, 2209 Dryades Street, New Orleans, Louisiana. This is our Southern Regional Office, which serves the entire South and Southwest.

I am afraid Mr. Farmer will not have time free for any more appointments while he is in Dallas; but we very much appreciate your interest in the civil rights movement, and especially your wish to form a CORE chapter. I am sure that Mr. Reynolds will be able to help you with this.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Staff Associate

NM:lt

misc

December 2, 1964

Mrs. John Urban
99 Midland Avenue
Tarrytown, New York

Dear Mrs. Urban:

Please accept my sincere apologies for the delay in replying to your letter of October 27, but my schedule has been extremely hectic these past weeks and I have been out of the office amost constantly.

Thank you for your kind thought in offering to do my portrait, but as a matter of fact, I have just finished sitting for a portrait and simply will not have time to give in the near future.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer,
National Director

JF/m

OCT 30 1964

MRS. JOHN URBAN
99 MIDLAND AVENUE
TARRYTOWN, NEW YORK

Oct 27-1964

Dear Mr Farmer,

I had the great pleasure to meet you in Tarrytown at our civil rights rally, & I asked you if you might be free to have your portrait done.

It would take about ~~4~~ 2 hours & you could relax by reading.

Please let me know

if you have the
time.

Sincerely,
Mrs Elaine Urbain

~~J 9 6 7 l 9 Oct 27~~

Please accept my sinc. 704
apol. for the delay in replying,
but ~~I have been~~ my sched. has
been extr. hectic these past weeks
& I've been out of the off. almost
constantly.

Thank you for your kind
thought in offering to do my
portrait but as a matter
of fact I have just fin.
sitting for ~~my~~ a port. and
simply will not have the
time to give in the near
fut.

S

JF

December 2, 1964

Mr. Theodis Hewitt
Route 3 Box 248
Carthage, Mississippi

Dear Mr. Hewitt:

Mr. Farmer is out of town at present and I am, therefore, writing to thank you for your letter of November 30.

Your request for a car for use in your region has been forwarded to the Southern Regional Director, Mr. Richard Haley, from whom you will be hearing shortly.

Sincerely yours,

Glenda Lubelsky
Secretary to
James Farmer

GL/MT
CC: Richard Haley

ROGER N. BALDWIN

file misc

DEC 8 1964

156 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.
December 3, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

May I call to your attention the attached memorandum and biographical material about Dr. William P. Brown, a colleague concerning whom you may have an inquiry in the not distant future?

Sincerely yours

Roger Baldwin
Roger N. Baldwin

RNB:EAL

MEMORANDUM

ON

PROFESSOR WILLIAM BROWN.

The attached biography and memorandum concerns the career of a colleague in setting up a study of police administration at New York University.

Dr. Brown, long an officer of the New York Police Department and now professor of Public Administration in the State University at Albany, was largely instrumental in developing the N Y U program in which I participated.

The enclosed material will acquaint you with his unusual qualifications in the event that an opportunity offers in future for a more active post in New York. While Dr. Brown holds at present an important teaching position in Albany, I understand that he would prefer a return to more active duty in New York.

In that case it may be desirable that those concerned with police administration in relation to minority problems should know his record so that if consulted they may have some basis for judgement.

Roger N. Baldwin

12-3-64

WILLIAM P. BROWN

32 No. Helderberg Parkway

Slingerlands, New York

(518) 439-9274

PERSONAL

Born - December 31, 1918. 5'11-1/2", 190 pounds, health excellent. Married in 1943 to Eleanor T. Drum, High School English teacher and Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Hunter College and Columbia University. Two children, Anne Marie, born 1950, and Paul William, born 1952.

EDUCATION

All university work was completed at New York University in the evening session while carrying full professional responsibilities and included a B.A. (cum laude), in Sociology (1944), a Master of Public Administration (1948), and a Ph. D. in Public Administration (1960).

Special extended non-college training included graduation from the United States Navy, School of Electronics, Washington, D. C. (1945) and the National Academy of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (1961).

MILITARY SERVICE

United States Naval Reserve 1944-1946. Trained as Electronic Technician; served as feature writer and reporter on service newspaper.

EXPERIENCE

In June of 1940, at the age of 21, I began 22 years in the New York City Police Department. I was a patrolman in Greenwich Village, a sergeant in Midtown Manhattan. As a lieutenant I worked as a desk officer, as a supervisor of a Juvenile Aid Bureau unit and, finally, in the development and direction of a special graduate public administration program for law enforcement personnel studying at the Baruch School of the City College. This program included ten graduate level police courses accredited by City College, rose to an enrollment of 120 matriculated students and has graduated 46 master's candidates in the first seven years of its existence. A maximum diversity of educational opportunity for the police officer graduate students was achieved during this period by the negotiation of programs incorporating police graduate courses leading to the M.A. in Sociology, Labor Law, or New York Area studies. The recognition of police candidates in several graduate education areas not previously open to them, was also achieved.

As a member of the executive ranks (captain or above) from July 1957 to August 1962, my assignments were largely of the troubleshooting variety and appear to have met with better than average success. I was a precinct commander, first in Ozone Park, then in the Glendale-Ridgewood precinct, when the school integration dispute developed in June of 1959. From there I went to the Morningside Heights precinct where 200,000 residents and the Morningside Heights complex of great institutions combined to make one of New York's busiest and most problemful areas.

In May of 1960 I was promoted to deputy inspector and after a brief sojourn in vice and gambling enforcement I became the Commanding Officer of the New York City Police Academy. Finally in 1961 I was promoted to my final police assignment, that of inspector in charge of the Fourth Patrol Division in upper Mid-Manhattan. This covered the widely diversified areas of Spanish Harlem, Yorkville, the Silk Stocking area of the east side, Central Park, and one of the West Side's most difficult precincts. It was from this post that I retired in August of 1962.

Immediately after leaving the Police Department, I became a professor of public administration and Director of the Corrections Program in the newly created Graduate School of Public Affairs of the State University of New York. This involved the developing and directing of a program leading to a specialized Master of Public Administration (Corrections) degree for administrators in the fields of applied criminology (crime prevention, police, probation, parole, and institutional corrections).

I have been an adviser and technical consultant to the National Institute of Mental Health in the preparation of its film, "Booked for Safekeeping", on the police handling of the mentally disturbed. More recently I have served as an active member of the Delinquency Grants Review Committee of the National Institute of Mental Health. I have also had a protracted consultant relationship to the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the New York State Moreland Commission on the ABC Law, the President's Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime, and the International Police Academy of the Agency for International Development. I have served on numerous occasions as a consultant or adviser to, or lecturer for, Federal, state, or local agencies as well as educational institutions, and private agencies or groups concerned with academic or operational problems in the administration of criminal justice.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND POLICE-MINORITY RELATIONS

I have spoken widely on police-minority group relations and have served since its creation as a member of the National Council of Advisors on Police-Community Relations of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. My 1962 paper, The Police and Community Conflict, which was published by the NCCJ, has been used as police executive training material throughout the country. It has just been reprinted in the journal "Police".

As the continuing adviser to the New York University Graduate School of Public Administration in its Police-Civil Rights Program, under the Robert Marshall Civil Liberties Trust Grants, I have worked toward the development of practical means for improving police observance of civil rights. As such I developed and then directed in February of 1962 a one-week conference under the sponsorship of the Graduate School of Public Administration of New York University on "The Challenge of Desegregation for the American Police Executive". This conference was attended by 25 top police executives from cities having serious desegregation problems. Nineteen states and the District of Columbia were represented. The meeting resulted in a statement of principles agreed to by all of the participants which is presently being used for developing greater common understanding in this difficult area. A second conference on a still wider theme, "The Challenge of Civil Disobedience to the American Police Executive", was given in March of 1963 with equally impressive results.

I have also had considerable practical experience with minority group problems. When in June of 1962 the school integration dispute flared up in the Ridgewood-Glendale area of Queens, I was placed in command of that precinct and planned and directed the police operations during the next few critical months. This included the development of a positive role in putting together community and professional agencies and was widely acclaimed. The executive secretary of the Brooklyn Division of the Protestant Council of the City of New York wrote:

> "Captain Brown's complete integrity, careful and yet relaxed approach to all groups involved, his complete knowledge of the entire situation, geographically and sociologically, and his relationship to all the groups concerned, was one of the outstanding factors in causing this delicate situation to be resolved in such a favorable manner."

Just prior to the Ridgewood-Glendale incident I had served as an adviser to the University of Puerto Rico and to the Puerto Rican Police on the revision of the police training program.

When I assumed responsibility for the Fourth Division in June of 1961, I acquired a number of areas including "Spanish Harlem" and some sections of the West Side which had a heavy Puerto Rican population, and were experiencing severe community problems of this organization. I worked extensively with Puerto Rican and Negro community leaders in this period and was instrumental in setting up the meeting of all the Puerto Rican organizations in New York City with the police at which time recruitment activities among the Puerto Rican youths were explored and subsequently developed, and at which a heretofore unprecedented confrontation of police and Puerto Rican groups' viewpoint was affected with very positive results.

Misc

Miss Sandra C. Hart
6150 Lindo Paseo #118-2
San Diego, California

Dear Miss Hart,

Mr. Farmer has asked me to reply to your letter.

As you know, CORE was organized in 1941 as a means to implement Gandhian ideas of passive resistance in the context of America's race problems. I trust that the enclosed pamphlets will be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

Alan Gartner

Enc.: THIS IS CORE, ALL ABOUT CORE, WHY DIDN'T THEY HIT BACK ?

6051 Lindo Paseo #118-2
San Diego California 92115
November 3, 1964

NOV 10 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National CORE Headquarters
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am doing research on passive resistance and would appreciate any information or opinions that you might have at your disposal.

Thank you for any consideration given this request.

Yours very truly

Miss Sandra C. Hart

(Miss) Sandra C. Hart

Lawrence P. Macrae
313 E. 13 Street
Port Angeles, Washington

Dear Mr. Macrae,

Mr. Frmer has asked me to answer your letter.

May I note that the CORE "Freedom Rides," and all other CORE projects are conducted in precisely the manner you propose - orderly, without respond to provocation, and seeking to involve broad grass-roots support.

I trust that the enclosed pamphlets will help to explain to you the nature and purpose of CORE's program, and our committment to non-violent direct action.

Youts truly,

Alan Gartner

Marv

NOV 13 1964

313 - E 13th. St.,
Port Angeles, Washington,
November 9, 1964.

C O R E,
38 Park Row,
New York, 38, N. Y.

Dear Friends:

Recently I have received from you a request for funds. As I am now an old man with a very small retirement income I am not in a position to hand out funds. As it is I support a Korean orphan in a Christian orphanage in Korea and I give to two other good Christian causes towards another race.

However, with the continual rise of the cost of living and a stagnant retirement income I may soon have to drop one of these causes in order to live. You see elderly white people are also discriminated against.

I have never been guilty of racial prejudice but always take people as I find them. In the past when I had a working income I have entertained in my home in other states Colored people and Asiatics from the Far East.

May I suggest that the rowdy "Freedom Riders" in Mississippi, the riots in New York, Pennsylvania and other states have hurt the Colored cause a lot. Try and be orderly, do not listen to white rabble rousers, and try running your cause with grass-roots Colored people. In this way I am sure your cause will have lots more strength and have the respect of more white people.

Also remember that because the great majority of white people have been in favor of a fair deal for the Colored people, that every advancement you have received has been the result of this.

Avoid of trampling on some of the whites as some of your Colored people have; you may be antagonizing some of the very people who have been for your cause.

May God settle this whole question according to His will.

Sincerely yours,

L. P. Macrae

Lawrence P. Macrae.

Miss Joan Higby
Box 95
Howells, N.Y.

Dear MissHowells,

Mr. Farmer has asked me to respond to your letter. The project which you classed is beginning sounds as if it will be one of great interest. I wish you well. I trust that the enclosed pamphlets will be of interest to you.

Also of interest will be a new book which has recently been published by Anthony Lewis of the New York TIMES. Another book which may interest you is FREEDOM RIDE by James Peck which is both a hisotry of the "Freedom Rides," and of CORE since its beginning in 1941. You may order a copy of FREEDOM RIDE for $1.00 from CORE.

Sincerely yours,

Alan Gartner

Enc.: ALL ABOUT CORE, CORE GOES SLUMMING, BIRTH OF A VOTER

NOV 12 1964

November 10, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director of C. O. R. E.
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Sir:

The sixth period English class of the Middletown High School, Middletown, New York is indulged in a project. This project pertains to the History of Segregation from 1955 to the present day.

Do you have any information on this subject? If so, could you please send it to me.

Your help in this matter will greatly be appreciated. Thank you very much for your time.

Sincerely yours,

Joan Higby

Joan Higby
Box 95
Howells, New York

Miss Jessica Jaffe
6035 Broadway
Riverdale 71, NY

Dear Miss. Jaffe,

Mr. Frmer has asked me to answer your letter, I must beg your apology for our being so tardy; unfortunately many requests for materials had been put aside.

Iam enclosing several pamphlets which I trust will be of assistance to you.

Once again, my apologies for our negligence.

Yours truly,

Alan Gartner

Enc: ALL ABOUT CORE, THIS IS CORE, BIRTH OF A VOTER

6035 Broadway
Riverdale 71 , New York
November 12 , 1964

c/o

Mr. James Farmer
Core
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York.

NOV 1 8 1964

Dear sir;

I am attending the 8th grade at Riverdale Junior High School 141 , in the Bronx. In my Social Studies class we are studying about " THE NEGROES STRUGGLE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS ". My topic is "what are the Negroes goals".

I was wondering if you could send mee a letter saying what your doing and how youare going about to get negroes the same rights as whites have ? What are your goals ?

If youcan do this could send it on or before NOVEMEBER 21 , 1964.
My address is;

MISS JESSICA JAFFE

6035 BROADWAY.
RIVERDALE 71, NEW YORK

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Jessica Jaffe

Jessica Jaffe

refer to NAACP in Spokane

DEC 10 1964

Mr. James Farmer
38 Park Row.
New York 38, N.Y.

Dec. 7, 1964

Dear Sir:

I hope I'm writing to the right person who can help a Colored friend of mine. And also the many other colored people of this city, who's at the mercy of the Public Welfare here in Spokane Washington. I'll not give my name because I'm holding down a city job which is controlled by local politics. And I need the job very badly. My friend's name is William Alexander, who resides at [illegible] E. Sherman St. Spokane Washington. Mr. Alexander has had a lot of trouble getting medical and welfare aid from there simply because he's a Negro. He had to write to our state Governor asking aid to help in getting Medical Aid. I must say Mr. Alexander got prompt and good results for awhile. His Actions put quite a few of the welfare and Medical Officials on the spot. They've never forgiven him for it. They, or most of them belong to the John Birch society. I'm "sure" I don't have to explain their society to you! Spokane's the Northwest headquarter for the John Birchers. Mr. Alexander Actually had been in bad health for quite sometime. He got into some trouble and spent 3-yrs in the State penitentiary, and was paroled here with hopes of getting a job and make a new start in life! His parole officer sent him to a Mr. Price who's in charge of the rehabilitation center. Mr. Alexander didn't pass the physical examination. The doctor found that he had chronic bronchitis, arthiritis, and a pleurisy, which he ordered the county doctors at the county medical center, to continue to give him antibiotics and anti-histamines. The doctor also warned him to quit smoking, limited his stair climbing stooping and kneeling. Also to keep away from dust and fumes.

and to do only moderately heavy work. Mr. Alexander told me that he didnt tell the doctor [illegible] he hadnt given him any medical [illegible] that he had written the governor for help. It seems that Mr. Price couldnt find a rehabilitation program for Mr. Alexander's physical limitations. Mr. Alexander [illegible] applied for veterans disability, non-service connected. Mr. Alexander had tried un[illegible]fully [illegible] into the veterans hospital for treatment. I do remember hearing Dr. Cunningham, head of the county medical center and Mr. Alexander arguing and Mr. Alexander saying he was going to the veterans hospital and try to get treatment, and then stalked out. I heard Dr. Cunningham talking on the phone shortly afterward telling somebody that he [illegible] people were just the like [illegible] didnt want to work. [illegible] I have seen so many [illegible] people [illegible] for medical aid [illegible] Cunningham would give them plain aspirin or some other medicine that was no help at all, and dismiss them with a smile and pat on the back. The patients can't get to see other reputedly honest doctors unless they are on state gov't or have been in the hospital. For awhile Mr. Alexander got his antibiotic shots. Then Dr. Cunningham had him sent to the Edgecliff TB-hospital here, knowing Mr. Alexander didn't have tuberculosis. They'd had him X-rayed earlier and told him he didn't have it. While Mr. Alexander was at Edgecliff, somebody informed the veterans hospital here in Spokane that Mr. Alexander had filed a veterans claim and was to go to Seattle for an examination, as soon as he was released from Edgecliff. Mr. Alexander was furious and said that he would die first before he would go to the veterans hospital here in Spokane, as they had "suddenly" had a change of heart and wanted to give him a through examination, since they had only given him another Chest X-ray and told him to go find a job. Mr. Alexander became more furious than ever. The letter from the veterans hospital here in Spokane was sighned' by Arnold H. Dahlke. Ass't Chief. MED ADM SVS. V.A. hospital, N4815 Assembly st. Spokane Washington. Mr. Alexander told me that when he stalked out of Dr. Cunningham's office that day, and went to the veterans hospital, that while the doctor was talking to him, that the phone rang and the doctor listened for awhile then asked him to leave the room. About five minutes later he said that the doctor called him back and told him that he was nervous, and probably was caused by prison fatigue. Ordered an X ray, took his blood pressure and dismissed him. Mr. Alexander said [illegible] the same thing that Dr. Cunningham had said. He said that has been so upset, that he's threatened to do something violent or commit a crime and go back to Walla [illegible] a penitentiary, after waiting [illegible] the hearing news papers, hoping that the publicity will stop similiar incidents. He's Afraid that they will try to stop him from getting the veterans disability - non-service allowance. I got Mr. Alexander's address off his medical records and went to see Mr. Alexander after dark. After some reluctance, he told me the story as I've written it here. He has all the letters, from the governor, the rehabilitation doctor, and all. I told him to keep them, that they might come in handy, especially from what they wont tell about his medical history. The funny thing about it is that they now have T.B. marked on Mr. Alexander's Medical records now, where as they weren't before. And after telling Mr. Alexander that he didn't have it! I got Your Address out of the World's Almanac Mr. Farmer. Mr. Alexander's is afraid to trust the local negroes because he say they are afraid of their jobs, and don't have a strong leadership here. So I and

I do hope, in fact I'm positive after watching you at the Atlantic City convention of T.V. that I'm writing the right man. At last you'll know who to see to help Mr. [illegible].

His address is

[illegible] So. Sherman St.
Spokane, Washington

Name Withheld
for obvious reasons

10 December 1964

Mr. William Alexander
141 South Sherman Street
Spokane, Washington

Dear Mr. Alexander:

The letter written by a friend of yours to Mr. Farmer arrived this morning. CORE cannot help you directly, since we do not have a CORE chapter in Spokane, but we have sent your letter to Mr. James Sims, chairman of the local branch of the NAACP in Spokane.

I am sure that Mr. Sims will be in touch with you shortly to let you know what he can do to assist you. If you do not hear from him within a few days, perhaps you might call him to make sure that he has received our correspondence.

I hope that you will soon be able to see your way clear out of this most inconvenient and unfair situation.

Sincerely yours,

Lane Perdue
Secretary to
Gordon R. Carey

ENC.

cc: Mr. James Sims
East 1218 5th Avenue
Spokane, Washington

14 December 1964

Miss Linda Fischer
1251 Northwest Conklin
Grants Pass, Oregon

Dear Miss Conklin:

Thank you for your letter of inquiry of December 6.

Unfortunately, Mr. Farmer is so often out of town that he is unable to answer your letterx However, we have enclosed literature giving information on CORE and its work in the Freedom Movement.

Perhaps the Community Relations Service of the U.S. Department of Commercer in Washington, D.C. is able to answer any questions your may have concerning the Public Accomodations section of the Civil Rights Bill.

Best of luck in your research and your endeavors to persuade your friends of the equality of men.

Yours truly,

Lane Perdue
Secretary to
Gordon R. Carey

ENC.

14 December 1964

Congress of Racial Equality
Rt. 3, Box 248
Carthage, Mississippi

Dear Miss Herwitt:

This morning when your letter arrived we checked with Bookkeeping and found that we do not have your name listed on our payroll. Please write Mr. Richard Haley in New Orleans about this most urgent problem. His address is 2209 Dryades Street, New Orleans, Louisiana. I am sure that he will look into your problem as quickly as he can.

I am very sorry for the inconvenience you have been caused and hope that you will soon be receiving your salary.

Yours very truly,

Lane Perdue
Secretary to
Gordon R. Carey

cc: Mr. Richard Haley
2209 Dryades Street
New Orleans, La.

Same

DEC 14 1964

1251 N.W. Conklin
Grants Pass, Oregon
December 6, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer;

I am a high school student. In my economics class I am to debate on the public accommodations section of the Civil Rights Bill. I am doing a lot of research, but I would like to have your opinions. I feel that any information and opinions you give me will be extremely useful. I am in favor of integration, but I would like some facts to help me to convince others. Although we have no integration difficulties here, there are some very prejudiced people.

I am enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope. Thank you so much for your help.

Very sincerely,

Linda Fischer

14 Dec 1964

sent irrelevant lit

— write note saying we don't have any mat. - Mr. F misc.

November 17, 1964

Mr. Harold Stayley
25 West 132nd Street
New York, N.Y. 10037

Dear Harold,

Thanks for your letter of November16th. I was glad to hear from you.

I appreciate your letting me know about the incidents of Manhattan Center and the garage. Unfortunately, these things do occur occasionally; it simply indicates how far we still have to go. I admire your spirit; keep it up!

Sincerely,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:nm

Mr James Farmer
National Director
Congress Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

NOV 17 1964

Dear Jim:

Just a few lines to relate an incident that occurred to me.

On Saturday night Nov 14, 1964 I was suppose to meet a friend at Manhattan Center. He was attending a dance with a white couple.

I arrived at Manhattan Center at approximately 11:55 PM and asked one of the security officers if I could leave I/D at the door and go upstairs to see if my friend was there. He said "this is not a colored dance". I was taken aback but I insisted that I wanted to go upstairs anyway and explained (probably I shouldn't) that my friend was with a white couple. He said "but there are no colored people up there." I said "my friend may be up there and you just don't know he's

Colored" (this friend is very light). He still insisted that I could not go up. Beleive me I have never felt so humiliated since I left the Southland for this supposedly paradise.

The Dance was sponsored by the Hampton Bay Jersey Shore Club.

I left the premises in a Huff and went to get my car out of the Parking garage.

The Rates for the 1st half hour was listed as $.75 and since I knew I had been there a very short time I got $.75 out to pay the bill only to be told that I owe $1.25. I checked the Rates again paided the $1.25 and ask for a receipt (see attached). As you will note I was there exactly 30 minutes and where as I should have paided $.75 I ended up paying $1.25. I said to myself Oh Lord is this the way its done up here

Beleive me I was in a confuse and Violent state. I went directly home and sat and thought about the two incident

I thought about the nice midtown apartment house where I wouldn't even attempt to rent an apartment because I just knew that I didn't have that kind of money (now I wasn't attributing it to race but money)

Now lo and behold I had the money for the dance but I couldn't even go up to look and when I think of the overcharge as far as the car is concern I said to myself even money don't help I am still black

I thought back to last year when I was ready to give my life for the cause and I thought of my 20 years in the South and the 18 years up North and you know what Hell Black people are already dead, we have been going thru a "living death" all of these years and only now is there a hope for us to move from that living deathbed of discrimination into the enternal life of love, peace and understanding I have set my sights on broader horizon and I am determine to be a living witness of mans inhumanity to man

I am determine to be a living matyr who will prick the conscious and subconcious of all those who are "disciples of the devil"

I don't want no more dreams of the future I want it now

Fraternally
Harold

Please advise if I can do any thing about the two specific incidents above, I have been told that with the parking garage situation the license dept is my area of complaint.

HAROLD E. STALEY
25 W 132nd ST
NY, NY 10037

THE SIGN OF
QUICK
COURTEOUS
SERVICE

PARKING
MEYERS
BROS.
SYSTEM

THIS IS A RECEIPT OF PARKING CHARGES

DATE

VOID UNLESS STATION NAME
IS INSERTED BELOW:

125

LINCOLN #1

NOV 15 AM 12 19

4

Thank You

Signed By..

Misc

November 17, 1964

Mr. Victor Navasky
Monocle Magazine
Suite 702
80 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Navasky:

Thank you very much for your note of October 19th and the enclosed copy of "Monocle Magazine". I enjoyed reading the article, "White Moderates for Militant Non-Action".

Sincerely,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:nm

Monocle Magazine / The Outsider's Newsletter M *"In the land of the blind the one-eyed is king"*

October 19, 1964

Mr. Jim Farmer
C O R E
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Jim Farmer:

A new organization, "White Moderates for Militant Non-Action" whose slogan is "Freedom Soon!" is reported on page 8 of the enclosed Monocle.

Sincerely,

Victor Navasky

Victor Navasky

VN/br
encl.

Suite 702, 80 Fifth Avenue, New York 11, New York, ALgonquin 5-5750

Misc

November 18, 1964

Miss Beryl G. Slocum
Radcliffe College
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Slocum:

Thank you for your letter of November 16, with the copy of the review of my speech. I very much enjoyed reading it.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer,
National Director

JF/m

November 16, 1964

NOV 18 1964

Sir:

This editorial/review of your speech given at MIT on November 11th, prepared for the Harvard Crimson, I thought might interest you. I'M not sure when it will be published. It was a pleasure and priviledge to hear you speak.

Very sincerely,

Beryl Slocum

Beryl G. Slocum
Radcliffe College
Cambridge, Massachusetts

misc. 1964

November 19, 1964

Mr. Jack D. Berman
Jack D. Berman Co.
673 Broadway
New York, N.Y. 10012

Dear Mr. Berman:

Your note of November 17th, which was addressed to Mr. Farmer, has been referred to me.

In reference to the article of November 15th concerning the questioning of 250 Negroes in the hunt for the rapist, I would like to state that we think it is criminal that the society reacts in this way to a crime of this nature when the alleged attacker is a Negro. We doubt very much that, if the assailant had been white, there would have been so many arrests and so many men picked up for questioning. It is reminiscent of past instances in other cities where Negroes have been arrested wholesale when a crime was reported to have been committed by a Negro.

I am enclosing the New York Times article as you requested.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:NM
Enclosure

Public Relations

JACK D. BERMAN CO., 673 Broadway, New York 10012, N. Y.
OR 4-6300 EXT. 639

NOV 19 1964

November 17, 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I would be interested in learning your views of the enclosed newspaper article.

Would you be good enough to return the article with the letter you send me?

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Jack D. Berman
Jack D. Berman

JDB:sy

misc
corres.
NY State officials

November 25, 1964

The Honorable Louis J. Lefkowitz
Attorney General
State of New York
80 Centre Street
New York, New York 10013

Dear

Thank you very much for your letter of September 29th and the enclosed brief filed by your office in the case of Heart of Atlanta Motel, Inc. v. United States.

It is very helpful for us to have this information for our legal department.

Sincerely,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:nm

criminal th the soc reat [illegible]
i this wy we dbt a [illegible] of
assal ht he wh then wd hu
b so my arrests + so my people
picked up for arrest. It's same
Spot in other cities where. Nay ho
by arrested whlistle where a crime
Negro
was reported to ~~was ident as a~~ committed by a
hobo

file
misc

November 25, 1964

Dr. Max Kreutzberger, Secretary
Leo Baeck Institute
129 East 73rd Street
New York, New York 10021

Dear Dr. Kreutzberger:

On Friday last week, Jeffrey Fuller of the Reply-O-Letter Company, acting on our behalf, arranged with Miss I Foerg, your librarian, to borrow two pictures of synagogues destroyed in Germany on that infamous night in history known as Kristallnacht. As he explained, we needed one to illustrate a fund-raising appeal the Congress of Racial Equality is planning to issue in connection with the burning and bombing of 38 houses of worship in Mississippi during the summer and fall of 1964. The text of the appeal letter is enclosed.

Miss Foerg has now written Mr. Fuller (and he has forwarded her letter to me) that -- as I can well understand -- we must have your written permission in writing to reproduce the picture of the synagogue burning in Oppeln (this, incidentally, is the one we have chosen of the two she let him borrow. He is returning to her now the other photograph, of the synagogue on Prinzregentenstrasse in Berlin).

Accordingly, on behalf of CORE and its fight for human dignity in Mississippi -- in which CORE staff members James Chaney, Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman have given their lives -- I ask that you and the Leo Baeck Institute grant us permission to use the tragic photograph of the synagogue burning in Oppeln We are convinced it will aid significantly in our struggle to bring about the rule of law in the state of Mississippi.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

P.S. We shall of course return the Oppeln picture when we have finished with it.

JF:mmh
enc: 1

Val message

December 3, 1964

Mr. Judd L. Teller
Executive Vice-Chairman,
American Histadrut Cultural Exchange Institute
American Trade Union Council
Of the National Committee for Labor Israel
33 East 67th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Teller:

Mr. Farmer's trip to Africa in January has now been confirmed and so, regrettfully, he will be unable to participate in the Conference at Arden House.

Mr. Farmer had been looking forward to attending the conference and is very sorry to be inconveniencing you by his late withdrawal.

If we can be in any assistance in finding a replacement, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Glenda Lubelkky
Secrdtary to
James Farmer

GL/mt

1/15-17

November 20, 1964

Mr. Judd L. Teller
Executive Vice-Chairman, American
Histadrut Cultural Exchange Institute
American Trade Union Council
Of the National Committee for Labor Israel
33 East 67th Street
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Teller:

Thank you for your letter of November 4th addressed to Mr. Farmer with the enclosed program for the Arden House Conference.

Mr. Farmer's paper on "Ethnic Minorities as Political Leverage" has not yet been completed, and because of his furious schedule it is unlikely that it will be finished until shortly before the Conference.

Also, it is possible that Mr. Farmer will have to go to Africa for three weeks just after Christmas. This trip would unfortunately necessitate his cancelling out on his part in the Conference. He will not receive confirmation on the African trip for a few days. As soon as he does we will communicate with you.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Staff Associate

NM:lp

P.S. We will send you a picture of Mr. Farmer as soon as we know definitely that he will be at the Conference.

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of the NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR LABOR ISRAEL

33 East 67 Street • New York 21, N. Y. • REgent 4-6010

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November 4, 1964

NOV 5 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director, CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

The program for the Arden House Conference, January 15-17, has been completed. I am enclosing a copy.

If possible, we would like to have some advance copy of your paper for circulation to the other panelists. It can be as long or as short as you desire. Eventually, it will be included in a volume of the addresses delivered at the conference. The panelists will summarize their papers orally (15 minutes per panelist) and there will be discussion from the floor. Could you also mail me a glossy and several biographical paragraphs?

On your panel, Saturday afternoon, January 16th, Professor Amitai Etzioni will deal with Israel and Professor Harold Isaacs will discuss the African situation.

May I add that all my associates appreciate your participation and ask me to convey to you their profound esteem.

Under separate cover, I am sending you a copy of the book containing the papers delivered at the first Arden House Conference.

Sincerely yours,

Judd L. Teller

Judd L. Teller
Executive Vice-Chairman, American
Histadrut Cultural Exchange Institute

JLT/fc
encl.

p.s. I notice we have your biography, so only a glossy please.

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HARRIMAN, N. Y.

JANUARY 15-17, 1965

CONFERENCE ON

PROBLEMS OF ACCULTURATION

The Conference will focus on parallesl in Israel and the U.S.

1st Session Friday evening January 15th 8:30 P.M.	The eydot in Israel and the underprivileged ethnic minorities in the U.S. - Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans. This session will outline the general problem. The problem in America - Prof. Nathan Glazer (accepted).Berkeley Univ. Prof. Louis Guttman, Hebrew University, Jerusalem His Excellency, Ambassador Ignacio Pinto, Republic of Dahomey
2nd Session Saturday morning January 16th 9:30 A.M.	Babel of Tongues - the acquisition of the majority tongue by new immigrants, the transition from dialect to command of the language. Experts to discuss influence of immigrant language on American English, the evolution of Israeli Hebrew, dialects in Africa. Prof. Aaron Bar-Adon, University of Texas Langston Hughes, author, poet, playwright, essayist Prof. Harry Levin, Cornell University Dr. Judd L. Teller, author, historian
3rd Session Satruday afternoon January 16th 2:00 P.M.	Interaction of customs and mores - the immigrant traditions and their absorption into the majority culture (this will include discussion of religion). Israeli and American experts. Prof. Amitai Etzioni, Columbia University James Farmer, CORE Prof. Harold Isaacs, M.I.T.
4th Session Sunday morning January 17th 9:30 A.M.	Ethnic minorities as political leverage - roles of the social reformer, the political demagogue. ~~Summary of Conference~~

Julius Edelstein, Assistant Executive ot Mayor Wagner of N.Y.C.
Ben-Zion Ilan, representative of the Histadrut Executive to the U.S.
Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Assistant Secretary of Labor
Howard J. Samuels, chairman, American Histadrut Cultural Exchange Inst.

SUMMARY OF CONFERENCE

1/15

October 13, 1964

Mr. Judd L. Teller
American Trade Union Council
33 East 67th Street
New York City 21

Dear Mr. Teller:

I am afraid I have a problem. I have had to accept an important engagement in the Boston area on Sunday, January 17, and wonder whether it would be at all possible to arrange for my participation in the conference to be changed to the 15 or 16. I do apologize for the inconvenience which I know this will cause, but it is essential that I be in Boston on that date.

Please let me know if you are able to make the change.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer,
National Director

JF/mt

write telling them only 15 & 16

1/15-17

September 15, 1964

Mr. Judd L. Teller
American Trade Union Council
33 East 67 Street
New York City 21

Dear Mr. Teller:

Thank you very much for sending the copy of your original letter of invitation to the Conference at Arden House next January. I am happy to confirm my acceptance, and apologise for the delay in getting it off to you, but the summer months have been unusually hectic for me.

I shall look forward to hearing from you nearer the time as plans for the Conference progress.

Kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

cc: Gregory Bardacke

(8)

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8K

JUN 22 1964

June 19, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I was very happy to hear from Greg Bardacke that you would consider our invitation to participate in the conference on acculturation and social integration at Arden House, January 15-17, 1965.

I am enclosing a copy of the original invitation which contains more details.

I shall appreciate hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Respectfully yours,

Judd L. Teller

Judd L. Teller, Director
Dept. of Education & Seminars

JLT/fc
encl.

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33 East 67th Street New York 21, N. Y.

COPY

May 12, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Our parent organization, the National Committee for Labor Israel, has scheduled its second annual conference on "The Free World and The New Nations" for January 15-17, 1965, at Columbia University's Arden House campus. The subject will be: acculturation (tentative agenda enclosed). We wish to present several aspects of this problem as it presents itself in Israel, the United States, and in the newly emerging nations of Africa. Each session will have two or three speakers. The audience will be confined to fifty people, including the panelists, drawn from the top echelons of labor and civic organizations and the academic world.

We would feel privileged if you would accept to participate in the entire conference and to address its fourth and closing session, the subject of which will be; "Ethnic minorities as political leverage."

I am enclosing the agenda of our first conference held at Arden House in December 1963. The addresses delivered at our first conference will be published by A.S. Barnes in October this year. The proceedings of the 1965 conference will be similarly published later that year.

Hoping for an affirmative reply, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Judd L. Teller, Director
Department of Education & Seminars

JLT/fe
encl.

JUN 22 1964

CONFERENCE ON

PROBLEMS OF ACCULTURATION

The Conference will focus on parallesl in Israel and the U.S.

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3rd Session Satruday afternoon January 16th 2:00 P.M.	Interaction of customs and mores - the immigrant traditions and their absorption into the majority culture (this will include discussion of religion). Israeli and American experts.
4th Session Sunday morning January 17th 9:30 A.M.	Ethnic minorities as political leverage - roles of the social reformer, the political demagogue. Summary of Conference.

Confirm JK

June 16, 1964

Mr. Gregory J. Bardacke
Executive Director
American Trade Union Council
33 East 67 Street
New York City 21

Dear Greg:

Thank you very much for your letter concerning the conference at Arden House next January.

I would like to consider it, but do not seem to have received the letter from Judd Teller to which you referred. Would you please arrange to send me a copy of it.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Cordially,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

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JUN 8 1964

June 5, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Dear Jim:

Judd Teller wrote you a letter on May 12 inviting you to be a participant at our forthcoming conference on "The Free World and the New Nations" January 15-17, 1965 at Arden House.

Just a personal note urging you to accept. I believe that these conferences are most worthwhile. You would, of course, add tremendously to the prestige of the conference.

We are publishing the proceedings of our first Arden House conference and are doing so on the forthcoming one. This will enable us to reach a much wider audience.

I do hope that you will find time in your very busy schedule to be with us.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Greg

Gregory J. Bardacke
Executive Director

GJB/fg
oeiu: 153

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OCT 16 1964

October 15, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director, CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Thank you very much for your letter of October 13th and for your suggestion of alternate dates. Since we cannot switch the subject of the session "Ethnic minorities as political leverage," we would very much appreciate it if you would accept to participate in a session on "The interaction of customs and mores," which will deal with the traditions of American minorities and their influence upon and absorption into the majority culture. Other panelists at this session will be: professor Amitai Etzioni, Columbia University, who will discuss the condition in Israel, and professor Harold Isaacs, M.I.T., who will discuss the condition in the new African states. I know that your contribution to this discussion would be most stimulating and we are very eager for your consent.

We would also appreciate it if you could be with us from the start of the conference on January 15th in the evening through the Saturday afternoon session.

Sincerely yours,

Judd L. Teller

Judd L. Teller, Executive Vice-Chairman
American Histadrut Cultural Exchange Institute

JLT/fc

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MISC

DEC 8 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer,

Our class would like to thank you for the interviw we had by you. In case you do not remember we come from Yeshiva Rabbi Samson Rapheal Hirch.

Thank You Again

David
Stern
and
class
6-1

December 9, 1964

Mr. William Oswalt, Manager
Dayton Accounting Department
U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT
435 Parker Avenue
Dayton, Ohio 45401

Dear Mr. Oswalt:

This is to let you know that Mr. Farmer has never requested a subscription to U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT. If you received a subscription order it was an unauthorized one. For this reason we have not paid the $3.87 bill you have sent us.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Staff Associate

NM/m

Lila

Mr. Farmer

U.S. News & World Report

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT / 435 PARKER AVENUE / DAYTON, OHIO 45401

WASHINGTON

November 25, 1964 DDC

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Sincerely yours,

William Oswalt

William Oswalt, Manager
Dayton Accounting Department

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December 9, 1964

Mr. Lars Vestlund
Bergliden 6
Extorp, Sweden

Dear Mr. Vestlund:

Thank you very much for your letter addressed to Mr. Farmer and your kind words about our organization and work in the civil rights movement. I am enclosing your card with Mr. Farmer's autograph.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Staff Associate

NM/m
Enc.

The Leader of CORE James Farmer
New York City
USA

DEC 3 1964

Dear Sir

My name is Lars Vestlund and I am a boy from Sweden who is interested in politics. The American negroes have got a froof on the fact that their fight for human rights is understood and appreciated when Dr Martin Luther King, has got the Price of Nobel for his outstanding work. This does not mean that I do not like Dr Kings work as much as yours no it is only the fact that he has been honored that makes me say his name because I think that the work of your organisation is well as important his.
I should be very impressed if I got your autograph. Please excuse my English.

My adress is Bergliden 6 Ektorp Sweden

Yours Sincerely
Lars Vestlund
Lars Vestlund

A:1:21

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4 PARK AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, NEW YORK

JULIUS MANGER, JR.
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

DEC 14 [illegible]

December 11, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer,

It was a pleasure meeting you yesterday in Governor Collins' office.

I have done a good deal of work in the past in desegregating public accommodations in the South, and in my position as Executive Vice-Chairman of the National Citizens' Committee for Community Relations I am, of course, extremely interested in seeing desegregation brought about as speedily and as peacefully as possible.

You mentioned yesterday that some of your members knew of facilities in the South that were not complying with the Civil Rights Law. I can assure you that it would be most helpful for the Community Relations Service to know the names of these facilities in order to be of help in encouraging compliance with the Law, and preventing possible future trouble.

In closing, may I wish you a very Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Most cordially,

Julius Manger Jr.

JMJ:mfb

533 Washington Ave.
Brooklyn. N.Y.
Dec. 12, 1964

Mr. Gordon Carey. — enc $5.00
C.O.R.E
38 Park Row, N.Y.C

DEC 21 1964

Dear Sir:

I was trying to contact a Mr. Samuel S. Mitchell of Raleigh, N.C on advice from you office in March, April & June of this year.

As of this date I have not recieved any kind of answer from Mr. Mitchell

After such a delay in answering I would not now use him as an attorney, but why did he not answer my and your letters

Sincerely,
Mrs. Bertha Ashby

VAL

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15 December 1964

Miss Nancy Mutarelli
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Miss Mutarelli:

Enclosed is the synopsis for the Ralph Templin book, Democracy nad Nonviolence. This may be taken as a general overview of the book both from standpoint of content and intent. Schould questions arise over matters of interpretation or organization of the introduction our telephone number is LA 3-1670.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Willis H. Truitt

Willis H. Truitt

WHT:mkj

Encl

DEMOCRACY AND NONVIOLENCE-----Ralph Templin

Introduction

by James Farmer

How unique and terrifying it is for a social historian to [redacted] speak [redacted] with candor. [redacted] Both democracy and nonviolence have become [redacted] fair rhetorical game in the recent half-decade, so much so that ~~grextxixxmxxxxfx~~ the [redacted] signlarity of their aims, a true attribution of their meaning in a turbulent ~~and~~ [redacted] moment of history has been very nearly lost. If Dr. Templin's book serves no other purpose, it ~~alsx~~ succeeds, through frank and unembittered prose, to [redacted] shed the [redacted] scales from our ~~vision of ourselves, and~~ [redacted] eyes, unveiling our domestic [redacted] and foreign tragedy, without quarter.

It is simply not enough for us to say (as we all do from every [redacted] lectern) that this is [redacted] a revolutionary era. How pointless it is ~~for~~ for us to celebrate the anti-colonial surge of Africa without a searing analysis of what political options, democratic and otherwise, these new nations contemplate. How destructive and pointless a civil rights revolution in America becomes without a parallel and constructive criticism of the society [redacted] from which American Negroes seek [redacted] redress and in which American Negroes seek to prosper. The true intercourse of our century, blooded [redacted] by war and hate and poverty, is a total dialogue that admits [redacted] that "democracy" has been [redacted] redefined to suit [redacted] our weaponry and [redacted] ~~the~~ our global [redacted] appetites. ~~of~~ [redacted]

Dr. Templin's analysis comes, unfortunately, as a surprise. ~~It~~ [redacted] ~~me~~ [redacted] His candor reminds me of the days immediately following the Freedom Rides that CORE conducted in 1961. Faced with [redacted] long days in [redacted] Mississippi prisons, and flushed by television and newspaper citations, the riders sat in their cells and tried, probably for the first time in their lives, to measure the real purpose and real meaning of their actions and their tactics. Those who mechanically "bought" the [redacted] mechanics of nonviolence were stung

?

by its effectiveness and startled by the near-theology of its impact on them. It became, at least for me and many others, not a time for ~~[illegible]~~ public martyrdom, but rather a contemplative moment in our lives in which the injunctions of Ghandhi acquired shape and size---and for the first time, ~~in [illegible]~~ a word, "nonviolence," left the academic vocabulary and joined the real issue in the real world ~~and became a pragmatic piece of our own lives.~~ In this same sense, Dr. Templin isolates the word "democracy" from the lingo of the seminar. In a tough, undecorated look, Dr. Templin finds deomcracy at its best as a fluid, unstable entity---a pliable alternative that disintegrates as it hardens on the athems of national sovereignty. Democracy, ~~[illegible]~~ martryed by misuse and misappropriation is, as Dr Templin sees it ~~in this book~~, very much like a squeamish Hamlet, changing costumes to suit the scene, now soft and pudgy in the act of love, now armoured in defense ~~[illegible]~~ against the poisoned saber. If one reads "Deocracy and Nonviolence" with as little predisposition as possible, ~~[illegible]~~-it becomes a primary text, a McGuffey's primer on how we can and must survive.

A single example might suffice.

After a ridgid catechism about the real meaning of "popular sovereignty" and the implications of that phrase, Templin recalls Clemenceau's injuction at the 1919 peace conference at Versailles. "If we give up all future wars," said the French stateman, "we must give up our empires and all hope of empire.... peace, is very expensive." Thus Templin strikes directly home at ~~the~~ ay great moral question of our century, i.e., if democracy truly means that people, not states, are sovereign, then we must abandon literal, economic and intellectual slavery. We must surrender our rationales of "~~the~~ least evils" "via" means and ends". ~~and the [illegible]~~ Communism and fascism do use the current lexicon of democracy, as Templin points out. As ~~[illegible]~~ the "sovereign state of Mississippi" chains and murders its dissidents, so does the nightmare of ~~spectre of~~ Dachau and ~~the~~ Budapest murder the future in Europe and Asia. Something is desperately wrong when freedom must come by partition from ones own contrymen and "democracy" is written into the lyrics of the battle hymn.

Thus Dr. Templin does take~~s~~ a hard look. A look long overdue in a rapacious worldx that has forgotten such simplistic creeds as "all men are created equal".xxxx Further, In his section addressed to the question of nonviolence, Templin provides a second, imperative lesson. He has said, ~~authoritatively,~~ that there is no peaceable alternative to nonviolence in an insurgent, violent world. Probably ~~more~~ as important, is Dr. Templin's analysis of the effects of nonviolence and the permanence of its impact. The psychology of that impact becomes, in Dr. Templin's view, essential to our understanding and use of the tactic. Nonviolence indeed dispells its antagonist, violence, through a virtual revelation of the stupidity and fxxixx fruitlessness of retaliation. It xxx has long been time to strip away the canards of "pride" and "self-defense" that xxdxxxxx have been used to ridicule nonviolence. Not only an act of supreme personal courage, the application of nonviolence represents true historic courage in its xxxfxxxx reversal of the tide of violence that has xxxxgxd stunned two dozen centuries. There is, indeed, no alternative----just as the aspirations of ~~o~~f the victims of violence and human enslavement are undeniable. ~~so also, must we~~

Thus we are confronted by an honest and virile reading of our ~~w[illegible]~~ society. Shot through with a near-sentimental ardor for ~~[illegible]~~ first-principle democracy and militant nonviolence, ~~[illegible]~~ this book serves the important purgative purpose of either preparing us for or arming us against the ultimate Aristotelian tragedy. Which course we choose is ~~[illegible]~~, without question, up to us. ~~in our own hands~~,

#

December 15, 1964

Mr. Salvatore Nigrone
Treasurer
United Italian-American League, Inc.
233 Broadway,
New York, N.Y..C. 10007

Dear Mr. Nigrone:

Thank you for your letter of November 26 and the December issue of the Italamerican Magazine. I found the comments of your National President, New York City Tax Commissioner Paul P. Rao, Jr. interesting.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer,
National Director

JF/m

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November 22, 1964

DEC 15 1964

Mr. James Farmer,
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Enclosed herewith you will find, with our compliments, the December issue of the Italamerican Magazine. We once again refer you to the article written by our National President, New York City Tax Commissioner Paul P. Rao, Jr.

Trusting you will find this of interest, I remain

Very truly yours,

Salvatore Nigrone

Salvatore Nigrone
Treasurer

SN:bi
Enc.

Misc

December 16, 1964

Miss Lucy C. Perry
315 N. Hillsdale Drive
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Miss Perry:

Thank you for your letter of December 5, addressed to Mr. Farmer, and your suggestion to try to send more American Negroes to serve in our embassies and consulates in the African nations. As a matter of fact, we have met with State Department officials on a number of topics, including this one. We feel also that there should be many more American Negroes in the foreign service, not only in Africa, but throughout the world.

We are hopeful that the State Department will move in this direction.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC/m

Gordon

315 N. Hillsdale Drive
Bloomington, Indiana
December 5, 1964

Mr. James Farmer, Exec Secretary
Congress of Racial Equality
New York City

DEC 8 1964

Dear Sir:

I have just been reading a column by Lyle Wilson of United Press International of the fact that you and other Negro leaders support the Organization of African Unity in regard to the Congo in which he says that OFU "counts Western whites in general as symbols of the black colonial status recently ended." I have also read a recent account of a young white man from our community who was attached to the U.S. Consulate in Stanleyville. From August until his rescue by the paratroopers he was beaten repeatedly as a captive of the rebels.

I have a suggestion that I have thought of a number of times. Why don't you and other leaders get behind a plan to prepare young American negroes to be sent to the African nations to serve in the consulates, schools, hospitals, peace corps and other places where they can help in the development of those countries? This would remove the constant irritation those African people feel at having people of another skin color among them. I don't know whether the churches do this, but why couldn't this apply to missionaries as well?

I am writing to some of the other leaders with this suggestion also.

Sincerely yours.

Lucy P. Perry

Have met w St Dept
on no of topics incl this
1 - hopeful of results

Misc

December 16, 1964

Mrs. Margaret B. Hidley
1024 S. Osage Avenue
Inglewood, California

Dear Mrs. Hidley:

Thank you for your letter of December 2 with the enclosures regarding the house which you have for sale in Tierra Verde.

It is certainly a lovely house; however, I am not in a position to contemplate purchasing property at this time, and know of no one who would be interested. I am sorry not to be able to help.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer,
National Director

JF/m

Dec. 2, 1964
1024 S. Osage Ave., #7
Inglewood, Calif.

Mr. James Farmer
National Director of CORE
New York Hdqtrs.
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I have a new house for sale at 218 Second Street West, Tierra Verde, Florida, for $34,500.00 cash. There is no landscaping in; there is a $500.00 allowance for this item.

The house has white tile roof, terrazo floors, is of painted white masonry and stucco construction, and is air-conditioned. Street lights are in, bus transportation is provided to schools, walking distance to Tierra Verde shopping and "Guy Lombardo's Port-O'-Call". Driveway is curbed and paved, sewers are in, 2-car attached and covered garage has automatic door lift.

There is a nice entry; L-shaped living-dining area with one wall done in walnut effecting guest closet, bookshelves, and cabinets; kitchen and dining area are separated by low breakfast bar that doubles as telephone desk or planning area; electric kitchen has built in stove and oven, automatic dishwasher, garbage disposal--laundry space, rough plumbing and electricity have been provided in garage which opens to kitchen; 3 bedrooms and 2 baths. The filtered swimming pool is in completely screened and decked patio, a portion of which has gravel roof for protection from sun.

If you are interested in purchasing this home or know of a person who is, you and/or he are to feel free to inspect it. No broker has an exclusive listing; I am prepared to pay a commission of 5% on the selling price to any broker who consumates a deal. Also, I am prepared to sell for 5% less than the above quoted price if a sale is made in which no broker's commission is involved. Key for inspecting interior can be secured from me.

Approval of buyers by Tierra Verde Corp., a division of Centex Corp. of Dallas, Texas, is required. They have a sales office in Tierra Verde and applications are available there by request in writing or person. You may use this letter as introduction, if you desire. Possession will be given when sum of selling price is deposited in an escrow at First Federal Savings and Loan Assn. of St. Petersburg.

Thanking you for your consideration, I am,

Yours truly,

Margaret B. Hidley
(Mrs.) Margaret B. Hidley

P.S.--Pictures of property and Tierra Verde Advertising map are enclosed. Lot on which property is located is marked X. Kindly return the pictures and map in enclosed envelope, if not of interest to you.

Misc

December 16, 1964

Miss Janet Holmes
1112 Ash Street
Denver, Colorado 80220

Dear Miss Holmes:

I am certain that most members of the John Birch Society would not consider themselves, or want to be considered, racists. I am equally certain that the impact of the society on American life is one of bolstering racists and racism. Just as Senator Goldwater - not a racist-was of more benefit to the racists by the running of his campaign than any recent major event in our history.

The Birch Society is doing untold damage to American Democracy and the cause of equality. I stand by my previous comments.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF/m

Mr. James Farmer
National C. O. R. E. Office
New York, N. Y.

November 24,1964

NOV 30 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer,

I would like to take the liberty to correct an erroneous statement you made on the program "Issues and Answers" on November 22. You have apparently been grieveously misled to believe that the John Birch Society is a rascist organization. The society not only has Negroes in its membership, but it also provides an annual scholarship to a Negro student. Furthermore, if any member of the society is found to be a rascist, his membership is revoked; a procedure which, to my knowledge, is practiced by few, if any other organizations.

Because I am sure that a man in as responsible a position as yours would not want to condemn a group of people on a false basis or deliberately mislead the public, I hope that you will consider this information for the future. Any confirmation or further information can be obtained by writing : The John Birch Society
Belmont 78, Massachusetts.

In appreciation for your time, Iam

Sincerely yours,

Janet Holmes

Janet Holmes
1112 Ash Street
Denver, Colo. 80220

Im cert th most members of
the J B Soc wd not consid
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equality. I stand by my previous comments

Misc.

December 17, 1964

Rev. Lee E. Mosbey
Minister of Salem A.M.E. Church
1800 Fourth Avenue North
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Mosbey:

Thank you for sending me a copy of your letter of November 27, which you wrote to the Saturday Evening Post. I am sorry that there was a misinterpretation in regard to the statement that I refused to accept an appointment to a segregated church, and thank you for bringing it to my attentimn.

The church to which I was referring was no the A.M.E. Church, but the former Methodist Episcopal Church, which is now The Methodist Church.

I do hope that this will clear up the unfortunate misunderstanding.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF/m

CC: Martin Mayer,
Saturday Evening Post

former Meth. Epis Church
now the Meth

SALEM A. M. E. CHURCH

1800 Fourth Avenue North
Nashville, Tennessee

November 27, 1964

Editoral Division
Saturday Evening Post
641 Lexington Avenue
New Y ork, N. Y. 10062

Dear Sir:

I've been a reader of the Post for more than 30 years and I have always enjoyed your articles, on up to the date subjects.

Your story by Mr. Martin Mayer, "Core": The Shock Troops of the North Revolt, November 21, 1964, is to be congratulated.

However, I know not where Mr. Mayer received his information of Mr. James Farmer, for whom I have the deepest respect, but when he states that he left the A. M. E. (Africian Methodist Espicopal) Church, because it was a segregated church, is a misrepresentation of the truth. I am sure Mr. Farmer knows even if Mr. Mayer does not know that the A. M. E. church was born in the city of Philadelphia, 1787 as the first organized profest against segregation in the world.

The story is well told how a group of seven or eight persons led by Richard allen walked out of St. George Methodist church after being asked from their knees while in the attitude of prayer, because of the color of their skin. They vowed to organize a church where all men regardless of the color of their skin could worship God, the results of which the A. M. E. came into being and adopted as its motto: "God our Father, Christ our Redeemer, and Man our Brother.

For the sake of more than a million A. M. E.'s in America and many more in Africa and the Islands of the Sea, I trust that this statement will be corrected either by you of the responsible person for your information.

Yours in Christ,

Lee E. Mosbey

Lee E. Mosbey,
Minister of Salem A. M. E. Church

LEM/vtt

Copies sent to:
Mr. James Farmer, "Core"
New York, N. Y.

Christian Recorder of the
A. M. E. Church
418 8th Ave., Nashville, Tenn.

file

Norman Thomas
112 EAST 19th STREET
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

December 17, 1964

DEC 21 1964

James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Jim:

That committee, which did such a fine job on my birthday celebration, has now handed over to me a great volume of letters and to read them is emotionally as moving as the birthday reception itself. I especially appreciated hearing from you who speak not only individually but in behalf of organizations and publications which play so great a role in American life. Your praise is too generous but anyway it gives me something to live up to.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Norman Thomas

NT:S

426

Misc

December 18, 1964

Mrs. Mary Forsythe
157 East 57th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mrs. Forsythe:

Thank you for your letter of December 4th, addressed to Mr. Farmer, which has been referred to me for reply.

Your suggestions for implementing in the New York area the Montessori Method of education are indeed timely and challenging. We are especially interested in them in light of the new emphasis CORE is putting on remedial and compensatory education. The program in which CORE is engaged, still in an exploratory way, is not so broad as the Montessori Method and is directed almost exclusively toward the young adult illiterate and the high school dropout. We do not have the resources to undertake anything on a broader scale, and feel that the program you suggest is too comprehensive for us at the present time.

The idea for the Do-It-Yourself Housing Project at the Brooklyn Naval Yard is also extremely interesting. We do regret that we cannot become involved in such a worthwhile project at the present time ; our commitments in other areas simply do not permit it.

We greatly appreciate your submitting the proposals to us, and wish you every success in your efforts to see them become reality.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Staff Associate

NM:lt

we are swwt acq w Mont meth
et th pr are eng i plus (exploratory
w pov prog ed   not as broad as
M - aimed at ult & dropouts
we feel th the kind of prog y suggs is
not comprehens for us to at pres time

DEC 8 1964

December 4, 1964
157 East 57th Street
New York, NY 10022

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress On Racial Equality
239 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I noted in one of your TV interviews that you indicated specific NYC plans had yet to be drawn up for presentation to the Federal Government for War on Poverty financing and you were correctly irritated with the delay. Therefore I am encouraged in writing you to submit an outline which might interest you . . involving an already elaborate & precise educational plan which I would recommend to your investigation. I am hopeful it might serve to expedite matters, and therefore it is thought of as OPERATION NOW:

1. Solicit for temporary but immediate use of inactive morning classroom space in all YWCA & YMCA facilities (where classes are held in the afternoon & evenings) as well as suitable daytime space in neighborhood Church recreation halls in order to begin immediately with Montessori Method educational classes for the underpriviledged 3 & 4 year old children.

2. (Considering our current aid to India & Ceylon) we request cooperation in being sent immediately their already trained Montessori experts to direct these classes with American Student teachers to serve as helpers. There is a favorable rate of salary exchange to be considered here as well as an abundance of qualified personnel taught by Dr. Montessori during her nine year sanctuary in India in the midst of World War II.

3. A DO-IT-YOURSELF HOUSING PROJECT at Brooklyn Naval Yard by unemployed (Negro) craftsmen & apprentices (chosen from Welfare records & unskilled youths) who would build this project in return for 30 year leases on the apartments therein. This should provide incentive, on job training & experience, housing & hopefully cut red tape delays. Apartments would be guaranteed in advance to workmen by lease at minimum rates which should serve as immediate encouragement, self-respect & dignity and hopefully union mastercraftsman cards to those thereby qualified.

4. Establishment also at Brooklyn Naval Yard in existing buildings a Montessori 'Teen Town' which would provide practical educational & occupational therapy for 'drop-out' youngsters. The town business would include the manufacture of the much needed & primarily hand-made Montessori Educational Materials for the before mentioned schools.

Not knowing whether you are acquainted with the Educational Psycology established by Dr. Maria Montessori, begun in 1907 . . may I point out:

1. Maria Montessori was the first woman medical student in Italy.
2. The LONDON TIMES called her 'the most interesting woman in Europe.
3. Her work, student & materials were admired by:
    - Thomas Edison
    - Doctor P. Ballard
    - Alexander Graham Bell
    - President Woodrow Wilson
    - Margherita - Queen Mother of Italy
4. She was invited to address the League of Nations in 1926
5. She received an Honorary fellowship from the Educational Institute of Scotland.
6. Queen Wilhelmina of Holland conferred upon her the rank of Officer of Order of Orange-Nassau
7. She held an honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Amsterdam.

8. Her writings are only now being translated & republished since her work continued until her death in 1952.

Her ingenius method precise, inexhaustibly original, educationally valid & successful for all children and is a complete design of technique, psycology & especially educational materials for children 2½ yrs. old to 18. Her method suffered a grave setback during the war in Europe when the Fascists closed her schools and destroyed her writings & materials while she found sanctuary in India for 9 years. What knowledge of her method in the U.S. survived was diluted & therefore did not demonstrate the potential results. The International Society is only now sending a few accredited teachers to us. She established a discipline rather than a play school based upon "unlimited freedom of the child to do right".

If you have not yet seen an authentic Montessori School in operation . . may I show you the one that my sons attend which is located in the United Nations Church Building?

Briefly,

Mary Forsythe

Mrs. Mary Forsythe
MU 8-3696

file
misc

December 23, 1964

Mrs. Clara H. Goldhurst
Gilder & Fisk Inc.
1776 Broadway
New York 19, New York City

Dear Mrs. Goldhurst:

Checking on back files we have found that your kind letter of last spring was filed without acknowledgement. I am dreadfully sorry and want to acknowledge it now with appreciation.

I did get a copy of Harry's book, MR. KENNEDY AND THE NEGROES, and have read it with much interest and pleasure - its up to his usual high standards.

I am instructing that you be placed on our mailing list as you requested.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF/m

Circle 6-3224-3186

Clara H. Goldhurst

Gilder & Fisk Inc.

1776 Broadway
New York 19, New York

file
misc

December 23, 1964

Mr. Jerry Mintz
Goddard College
Plainfield, Vermont

Dear Mr. Mintz:

Enclosed is your manuscript, "The Philosophy of Juvenile Delinquency".

I hope you will accept our sincere apologies for the long delay in returning this manuscript to you. Mr. Farmer's schedule has been much more hectic than usual these past few months - he has been in the office hardly at all - and in the confusion I am afraid that some important matters were neglected.

Mr. Farmer asked me to thank you very much for lending him the paper, which he found extremely interesting.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Staff Associate

NM:lt

Goddard College
Plainfield, Vt.
10/21/64

OCT 27 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer:

As you may remember, you borrowed a paper from me called "The Philosophy of Juvenile Delinquency." I hope you enjoyed reading it. Knowing how busy you are, I hope that you had the chance. But I would very much appreciate it if you could return it to me as soon as possible, as I need it for the studyxwhich I am presently doing on High School Dropouts.

If you are interested, I could forward information to you on the dropout study. We are in the process of doing something quite unique: The ultimate end of the study will be the setting up of a self-running co-op school, run by the dropouts themselves.

I hope to hear from you seon.

Sincerely,

Jerry Mintz

Dora - files -

P.S. I believe that you first gave the paper to your field secretary.

228-6931

Alan Hoffman - where?

14

140 Suffolk St.
N.Y.
Apt 13

Misc

December 23, 1964

Mr. J.H. Pollard
2706 Lyons Avenue
Houston, Texas 77020

Dear Mr. Pollard:

Referring to your letter of December 17, addressed to Mr. Farmer, I am very sorry that we cannot help you secure a copy of President Johnson's voting record, wince we do not have access to these records.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Staff Associate

NM/m

DEC 21 1964

2706 Lyons Avenue
Houston, Texas 77020
December 17, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Will you please secure for me a copy of President Lyndon B. Johnson voting record from his inception to Congress until he became our vice president.

If there are any fees attached for this service, please notify me and I shall be happy to comply with what is needed for this information.

We have no such recd

Yours truly,

J. H. Pollard
J. H. Pollard

Sen from Texas

File
Misc

December 23, 1964

Mr. Richard S. Kidney
Darvoe, Breck & MacFarland, Inc.
One Steuben Park
Utica, New York 13501

Dear Dick,

Sorry for the delay in responding to your letter of November 16th - my schedule has been incredibly hectic this past month and have been in the office hardly at all.

I found that by the time I had spoken with you, our general counsel had already negociated a firm agreement with the Harry Walker agency, which precludes booking through another agency. Because of my personal association with you, I regret very much that it will not be possible to be listed with you.

I do wish you all the success in the world, and if there is anything I can do to be helpful, aside from the above matter, please let me know; I will be glad to do what I can.

Sincerely,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:nm

JP

NOV 17 1964

advertising D|B &|M Darvoe, Breck & MacFarland, Inc. / One Steuben Park / Utica, New York 13501

November 16, 1964

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Jim,

It certainly was very nice to see you again in Utica last Monday night.

It seemed like old times to me as it had been about fifteen years since I had seen you. I, of course, recall in the old days before you were connected with CORE, that you were filling regular dates for the writer and were doing an excellent job at the time -- you are even better today.

You will recall that I mentioned last Monday night that you could do the writer a great favor if you would allow us to list you in our new bureau for a limited amount of dates. Realizing that you only have a limited amount of time, we would govern ourselves according to your wishes and only accept the dates that you would want to fill.

At this time we are busy getting our list together and shortly we will have an announcement in the mail. This list will only be a thumb-nail sketch of each speaker so if you will allow us to include you it will be of great help to us. We will work on the one-third commission as most of the bureaus do and take care of all the advertising. Naturally, we will try to get the highest fee for your services as possible. Believe you know this from past experience.

You mentioned that Harry Walker of Boston had been getting some dates for you. We know that Mr. Walker does not represent all of the people on his list exclusively so we do hope that you can see your way clear to allow us to list you.

We will look forward to hearing from you favorably as soon as possible.

Please accept my very best regards.

Sincerely,

Dick R.

Richard S. Kidney

P.S. Would you please send a glossy print
and some biographical and subject material?

RSK

Telephone: 315 + 732-1168

File - misc corresp.

December 25, 1964

Dear Jim Farmer,

Rather a thank you note is this.... for the book that you were kind enough to send along... I have and my friends have to this date.\.. been enjoying it very much. I repeat....." thank you "

In the coming season I hope you and CORE will continue your fine work and find '65 even more Successful.... and in the meantime... if you can think of some help I might lend, from over here I hope you will not hesitate to drop me a note.

Best to you all

Sam Middleton

566
5545

misc

Rev. Russeel Jack Ballard
1207 Kemp Boulevard
Wichita Falls, Texas

28 December 1964

Dear Rev. Ballard,

Mr. Farmer has asked me to return to you, as you requested, the material which you sent to us earlier in the year.

If there is anything further CORE can do, please contact us.

Yours in Freedom,

Alan Gartner

Enclosures

file
misc.

Lee Barba
President of Current Events
Mill burn Township Public Schools
Junior High School
Millburn, New Jersey

28 December 1964

Dear Miss Barba,

Mr. Farmer has asked me to answer your thiughtful letter.

The questions you raise are challenging ones. In order to give to you some sense of our thoughts about "national purpose," I am enclosing several CORE pamphlets; I hope that you and your fellow students will profit from reading them. On a deeper philosophical level, I would suggest that you might want to read some of the work of Mahatma Gandhi(there are several paperback versiosn of his works - one with a very good introduction by Homer Jack) and of Henry David Thoreau. On CORE itself, a book by Jim Peck, FREEDOM RIDE, describes not only the "Freedom Ride," but also the early history of CORE and the non-violent movement in America(FREEDOM RIDE was published by Simmon and Schuster, and is now in a Grove Press paperback).

As to what citizens and students can do, the first steps you have taken - informing yourself about the problem. After informing yourself, there are several subsequent steps. Helping others by sharing your knowledge with them, living in your every day life the principles of non-violence and expressing your concern for others, and participating in the activities of groups which carry out this work. There are several CORE chapters in your area, and if you wish we would be glad to put you in contact with them. A projectt which may interest you and your classmates is to establish contact with boys and girls of your own age in your area, who are Negro, or with such a group in the South. If you would like to do the latter, please write to Mr. Ben Brown, at this office, and he will help you set up such contac ts.

Sincerely yours,

Alan Gartner

DEC 27 [illegible]

Millburn Township Public Schools

Junior High School
H. RICHARD CONOVER, PRINCIPAL
LEO D. ROONEY, VICE PRINCIPAL

POST OFFICE ADDRESS
MILLBURN, N. J.

TELEPHONE
AREA CODE 201
DREXEL 6-3600

The Current Events Club
c/o Mr. William McCormack

Mr. James Farmer
National Director of CORE

Dear Mr. Farmer;

We are a group of interested, young citizens, members of Millburn Junior High School, Millburn, New Jersey, who at the present time are discussing the topic "The National Purpose of the United States."

We wish to make our country a better place to live in. Perhaps there is little we can do, but it is a beginning on the road to accomplishment.

The goal of our 'purpose' appears debatable, and the progress of our nation equally so.

Because of this situation, we sincerely wish to know your opinions and conclusions.

The questions trying our minds, and now being presented to you are the following: (Please consider them seriously and carefully.)

1. Does the United States have a National Purpose? If so, in your opinion, what is it?
2. What is being done to achieve these goals? What should be done?
3. What can the average citizen do to promote it?
4. What can we, as students, do to strengthen it?

We would deeply appreciate and honor a personal appearance from you to hear your opinions and views on these matters as you are continuously in contact with certain branches of our National Purpose while striving for equal rights for all. Please consider it if it is at all possible.

If your schedule makes it difficult or impossible for you to appear, we would equally welcome a letter in answer to the above questions.

Respectfully,

Lee Barba

Lee Barba
President of Current Events

file – misc

C. Joseph Clem
Regional Director
Ohio Civil Rights Commision
301 Lawyers Building
1302 Ontario Street
Cleveland, Ohio

28 December 1964

Dear Mr. Clem,

Mr. Farmer has asked me to replay to your letter of 23 December.

Unfortunately we have not yet developed formal written policy and/or implemental procedures for CORE's increased poltical involvement. In my talks with CORE chapters throughout the country we have discussed various programs and policies in this area, and I do anticipate that in the period to come, such activity will be an increasing part of CORE's general program.

Perhaps you may be interested in the enclosed items which mention but a very few of the political campaigns in which CORE chapters and members were involved. In general, CORE chapters engaged in voter registration programs, "getting out the vote" on election day, various forms of voter "education," programs to influence candidates stands on the broad social issues with which wee are concerned, and cooperatove work with other organizations in order to seek as large a constituency for forward looking programs as was possible,

Thank you for your inquiry.

Very truly yours,

Alan Gartner

THE OHIO CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION

December 23, 1964

James A. Rhodes
Governor

Arthur L. Peterson
Chairman

Charles Bishop
Roosevelt Dickey
William Green
Clingan Jackson

Ellis L. Ross
Executive Director

DEC 27 [illegible]

NORTHEAST REGIONAL OFFICE
301 Lawyers Building
1302 Ontario Street
Cleveland, Ohio 44113

Mr. James Farmer
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

A few weeks ago, you stated on television that CORE planned to become more politically active in future months. It is in this regard that I am writing to you.

I am interested in learning whether or not you have developed a written policy statement and/or written implemental procedures you will subsequently employ to obtaining CORE's political objectives. If you have done so--and if such information is publicly available--I would greatly appreciate receiving same.

If there are any charges involved, please so advise me.

Very truly yours,

for

C. Joseph Clem
REGIONAL DIRECTOR

CJC/sr

Misc

December 28, 1964

Mrs. Bertha Ashby
533 Washington Avenue
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Mrs. Ashby:

We certainly regret very much that you have had such difficulty contacting Mr. Mitchell and that you have, , in fact, received no answer to your letters.

I want to thank you personally for your contribution which you enclosed with your letter, and assure you that your generosity is greatly appreciated by all of us at CORE.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:mm

to Misc.

file — Marvin Taking care of this

1/4/65

VERA RONY

29 WEST 69TH STREET NEW YORK, N. Y. 10023 EN 2-5729

December 29, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director, CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Jim,

There is such a thing as too much conscience. I was so anxious not to take any of your precious time with the enclosed project until I had interviewed everybody else I could get my hands on that I ended by missing you altogether. Your gain-- my loss! But do take a glance at the outline of the book I am now going South to work on. I hope you will feel that this kind of empirical job on the mechanics of transforming the South can be useful-- and that an analysis of the great mutuality of interest between Southern unions and Negroes, perceived as yet by far too few of the former, can perform a significant educational function. At least, these are my objectives in embarking on what our friends Phil Randolph and Frank Graham have characterized, with gentle head-shaking, as "a very, very ambitious project." May the Muses take pity on me!

Knowing how little time you can spare, I made it my business to get as many Southern Negro contacts as possible from Ben McLaurin, Phil Weightman, and Bob Carter. Still, I can't go South without speaking to those people whom you consider most representative of the aspirations of Southern Negroes. Could you pick out, say, ten such individuals-- leaders or rank-and-filers-- and send me their names and addresses? I am tackling the Upper South first-- Virginia, the Carolinas, and Tennessee. Would it be possible for you to drop a short note to a few of your key people in those states, and so notify me? I expect to look up Floyd McKissick early in January, and would be grateful for an introduction to him-- he certainly seems to be doing more than one man's share of transforming the South! If you can send this material to my New York address, it will be forwarded.

Will you be in the Upper South at any time during the next six weeks? Somehow I would feel less guilty about asking you to enlighten me when you're on the road and away from the merciless pressures of New York, which which I am all too familiar. If so, have your secretary send along your itinerary, and I'll try to catch you on the trail.

Many, many thanks, and my very warmest wishes for a most productive, un-Plaquemined New Year. I know, but one can wish, can't one?

With affection,

Vera

Vera Rony

Vera Rony 29 West 69th Street New York, New York

Book Outline

Unions, Race, and the Ideology of Poverty in the South
(working title only)

I. The American South -- A Specialized Economic Problem

- A. Indices of economic backwardness: population loss, shortfall of jobs, low per capita income, large percentage of underemployed, small percentage of workforce in manufacturing, low level of education, etc..
- B. The economic status of the Southern Negro as a significant component of the above.
- C. Economic differences between the Upper and Deep South, and among the various states.

II. Industrialization -- The Historic Panacea for Poverty

- A. Waves of industrialization after the Civil War
  - 1. Early campaigns by local entrepreneurs-- paternalism, poor wages, working conditions, and living standards.
  - 2. Later campaigns by absentee owners-- exploitation of paternalistic tradition; poor wages, working conditions, and living standards.
- B. The current campaign to industrialize the South
  - 1. Plans of enlightened political and business leaders to eschew low-wage lures and invite only high-wage, rapid-growth industries.
  - 2. Some unpleasant realities
    - a. Examples of anti-union campaigns conducted by newly arrived Northern firms, featuring racism, threats of plant closings, and firings.
    - b. Surveys of anti-union tactics used by Southern employers in the last decade to preserve the open shop, in support of C. Vann Woodward's contention that the current industrialization is "a New South fraud papered over with an Old South myth."

III. Why is Unionization Significant for the South?

- A. The Southern ideology of poverty-- its nature and tenacity
  - 1. The plantation past and paternalism
  - 2. The Civil War and resultant inter-class solidarity
  - 3. Fundamentalist religions as instruments of inter-class accomodation and outlets for worker frustration.
  - 4. The role of race as a keystone of the ideology.
  - 5. The defeat of Populism-- a historic demonstration of the ideology at work.

B. The role of this ideology in causing Southern labor relations to deviate from patterns normal to evolving industrial societies, with negative consequences to the welfare of the region.

IV. The Economic and Social Role of Unions in the South

A. What effect do unions exert upon the self-respect, autonomy, wages and working conditions of Southern workers?

B. What role do they play, as assayed in a variety of unions and localities, in easing the problems of integration in factory and community? In making them more difficult?

C. What is their influence, through political action, upon the social, economic, and political policies of Southern states?

D. What is the relationship between Southern unions and the Negro revolution? How significant in the entire Southern labor movement are such latter-day Populists as Claude Ramsey (Miss. AFL-CIO), Chester Driver (La. Packinghouse), Matt Lynch (Tenn. AFL-CIO)? Are they portents of the future or isolated mavericks?

V. Conflicts within Unions Regarding the Race Question

A. Conflicts between policies of international unions and those of Southern locals; conflicts within Southern locals.

B. The role of the AFL-CIO and the state and regional bodies.

C. Evaluation of future changes in the pattern of challenge and response between Southern labor groups and their non-Southern parent bodies.

VI. Other New Elements on the Southern Industrial Relations Scene

A. The role of government agencies-- President's Committee on Fair Employment, the MDTA, ARA, Anti-Poverty Act, etc.

B. The role of progressive employers.

C. The role of progressive clergy, intellectuals, and others.

VII. Conclusion: Will unions make a significant contribution to ending the ideology of poverty in the South? A final assessment on the basis of the evidence adduced in earlier chapters.

file
Misc

29 December 1964

Mr. Robert F. Bunker
1659 East South St., #4
Long Beach, California 90805

Dear Mr. Bunker:

I want to let you know how very much I appreciate your kind thought in sending me a copy of your book, Seven Canvases.

I have not had a chance to do more than hastily peruse a few poems, but I especially liked "Anguish and Anger" and am looking forwardk to having the time to enjoy the rest of your very fine book.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

Long Beach, California
16 December 1964 90805

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Please accept this copy of Seven Canvases with my best regards to you, and to CORE in the forthcoming year. If you will read through this book, you will understand why I am an advocate of CORE, and why I am at your service here on the West Coast.

Sincerely,

Robert F. Bunker

1659 E. South St. # 4

Misc

30 December 1964

Mr. Dick Hall
The Salvation Army
Settlement & Day Care Center
3053 South Normal Avenue
Chicago 16, Illinois

Dear Mr. Hall:

Enclosed is an autographed picture of Mr. Farmer which you requested.

CORE wishes you the opportunity for your continued service to the community in the coming New Yosk/

Yours truly,

Nancy Mutarelli
Staff Associate

NM:LP

ENC.

GENERAL FREDERICK COUTTS
INTERNATIONAL LEADER

COMMISSIONER SAMUEL HEPBURN
TERRITORIAL COMMANDER

LT. COLONEL HELEN C. WAARA, ACSW
METROPOLITAN WELFARE SECRETARY

The Salvation Army
(FOUNDED IN 1865 BY WILLIAM BOOTH)

TELEPHONE
VICTORY 2-5566-7

BRIGADIER A. O. BAKER
DIRECTOR

SETTLEMENT AND DAY CARE CENTER
3053 SOUTH NORMAL AVENUE
CHICAGO 16, ILLINOIS

NOV 2 5 1964

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Farmer,

The children here at the Settlement are making a display of the autographs and pictures of prominent national and world figures which will be available to the children served by this Settlement and eventually to the neighborhood as a whole.

The children would like to obtain your autograph so they might include it as a part of their display. I have explained to the children that you have little time for such matters but they would greatly appreciate any reply your kindness might allow you to make.

Sincerely yours,

Dick Hall

Dick Hall
Group Leader

File
Misc

1/4/65

API
• NEW YORK • CHICAGO

AMALGAMATED PUBLISHERS, INC.
NATIONAL ADVERTISING REPRESENTATIVES
310 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 17, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 2-5452

December 30, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Congress on Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Amalgamated Publishers is the advertising arm of the Negro press. We are now preparing a presentation setting forth the accomplishments of the Negro press.

In order to accomplish this, (1) we should like to include the fact in our presentation that you are a regular columnist in our press, and (2) to have you include on your own letterhead your comments about the value of the Negro press in the Negro community and to the U.S.

You can be sure that your permission and comments will be appreciated. Please let me know if this is agreeable to you.

Sincerely yours,

AMALGAMATED PUBLISHERS, INC.

Arthur T. Ralph

Arthur T. Ralph
Eastern Sales Manager

ATR:gm

cc: Mr. Marvin Rich

Music

30 December 1964

Mr. Jay B. Cutler
Associate Producer
YOUTH WANTS TO KNOW
1627 K Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Mr. Cutler:

Mr. Farmer is very sorry for the long delay in returning the photographs taken during his guest appearance. Because his secretary has been ill for some time, a great deal of the correspondence has piled up unanswered. We hope that such a delay has not inconvienced you.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Staff Associate

NM:LP
ENC.

YOUTH WANTS TO KNOW

THEODORE GRANIK
CHAIRMAN

1627 K ST., N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
NATIONAL 8-4600

AUG 31 1964

August 28, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director of CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

On behalf of Theodore Granik and the entire staff, I should like to express our appreciation for your participation on "Youth Wants To Know." It was an exceptionally fine program and we have received many favorable comments.

Our panel of teenagers thoroughly enjoyed their visit with you and all of us certainly hope that you enjoyed being on the program as much as we did in having you as our guest.

As I indicated to you at the time of the program, I am enclosing a set of photographs which I hope you will have the time to autograph. We have designated for whom each picture is intended, in the event you may wish to personalize them. We will be glad to forward the pictures on to the young people on your behalf and are enclosing a stamped, self-addressed envelope for your convenience in returning the pictures to us.

We have enclosed an extra copy of the group picture and an audio tape we thought you might like to have for your personal files as a remembrance of your appearance on the program. There is also enclosed a picture of the two of us which I would be most grateful if you would autograph and return in the enclosed envelope.

I sincerely wish that some time in the future we may again have the pleasure of your company on "Youth Wants To Know."

Cordially,

Jay B Cutler

Jay B. Cutler
Associate Producer

Misc

#)30 December 1964

Mr. Ken Browne
35 East Mahoney Avenue
Mesa, Arizona

Dear Mr. Browne:

I am enclosing a photograph of Mr. Farmer which he has autographed.

CORE is grateful for your thoughts and words of support that you expressed in your letter to Mr. Farmer of November 28.

Best wishes for the New Year.

Yours very truly,

Nancy Mutarelli
Staff Associate

NM:LP
ENC.

DEC 1 1964

35 East Mahoney Avenue,
MESA,
Arizona,
November 28, 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer:

GREETINGS go to you and Mrs. Farmer from the Valley of the Sun in Arizona - hope that our few lines find you both well and happy. It has been our intentions to write to you for such a long time.

In years gone by, my wife and I have read and heard much about you, and we are familiar with your career, your popularity, and service for CORE. Mrs. Browne and I have seen you on TV - have heard you speak - and although we can't count you as one of our "personal friends", we somehow feel as though we know you well. Men of your calibre are needed today more than ever before IF the racial problems are to be solved, and such problems must disappear before this country will really be great, and a model for the rest of the world to view. I am in the banking business and I don't just "try" to be fair - I am fair with everyone I come in contact with. That includes peoples of all races, creeds, and political beliefs.

May we ask a small favor, Mr. Farmer.

Won't you kindly sign a photo, and perhaps one of your personal cards for us ? Any picture - small or large - would be appreciated, and hearing from you would make our day a happier one. Please be so kind.

Very sincerely,

Ken Browne

PS: Tis early, but MERRY CHRISTMAS 1964 to you and your family !

Misc

30 December 1964

Mr. Steven G. Barnett
42 East 300 South
Box 63
Springville, Utah 84663

Dear Mr. Barnett:

Enclosed yourwill find an autographed picture of Mr. Farmer which you requested.0=I hope that this is suitable for your collection of autographs.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Staff Associate

NM:LP
ENC.

Yes

Steven G.Barnett
42 East 300 South
Box 63
Springville,Utah 84663

Dear Mr.Farmer,

It is an honor to write to you for your autograph for my collection.The work that your organization,CORE,has done for the Negro citizens of this country is very highly commendable.Keep up the good work.I feel that your autograph merits having your autograph in my collection.I hope that you will be able to comply with this request.If possible send your autograph on a photograph of yourself.Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Steven Barnett

Steven G.Barnett

NOV 18 1964

File: Misc

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL

U.S. CIVIL RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

Following its consideration of the U.S. Civil Rights Campaign, the International Executive of AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL has decided to send a delegate to view and report on the situation prevailing in the Southern States. He will primarily be concerned to investigate the procedural safeguards available to the defence in Southern State trials involving negroes.

In addition, the delegate will be asked to collect information on the following topics:-

1) Facilities to assist negro defendants:- e.g. availability of legal aid and advice, conditions of bail and of remand, including the treatment of prisoners on remand.

2) Prison conditions of persons active in the Civil Rights Campaign who have been sentenced by Southern State courts.

3) Extra-judicial coercion, both by official and unofficial bodies, of persons identified with the Civil Rights campaign in the Southern States.

4) The efficiency and efficacity of the Federal agencies, including the number of their personnel and the size of their budget, in guaranteeing constitutional rights to the citizens of the Southern States.

In America Today 1964

All men are one and equal under God;
For every one He shed His precious blood;
The days of slavery are by no means past-
Millions had thought they were ended at last:
Today there is a pattern of its thought-
That same idea the negro race has fought.
A people forced to gravel in the mud,
Beaten with whips, despite the flowing blood.
Such senseless killing rages on and on!
When will this fight for equal rights be won?
Down in the Southern States there's little hope-
Mass brutal stubborness with which to cope-
So many are afraid and will not fight:
They are resigned to be slaves for the white-
Accepting life's crumbs, being honored maids,
Scrubbing, digging, and learning menial trades.
Many who dared protest have lost their lives!
They rest in peace: The challenge still survives-
While others in their footsteps, firm, and true,
Still hold a burning torch, aloft, anew.
Among the segregated districts, schools,
'Negroes keep out' are well-known written rules.
'Offenders will be strictly penalised!
'Negroes spread rare disease' it is surmised.
With subtle hate, the feigned polite refrain,
"No vacancies exist today, please try again."
Tragic despair revives the helplessness-----
Escape is sought, in vice and idleness:
How can we match their strength? Are we too weak?
The prospects of equality seem bleak;
How best to fight? What can be done? the cry:
Know they not mercy and goodness? We sigh:
With lasting bravery we will be obsessed!
We must not be discouraged and depressed;
We have progressed, but we must conquer more,
We shall move forward, good things wait in store-
O'ercoming through the groping blackened night,
Fighting for FREEDOM, FREEDOM, glorious light!!
We must not reverse the paths we have trod:
Our weapons are our hope and trust in God.

Original poem of college student, Shirley Elaine Lyle
71 West 83rd Street
Manhattan
New York City
U.S.A.

file?
fan letters

New York City
March 1, 1965

MAR 4 1965

Dear Mr. Forman:

Just want to write you a few lines to tell you how much my husband and I enjoyed your appearance last evening on "Ladies of The Press" program.

Your answers were highly intelligent, courteous, and we found ourselves applauding you enthusiastically.

We agree with you that people insist on missing the point when they inject the "Communist" issue when the important thing is that the negro should have the same rights as all citizens.

When we voted for our

great martyred president, John F. Kennedy we were asked by some friends: "What are you, Communists?"

We certainly recognize the Communist danger as well as the far right danger. Personally, we are for equal rights for all. Despite the fact that we have lost some friends, we shall continue to speak up for what is a matter of conscience.

Good luck to you,

Very sincerely yours,
(Mrs. A.K.) Ethel G. Olsen
105 Pinehurst Ave
NY 33

file —
fan letters

11 March, 1965

Mr. Dwight Macdonald
The New Yorker
25 West 43rd Street
New York 36, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Macdonald:

Thank you for your letter of March 1st. You didn't miss anything in the press; there was no follow-up and there may not be any.

I would very much like to talk to you privately, rather than discuss this matter in a letter. Unfortunately, I will be out of town for the next two weeks, but can arrange a meeting for Wednesday, March 24, if that would be convenient for you. Please call my secretary, Mrs. Mutarelli, to arrange a meeting.

In the meantime, I stand by all I said, but do not stand by newspaper interpretation of what I said.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

Love letter

THE
NEW YORKER
No. 25 WEST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, 36, N. Y.

EDITORIAL OFFICES
OXFORD 5-1414

MAR 2 1965

March 1, 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

The Times of Feb.24th quoted you as saying the murder of Malcolm X was "a political killing" with "international ~~implications~~ implications" and not just the result of his defection from and opposition to the Black Muslims. It also quoted you as saying Malcolm X was killed at a time when his "views were changing toward the mainstream of the civil rights movement."

By "political-international" I suppose you meant Cuba or Red China (or that "Progressive Political Movement" that seems to follow their line) - and by changing toward the mainstream I suppose you meant Malcolm X was giving up violence and black racism.

I've seen no later documentation in the press of these (to me) surprising statements of yours. Did I miss something? (On the second, I've seen in recent months some statements by Malcolm X that were in the direction you cite - but also some that were the other way. To me he seemed to be an opportunist demagogue up to the end - and I was distressed to see you and Bayard Rustin attended his funeral - he seemed to me to represent just what you both, and I, have always opposed: racism and violence.)

My curiosity is not idle - I've been a contributor to

CORE for many years because, long before CORE became nationally famous, it appealed to me because of its combination of militancy and non-violence. So I'd be grateful if you would tell me just why you think Malcolm X was killed for political-international reasons (and what they were) and why you think he was changing toward a non-racist, non-violent position (which, I assume, is why you and Bayard went to the funeral). Or maybe I missed a follow-up story in the _Times_ or the _Post_, the papers I read regularly?

Yours,

Dwight Macdonald

Dwight Macdonald

file - fan letters

April 12. 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Bring your group on down. Of course, we are doing pretty well, and making some real progress. We made the Klan pretty unwelcome a week ago, and Gov. Russell is doing a good job obtaining equal opportunities for Negroes. I doubt that it is fast enough for you. Our progress doesn't always suit us either.

However, keep it up on Senator Thurmond if you surely want to assure his election. In fact , if you come down here and repeat your statements Gov. Russell won't have a chance to beat him.

APR 15 1965

Edward Capers
Edward Capers
Box 383
Beaufort, S.C.

FAN letters (make file, if none)

April 19, 1965

The Reverend J. F. Harriman
Associate for College Work
St. Paul's Episcopal Church
Eldridge and Walnut
Bellingham, Washington 98225

Dear Mr. Harriman:

Although you said not to take the trouble to reply to your letter of April 9th, I do want to let you know how much I appreciated your kind words and graciousness.

It is good to know that in this struggle for human rights we have the dedication and support of friends like you.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:nm

ST. PAUL'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH
ELDRIDGE AND WALNUT — BELLINGHAM, WASHINGTON, 98225

~~THE REV. W. ROBERT WEBB, RECTOR~~
THE REV. J. F. HARRIMAN,
ASSOCIATE FOR COLLEGE WORK

Canterbury House
506 Garden St.
April 9, 1965

APR 13 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer,

I heard you speak at Western Washington State College & met you at Prof. Bennett's house last Sat.

I wish there had been opportunity to say publicly (or that I had been alert to take the opportunity) what I can now say only by letter: that we are fortunate that CORE has as intelligent & articulate a leader as you showed yourself to be.

I can imagine the strains & temptations that afflict leaders like yourself & Dr King (I have just read the

Playboy interview of him). Your courage + dedication humble me. I want to offer my prayers + moral support to keep you humble + single-minded. Thank you for inspiring me to try to be a better man + a better priest.

Please do not trouble to answer this. Such as it is, it is a gift.

Yours faithfully,

J.F. Harriman

Thank him for his support and the graciousness of his letter

Do we have a chapter nearby? If so, refer his name.

? put name on fund raising list

fan letters — make file if none

April 19, 1965

Mr. C. F. Kitchen
Representative
Canadian Union of Public Employees
164 Eglinton Avenue East
Toronto, Canada

Dear Mr. Kitchen:

Mr. Farmer, before leaving for Louisiana today, asked me to reply to your letter of recent date to let you know that he very much appreciates your concern for the civil rights struggle.

We feel that it is extremely important for individuals to speak out on these issues, both commending those who seek to further equality of opportunity and criticizing instances of discrimination.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

HOME PHONE
AX 3-6862

OFFICE PHONE
HU 5-0784

C. F. KITCHEN
REPRESENTATIVE
CANADIAN UNION OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES

2

164 EGLINTON AVE. EAST
TORONTO 12, ONT.

48 Benlight Cres.,
Scarborough, Ontario.

APR 16 1965

James Farmer,
National Director,
Congress of Racial Equality,
38 Park Row,
New York 38, New York.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

During a recent vacation to Florida my wife and I had the opportunity to dine in one of the Morrison Cafeterias in Clearwater, Florida. On completing our dinner, we were asked to make any comments we desired on a card prepared by the Cafeteria.

After discussing the matter with my wife, we made some comments on the good food they had provided. However, and of more significance we in addition to those comments expressed our delight to see that the Negro was treated with respect both as an employee and as a patron in their Clearwater establishment. In concluding our comments, we said that we hoped that the respect shown in Florida was also a reality in Alabama.

As a result of our comments, we received the enclosed letter from the Morrison Cafeterias Consolidated, Inc. which we can add gave us considerable satisfaction in that the efforts of your organization are at least leaving an impression in this area.

In closing, we wish you all the very best in this worthwhile cause.

Yours very truly,

C Kitchen

C. F. Kitchen,

CFK/ts

Thank him for his concern and letter
Give name to Eva Frey re Toronto's fund raising

MORRISON CAFETERIAS CONSOLIDATED, INC.
general offices • mobile, alabama 36601

when answering reply to: P. O. Box 309
Mobile, Alabama
March 31, 1965

Mr. and Mrs. F. Kitchen
48 Benligt Crev.
Scarboro, Ontario
Canada

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Kitchen:

Thanks very much for your card of March 11th and we appreciate your kind comments concerning the food in our Clearwater cafeteria.

Our cafeterias in Florida and Alabama are open to anyone who cares to use the service -- without restriction.

I trust we will have the pleasure of serving you again.

Yours very truly,

President

J. H. Gibbons
met

wholly owned subsidiaries:
Morrison Merchandising Corporations • Morrison Food Services, Incorporated
All Southern Realty Companies • Sun City Realty Companies
Food Service Equipment Company

File misc

April 19, 1965

Mr. Perry Rudolf
Tour Coordinator
The Promised Land
4 Coresh Street
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Mr. Rudolf:

Thank you for your recent letter. Of course we are not prepared to make any commitment at the present time on the possibility of our setting up such a tour. A major question for us would be the financing, though I do agree with you as to the importance of such a project.

I should be very glad to talk with you when you are in the United States during the month of May. Kindly call my office at your earliest convenience and we will arrange for a mutually acceptable date.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:nm

הארץ היעודה
חברה לתיור

THE PROMISED LAND
TOUR SOCIETY

Cables: PROMLAND

Operated by
Orient Shipping Agency Ltd.
Jerusalem, Israel

P.O.B. 458 Tel. 23004
4 Coresh Street
Jerusalem, Israel

APR 3 1965

Jerusalem, March 30th, 1965.

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.
US.A.

Dear Mr. Farmer,

In our all-too-brief encounter at the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, I began to explain my interest in organizing combined tours to Israel and Africa.

In following the battle now being waged for civil rights, it struck me that there are two major sources of inspiration to this struggle - Christianity on the one hand, and the example of the newly-independent African States on the other.

It is my belief that a combined tour of Israel, as the Land of the Bible, and Africa, as the site of these new states, might be welcome to a significant number of those engaged in the present campaign.

Our newly-formed company intends to organize such tours to the Holy Land and Africa, and looks forward to so doing with your guidance and with an endorsement from you, as the director of CORE, and as one of the foremost leaders of millions of Americans seeking equal rights.

I will be in the U.S.A. during the month of May, and would welcome the opportunity to discuss this project at length with you or one of your aides. If this is feasible, kindly let me know as soon as possible, so that I may plan my itinerary accordingly.

I will also be pleased to give slide lectures to interested groups on the proposed itinerary.

Looking forward to your reply, I remain,

Sincerely yours,
Perry Rudolf
Perry Rudolf
Tour Coordinator

file -
fan letters

April 20, 1965

Mrs. Grace Moran
c/o St. Luke's Hospital
Amsterdam Avenue and 113th Street
New York, New York

Dear Grace:

I was so sorry to hear of your mother's death and that you must go into the hospital for an operation. It was good of you to take the time to write to me at a time of such sadness for you.

The $3.00 has been turned over to the Membership Department; you should receive the CORElator shortly.

Many thanks for your kind letter and the poem for Mr. Farmer, which I will make sure he sees as soon as he returns to the office.

Best wishes for a speedy recovery.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

18 Norton Street,
Newburgh, New York
April 15th, 1965

Nancy Mutarelli,
Administrative Dept, Core,
38 Park Row,
Brooklyn, New York.

Re: Grace, (Moran)

Dear Nancy Mutarelli:

Just a few lines ta thank you for you prompt reply on Mr Farmers behalf to myletter with poems enclosed. Also I must apologize for my apparent tardy answer. The reason for same is that my mother died and I am entering St Lukes hospital April 22st(will be operated April 22) or as the doctors say, " they will do me in the morning on the 22nd and Mrs so and so in the afternoon. Hummmm! I wanted to thank you and Mr. Farmer at once but many "things" descended on me like a tornado full blast. Hence the delay in repfying.

Nancy I have many letters from most erudite men, (Harvard, Yale, Princetan, etc including President Johnson,) but your phrase, "your passionate dedication to Freedom, Peace and Humankind" describes me and how I feel in a manner surpassing all descriptions concerning me thus far. My deepest gratitude to you and since I'm sure you speak for Mr. Farmer my gratefullness includes him also.

Enclosed is the three dollars for associated membership etc and a small poem for Mr. Farmer.

Love is a Motion
that creates liberation,
and all wounds suffered
by the Yoga of Love
even separation,
will be healed by Love.
Grace

Mills
Mills

CBS NEWS
2020 M Street
Washington, D.C. 20036

"FACE THE NATION"

as broadcast over the

CBS Television Network

and the

CBS Radio Network

4760770
4764058

Sunday, April 25, 1965 - - 12:30 - 1:00 PM EDT

GUEST: JAMES A. FARMER
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality

NEWS CORRESPONDENTS: George Herman
CBS News

Philip Potter
Baltimore Sun

Neil Strawser
CBS News

PRODUCERS: Ellen Wadley
Prentiss Childs

DIRECTOR: Robert Vitarelli

MR. HERMAN: Mr. Farmer, is this going to be another long, hot summer in the civil rights movement?

MR. FARMER: I think there is no question but that there will be extreme activity this summer, probably as much as last summer. I do not predict riots, however, because that might be a self-fulfilling prophesy.

ANNOUNCER: Live, from CBS Washington, FACE THE NATION, a spontaneous and unrehearsed news interview with James Farmer, National Director, Congress of Racial Equality. Mr. Farmer will be questioned by CBS News Correspondent Neil Strawser; Philip Potter, Washington Bureau Chief, Baltimore Sun; and CBS News Correspondent George Herman.

We shall resume the questioning of Mr. Farmer in just a moment.

- - -

MR. HERMAN: Mr. Farmer, Roy Wilkins has said that the back of segregation seems largely broken. If that is true, why is this going to be, as you seem to indicate, an even longer, hotter summer, and where will most of the activity come -- in the North or in the South?

MR. FARMER: Well, while I think we have made considerable progress in the last few years, I don't think we are yet over the bump. There is a lot that remains to be done. We have passed laws and we have found that those laws have not been totally effective.

There will be great activity in the southhern states as well as in the northern states, and in the North as well as in the South.

If the voter rights bill goes through in strong fashion, then there will be great activity to register a couple of million negroes, especially in the South, and to organize them into effective political action.

MR. POTTER: Mr. Farmer, are you satisfied that the government is doing all it can to deal with the threat from the Ku Klux Klan activity, and how do you feel about the probe of the Ku Klux Klan being conducted by the House Un-American Activities Committee?

MR. FARMER: Of course I do not feel that the government is doing all that it can. I was pleased that the President in effect declared war on the Klan. This was a long time coming. It should have come many years ago. Now it has come.

I was distressed, however, that the Klan is to be investigated by the House Un-American Activities Committee. We have no confidence, in the civil rights movement, that the House Un-American Activities Committee will conduct an honest probe of the Klan. We feel that this is merely a diversionary tactic on the part of HUAC in order to get to what it considers its real business, investigating the civil rights movement.

I note that the chairman of HUAC is a Congressman from Louisiana where there is a large membership of the Klan --

espeically in Bogalusa, Louisiana, which probably has the largest concentration of Klan membership of any area in the country.

MR. STRAWSER: Mr. Farmer, do you think the Klan is a real threat in the South, and who do you think should investigate it?

MR. FARMER: Well, I think the Klan is a great threat in the South. We have had our troubles with the Klan in Bogalusa, where we had our meeting hall -- the Klan rented a house less than two blocks away for the purposes of intimidation.

As to who should investigate it, I believe that the President of the United States ought to appoint a special commission to investigate the Klan, the same standing that the Warren Commission had, and that this commission ought to report directly to the President.

MR. HERMAN: In connection with your experiences in Bogalusa, I am reminded that you frequently tell a story, when you are making a speech, which ends with a Negro standing up in a bus, where he has been mistreated by the driver, and saying "In the first place, I am not one of those non-violent Negroes".

Now, how about CORE? How non-violent is it, and what is your connection with the Deacons of Defense and Justice and their armaments in Bogalusa?

MR. FARMER: Well, sir, I am pleased to state that I am one of those non-violent Negroes. CORE is a non-violent organization. All of our members are pledged to a discipline of non-violence on all CORE demonstrations.

Now, in Bogalusa, Louisiana, and Jonesboro, Louisiana, there are the Deacons. That is an organization of Negroes for self-defense -- when their homes are shot into or threatened.

I must hasten to point out that this is a constitutional right of American citizens.

MR. HERMAN: But if a member of CORE should join the Deacons, would he be expelled from CORE, for example, for being violent rather than non-violent?

MR. FARMER: No member of CORE has joined the Deacons and I do not anticipate that such will happen. We do work with the Deacons, because if a Deacon participates in a CORE demonstration he accepts the pledge of non-violence.

MR. POTTER: Mr. Farmer, you state that the planned probe by the House Un-American Activities will actually turn into a probe or investigation of the civil rights movement. And I presume by that you mean the extent of Communist penetration inthe civil rights movement.

To what extent do you think the Communists have penetrated, and what are their purposes?

MR. FARMER: Well, first let me state that if one reads the Congressional Record, then he will see that my suspicion has some basis, because during one of the discussions in Congress regarding the HUAC investigation, some of the Southern congressmen complained that they ought to be investigating the civil rights movement instead of the Klan. And the chairman of HUAC then indicated, in effect, "Well, just wait, fellows, we'll take care of that later on".

MR. HERMAN: I feel I must interpose, for some listeners, that HUAC is the initials of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

MR. FARMER: Yes. Well, now, to go on, you asked the extent of Communist penetration or infiltration into the civil rights movement, ---

MR. POTTER: And what their motives are.

MR. FARMER: -- and what their motives are. Well, I think it has been greatly exaggerated. Obviously, whenever there are grievances, the Communists will try to capitalize upon those grievances, and to make propaganda capital of it. Lenin said -- when there is discontent, capitalize on it, use it for the cause. They will try to do it. But they have had very little success in penetrating the civil rights movement and the whole Negro population of our country.

I would suggest that per capita there are fewer Communists among Negroes than there are in the total population of the country.

As to their motives, it is quite clear. Their motives would be to use it for propadanga value.

MR. HERMAN: There has been a constant series of charges, however, that the Communists have made some ground in one segment, namely, in Mississippi, where the pressures perhaps have been hardest on the Negro population; that there has been Communist literature available at the headquarters and at Negro offices there.

Has there been any -- you say in the whole nation a smaller per capita infiltration. But has there been a pinpoint activity in Mississippi?

MR. FARMER: Well, now, when you say Communists have made great headway or some headway in Mississippi, we must point out that they have not made any headway among the Negro population of Mississippi. Negroes in Mississippi are not concerned with communism. They are concerned with those bludgeons on their head, those billy-clubs.

MR. HERMAN: I must point out that I did not say it. I simply said there had been charges -- that in the headquarters of certain Negro organizations there, there have been heaps of Communist documents, pamphlets and so forth.

MR. FARMER: I have seen some literature which obviously comes from Communist sources. Now, I don't object to a man reading Communist literature. I think that we ought to be able to read any kind of literature we want to. In some of the civil rights organization offices you will also find Klan literature, you will find States Rights literature. I think that we ought to be aware of all of this literature, and then be in a position to judge for ourselves.

MR. STRAWSER: Mr. Farmer, let's change the terminology a little bit. Some of your friends even seem to be concerned about something that, if it is not Communism, at least amounts to extreme radical leftism. Are you concerned about anything like that in the civil rights movement?

MR. FARMER: Extreme radical leftism? No. I see very little of it, as a matter of fact. Usually this charge is based upon the assumption that we are making demands which are "unachievable". I don't accept that view. I think that we must keep pressing the nation forward. We must not be content to make demands which we think the nation is perfectly willing to give, to grant. We must instead try to extend the nation's willingness.

It was Browning, the immortal Browning, who said "A man's reach should exceed his grasp, or what's a heaven for".

Our objective is to keep extending the nation's reach in the hope that quite soon, by tomorrow morning, indeed, the nation may be able to grasp fully freedom, equality and justice for all its citizens.

MR. HERMAN: I see by your speeches that you would like to try to extend your reach and your grasp into both Louisiana and South Carolina. I would like to settle on South Carolina for a moment, and ask you about the three persons who are coming up for election; Senator Thurmond, the new senator,

Senator Russell, and Congressman Watson -- and what you think Negro activities, and especially CORE, can and will do in those elections.

MR. FARMER: Well, I think there is great potential political power in the Negro population of South Carolina. We, for the past three or four years, have been registering Negroes in comparatively large numbers in South Carolina, against great handicaps and obstacles. One of those obstacles is the fact that the registration offices are open only one day a month, so that at times we have had queues of 200 or 250 people waiting outside a registration office, and only nine or ten have gotten in to register.

I believe that in the next election the Negro vote will be crucial and may succeed in defeating these Congressmen and Senators who have accepted and adopted a segregationist point of view. I am particularly concerned about Strom Thurmond, and he is a key target of CORE in South Carolina.

MR. HERMAN: How about the new Senator, Senator Russell?

MR. FARMER: Yes. I have been distressed by the fact that Senator Russell has now lined up in opposition to the voter rights bill. So we will be aiming at him also.

MR. STRAWSER: Mr. Farmer, aren't you in a sense changing your own ground, what used to be demonstrations -- and the demonstrations I am sure will continue -- but aren't you working into a few field now, the political field?

MR. FARMER: Well, we are certainly working into the political field. We are not changing our ground, as you indicate. We are merely extending our ground. We feel that many of the objectives we seek are essentially political objectives, and the decisions have to be political decisions. And we, then, want to be in a position to exert great political power.

MR. STRAWSER: Isn't this in a sense a change in the character of the civil rights movement?

MR. FARMER: Yes, we are moving into a new stage -- greater maturity, I would say.

MR. POTTER: Mr. Farmer, the Republican Party, in the last election, national election, had what they called the southern strategy. It seems to have been a massive failure. Mr. Johnson won a landslide victory over Senator Goldwater. Do you think the Republican Party is now going to make a sincere effort to recapture the ground that it lost by pursuing southern strategy?

MR. FARMER: If the Republican Party wants to be viable as a political party it will have to, and I think that it will. I think that the so-called moderates in the Republican Party will sieze control of the party and the party will then make a serious bid for the Negro vote. Perhaps then we will get greater dialogue between the Democrats and the Republicans and will be able to thrust the total civil rights movement forward.

MR. HERMAN: I have one more name to toss at you, since

I have already given you three.

Your first target is Louisiana. Now there you run into Plaquemines Parish and Leander Perez, who is not up for any kind of election, as far as I can see, but is rather an old enemy of yours. You were in jail there during the march on Washington. You have been in his jail a number of times.

Are you going to make a real effort to do something about your problems with Leander Perez?

MR. FARMER: Well, first of all, there are two Plaquemines. There is the town of Plaquemine, in Louisiana, which is in Iberville Parish, and there is Plaquemines Parish, which is Leander Perez's parish. I was in jail in the town of Plaquemine.

Yes, Leander Perez and Plaquemines Parish is a sore spot in the civil rights movement. We will, of course, take on Leander Perez and Plaquemines Parish. We believe that there bigotry and racism and violence are as bad as any place in Mississippi or Alabama. We will pick our own time, however, and our method of doing it. I am not prepared at the moment to say precisely when we move into Plaquemines Parish.

MR. HERMAN: Just let me ask you one other thing. Do you believe that Perez has broken any laws?

MR. FARMER: Well, we believe that the fort that he has established for incarceration of civil rights workers -- you know, he has a fort there which is sort of an island in a swamp, and allegedly there are water moccasins and copperheads and malaria mosquitoes, mosquitoes that have killed cattle -- and he has this fixed up for civil rights demonstrators when they come.

Our attorneys tell us that this is probably illegal -- this would be cruel and inhuman punishment. I am sure that he has violated laws.

MR. STRAWSER: Mr. Farmer, back to this political road you seem prepared to travel, you have been advocating the formation of something like the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party throughout the South. Does this mean that in the South you would prefer to work through third parties, essentially an all-Negro and perhaps a re-segregated party, in a sense?

MR. FARMER: Well, certainly not all-Negro. The Freedom Democratic Party of Mississippi is not all-Negro. There are white persons there -- and its doors are open to white persons who agree with its program. And I think that if there is a similar development in Louisiana, Alabama, Georgia and Florida, that its doors should be open to all persons, too.

Now, when I say a third party, I do not mean that this third party will always run candidates of its own. Sometimes it may bargain with the major parties in the state and it may try to help get reasonably progressive candidates nominated by those parties and then support them.

MR. HERMAN: That is a question of tactics. But for the long-run strategy, do you believe the Negro people's place is in the major parties or in a separate party?

MR. FARMER: Well, I have certainly not proposed a nation-wide third party. The experience with third parties in our country has not been a very happy or hopeful one. In the North, I would suggest instead a Freedom Democratic Movement, such as CORE people and others have helped to organized in Brooklyn, which will be a political organization, a political entity, but not a party.

MR. HERMAN: I am most interested in your statement that the Negro movement is now entering a new stage. So far you have talked only about politics as that new stage. Is it really only politics, or will you be embarking on other careers? I don't know about my colleagues, but most of the mail I get from complainers against civil rights and against Negro movements talk about morals, about lack of education, lack of other things. Will you be attacking these problems in so far as you can from your side?

MR. FARMER: Well, I am sometimes amused when people talk about lack of morals. I wonder about the morals of the Klan and its bombings and its murders and its beatings and so forth.

But when we talk about education, we have a real point, because our people have been deprived of decent and equal education through the segregated, inferior school systems to which we have had to do.

We believe, and we are still insisting, that there needs to be a massive crash program of remedial education, and that this task is so large that it should be undertaken by the Federal Government as a part of the anti-poverty program.

At the same time we are doing this, we need to fights against segregated schools in the South, de facto segregated schools in the North, so that we will no longer be depriving the Negro youngsters of a decent education.

MR. HERMAN: I have thrown a handful of buckshot at you. But among all these various bullets that you will be firing off in various directions, is there any thought of family planning, planned parenthood, as part of your campaign for this new stage?

MR. FARMER: Of course. This, of course, is not the primary reponsibility of CORE. It falls much more within the jurisdiction of the National Urban League, which is doing a great deal along those lines. There needs to be family planning, there needs to be more information given to the Negro families. We in CORE, however, have established community centers in the South and in the North, and as a part of these community centers we do have classes in family planning. We believe that this is essential to the up-grading of the total Negro community.

Now, let me add that I consider our program to be two-pronged. On one hand there is the fight for freedom, and by this we mean freedom of meaningful choice, freedom to make choices as to where one lives, where one works, where one goes to school.

Then the other prong is the drive for equality -- to wipe out the inequalities of the past.

What I have been talking about in terms of education and family up-grading is a part of the second prong.

MR. POTTER: Mr. Farmer, you talk about a crash program in education and through the poverty program. Isn't this precisely what is being undertaken in the poverty program and in the new education bill, and aren't the sums that are provided this year for that about as much as you could expect to do in the first year of such a program?

MR. FARMER: No, it is not adequate at the present time. Most of the remedial education will be in the Job Corps camps. And this is not the greatest need. The greatest need I think is in the ghettoes themselves -- drop-outs, students who are drop-outs; many who are still in school and because of the over-crowded classrooms have not developed adequate skills in reading and arithmetic.

So we think that there needs to be a community action education, whereby youngsters from the ghetto are themselves trained to become instructors in remedial education, sent back into their own communities, and there to help others.

MR. POTTER: Isn't community action one of the primary facts of the poverty program?

MR. FARMER: Community action is indeed, and we think there needs to be a much more meaningful educational program as a part of the community action program of the war on poverty.

MR. STRAWSER: Have you talked to Administration officials about this, and what reaction have you gotten?

MR. FARMER: We have, indeed. I have talked with President Johnson, have had several talks with him in the past year on this issue. We have talked with other officials of the Office of Education and of the Office of Economic Opportunity. And they are sympathetic. We have submitted memoranda. These memoranda are now being considered programwise.

MR. STRAWSER: Looking at things generally, are you satisfied with what President Johnson is doing in the civil rights field?

MR. FARMER: No, I am not satisfied. Much more needs to be done. We cannot afford to be satisfied until we have achieved our objectives. I think that all of us can work harder -- the President, civil rights advocates, others.

MR. HERMAN: You may not be satisfied with what is accomplished, and it is your right always to extend your reach beyond your grasp. But are you satisfied that the President is sincerely interested in civil rights?

MR. FARMER: I think there is no question about that. There are many persons who question the President's sincerity because of his Southern accent and his Southern background. It seems to me that he has demonstrated that he is sincere. His two speeches in response to Selma, while they were late coming -- especially the first one I believe should have come sooner. When it did come, it was a profound speech. And the President joined the civil rights revolution in a sense when he shouted "We shall overcome". This had not happened before. And we ought to build upon that.

MR. HERMAN: Has his use of that phrase and other phrases like that taken some of the wind out of the sails of the young SNCC demonstrators who were picketing the White House and the Justice Department?

MR. FARMER: I don't think it has taken the wind out of their sails. I think it has put more wind into their sails and into ours. We want more wind because we need to go faster.

MR. HERMAN: I meant the wind out of their sails in picketing the President and, as some of them did, in saying that Mr. Katzenbach, the Attorney General, and the Justice Department were racist because they did not move into Alabama.

MR. FARMER: Well, sir, I don't believe that they are racist. I think that we have to maintain the pressure, even upon our friends, in order to keep them honest. And that is precisely the function which the picket line serves.

MR. HERMAN: Mr. Farmer, we want to maintain the pressure on you. There are many more things we would like to ask you, and we will resume the questioning in a moment.

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MR. HERMAN: Mr. Farmer, you have made reference to this new stage in the affairs of the civil rights movement. Is this a feeling which is shared among all elements of the civil rights movement, or do some of them persist in following the old course as though there had been no change?

MR. FARMER: Well, I think there is great unanimity in the civil rights movement. All of the organizations, to my knowledge, accept this view -- that now we have to expand our horizons, expand the nature of our activity. This does not mean that we don't demonstrate. We will demonstrate until there is no longer any need to demonstrate. But we will do other things as well.

MR. POTTER: Mr. Farmer, on the surface there seems to be a good deal of dissension among civil rights groups, as to how fast you go in this direction, and where you put all your weight. To what extent might this impair your political strength? Normally one thinks of solidatiry as useful in achieving ends.

MR. FARMER: Well, I would not call it dissension. There is dialogue and there is discussion. There is sometimes disagreement on tactics and timing. And I consider this an asset rather than a liability. I think that a movement becomes more viable and has greater punch when there is democratic discussion within that movement. That is what we have in the civil rights movement.

MR. HERMAN: Don't you think that when one Negro leader refers to another one as a Mickey Mouse Negro leader that this is a little more than dialogue?

MR. FARMER: Well, sometimes it becomes spirited dialogue. But it is dialogue, indeed. We are agreed on objectives, and that is the important thing. And I think our opponents, our enemies, the racists and bigots, should not take any comfort from any disagreement on tactics and timing.

MR. STRAWSER: Mr. Farmer, what is to the be the future of the COFO movement in Mississippi? The NAACP has pulled out of it. Will CORE stay in it?

MR. FARMER: CORE will stay in COFO as we have in the past year.

MR. HERMAN: I am interested in the statement you made very early on in the program, that while this will be a long, hot summer you do not expect anything in the line of Harlem riots and the riots in other parts of New York State, and I would like to explore that a little bit. Why do you not think there will be any such?

MR. FARMER: Well, I did not say that I don't think there will be such. I merely indicated that I will not predict riots. No one has enough knowledge to know that there will be riots. When one predicts riots and violence, then this may be a self-fulfilling prophesy. I will say however, sir, that the things, the factors that led to the riots last summer still exist largely. The cities have not done enough to deal with the problem of unemployment, the problem of slum housing. There is still time, during the month of May and early June in order to help prevent riots.

MR. STRAWSER: Mr. Farmer, you speak of the greater maturity now in the civil rights movement. Is there a certain responsibility for the tension that is set up in demonstrations in places like New York City -- that tension might lead to riots and did last year.

MR. FARMER: Well -- tension. Of course, whenever anyone challenges an unjust system or a situation, that person creates tensions. Now, he doesn't create it really, because the tensions exist under the surface -- but he brings them to the surface. The only alternative then to tension is acquiescence in the status quo. Our problem is to resolve those tensions in non-violence. I would like to quote Gregory Vlaskos, who said "He who preaches love in a society based upon injustice can purchase immunity from conflict only at the price of hypocricy".

MR. POTTER: Mr. Farmer, one notes inthe demonstrations for us to get out of the Viet Nam conflict quite a few of the civil rights youngsters are active in it. How do you account for their interest in foreign policy -- which seems to be.

MR. FARMER: Well, I think that as American citizens, persons who participate in the civil rights movement have not only a right, but a duty to be interested in all activities of our government -- domestic policies outside of the civil rights area and foreign policy.

One thing that has happened is that the civil rights movement has motivated youngsters, both white and black, has given them an interest in current events, has made them read the press, the newspapers and so forth. And this has created an interest in the whole scope of affairs.

MR. HERMAN: I think we could go much deeper into that, but I'm afraid our time is up.

I want to thank you, Mr. Farmer, for being here to FACE THE NATION.

We will have a concluding word in just a moment.

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ANNOUNCER: Today on FACE THE NATION, James Farmer, National Director, Congress of Racial Equality, was interviewed by CBS News Correspondent Neil Strawser; Philip Potter, Washington Bureau Chief, Baltimore Sun; and CBS News Correspondent George Herman.

Next week, another prominent figure in the news will FACE THE NATION.

FACE THE NATION was broadcast live from CBS Washington.

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12/15/64

This is a personal letter, and the first paragraph requires your personal attention.

Marvin

Valo can't
someone from your
dept answer
this?

Marv ?

November 30
Skidmore College
Saratoga Springs
New York

DEC 2 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer,

In October you came to Skidmore College and gave a very interesting and moving speech to the students and the community. During your speech you used the term "New Negro" consequently I decided to do my senior thesis using the term. I have researched the literature in our library in an attempt to formulate what you meant by the term. At this point I am somewhat confused and would like very much to have your views on the subject. Who is the New Negro of today, what forces do you feel formed the New Negro, has there been a radical change in the thinking of Negroes to bring about the New Negro, what is the New Negro and how does he differ from the Negro of 10 or 20 years ago?

I realize you are very busy but any help you could give me would be deeply appreciated. I suppose I consider myself part of the New Youth who are trying to answers the questions of the American ideal of freedom for all, the ideal that we missed somewhere along the way. I can read and listen but I find myself segregated or protected from a world I know very little about. By answering my questions I feel I may be able to apply the answers to my life and better understand what we all must be willing to fight for if we truly wish to have a free America.

It would also be most helpful if you could tell me how to get in touch with the following individuals:

Martin Luther King
Philip Randolph
Roy Wilkins
Whitney Young
Malcolm X

I realize the above will probably also be very busy but I feel I should attempt to see if they will answer some questions too.

Sincerely,

Christine Avondoglio
SKIDMORE College
SARATOGA SPRINGS
N.Y.

fan letters

April 26, 1965

Mr. Richard Ashman
5902 Marshal Foch Street
New Orleans, Louisiana 70124

Dear Mr. Ashman:

Because of the crises of the past weeks Mr. Farmer has been out of the office almost constantly and has not been able personally to keep up with his correspondence. He has therefore asked me to respond to your letter of April 14th.

I want to thank you on behalf of Mr. Farmer and all of us at CORE for your past financial support and your continuing interest in the civil rights movement.

We realize that even non-violent, peaceful protest demonstrations will alienate some people and that the more gains are made toward equal rights, the more certain people will feel threatened and therefore become part of the "white backlash". We are confident, however, that in spite of this opposition America will continue to make progress toward the goal of complete freedom of opportunity for all.

Behavior of the kind to which you refer in your letter is deplorable no matter who is guilty of it, and of course no behavior is innately "white" or "black", but human and caused by environmental influences. Let us hope that the ills of our society will be cured at a faster rate so that our personalities will cease to be warped by them.

Mr. Farmer very much appreciated your taking the time to write. He thanks you for your interest in our work and hopes that we may have your continued support.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

5902 Marshal Foch St.
New Orleans La 70124
Apr. 14, 1965

APR 19 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am white. My wife, who is from Long Island originally, has had visits from 4 relatives — and all of them are now in a frame of mind to vote, — or encourage Congress to vote, — *against* the Negro.

One of the relatives — a 75 year old woman, — was pushed aside by two Negro men in New Orleans, so they could get in a streetcar ahead of her.

On the other hand, in Miss., a white *lawyer* and another man enjoyed themselves by going out & *beating up* Negroes — any male Negroes.

The white citizens council here *may* fabricate stories against Negroes — but one my wife heard at a *church* meeting (of women), seems true because of one circumstance. It is: "A middle aged white woman, going into the toilet room at Sanger's Theatre, was followed by 2 Negro girls. One had a knife, the other a large hatpin. They forced the woman to kiss their "rumps."

(Over)

Congress is passing, or about to pass. further laws to give Negroes constitutional rights — laws which should be unnecessary. If the behavior of certain Negroes is correctly reported, then laws may not be passed.

Congress should pass laws punishing both white and Negro behavior, against "another" race, severely, with constitutional ammendment, if necessary.

Both the white behavior (which was more damaging, in fact) and the girls' behavior (if true) were action of individuals — but ~~both~~ both "races" blame such behavior on the other, forgetting their own misbehavior. Since whites outnumber Negroes, 4 to 1, I'm very much afraid Negroes will continue to suffer most.

I'm inclined to feel that the original marches, etc., were necessary — but I'm also inclined to feel, with Truman, the continued activity (as blocking highways), when congress was ready to act favorably, can only do harm. The blocking of highways (I get the St. Louis Post Dispatch) can only greatly antagonize more voters, who will go far beyond anything implied by Goldwater's candidacy. Many N.D. voters would back a move to exterminate Negroes — and the votes of Negroes may not be counted. In fact, I fear "Fascism" in this country — perhaps worse than Hitler's.

Some years ago, when I drove in Wisconsin, a garage man was more violent in language against Negroes than most Southerners would have been at that time.

Surely, you'll say, it is up to the U.S. whites to act properly. But, if the Negroes were in the majority, would they behave differently — or do as many whites are doing in Miss.?

(Over)

Sincerely,

Robert Ashman

I've sent money to NAACP. to King & to Core. I can't afford more, now.

File – fan letters

ELMER M. BINNS
8613 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE
STONE HARBOR, NEW JERSEY 08247

4/26/65

APR 30 1965

Mr. Farmer Pres.
C.O.R.E,
c/o Face The Nation,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Farmer,

I listened to your program on Face The Nation with considerable intrest. I am for non violence as a way of accomplishing your desires. I agree with your fundamental desires. I am a Caucasian. I am getting annoyed however at some street demonstrations and the boycott of any State, even Alabama. That has alienated many of my friends. Your fundamental problem is to get the vote for all literate Negroes and better schools. The Jews, the Irish, the Italians were not absorbed and accepted in this Country until they earned their way. Some leaders are taking the Negroes down the wrong path.

The attached article was in The Phila. Inquirer of 4/25/65. This a predominant Negro neighborhood. It irks me when our Federal and Local Government spend huge sums of money and incidents like this occur. Instead of marching on the streets on any provocation, why not have CORE march in this area and straighten out these hoodlum. You will make many friends in Phila if you did this.

Good luck

Sincerely
Elmer M Binns

East Poplar Redevelopment Area

Vandals Stall Beautification

By **DONALD A. McDONOUGH**
Of The Inquirer Staff

Widespread, senseless acts of vandalism against newly-constructed, modern two-story homes within the East Poplar redevelopment area are frustrating efforts to beautify the once blighted, decaying section of the city.

Hundreds of broken picture windows, stolen manhole covers, brand new doors ripped from their hinges and electrical fixtures jerked from the walls of the as yet unoccupied homes are grim evidence of this frustration.

ROVING GANGS BLAMED

Roving gangs of juveniles—and some adults—have taken their toll, estimated in the thousands of dollars, of the attempts to rehabilitate the neighborhood, undertaken jointly by the Redevelopment Authority and private builders.

The homes, some still in the process of construction, are hit heaviest in the area called Liberty Place, the complex bounded by 5th st., 7th st., Brown and Poplar sts.

The construction of these vellings was aimed at pro- ding low income families with "homes they can be proud of."

But in the past two years, complaints of vandalism are received almost daily by the ety doesn't seem to let a man fall so far so fast anymore."

But Philadelphia doesn't want to wait 50 years. Philadelphia wants its Skid Row to disappear next year.

In its efforts to help the Skid

Continued on Page 30, Column 8

Vandals Stall Beautification

Continued From First Page

police and the watchman, William Bun, of 897 N. 5th st.

Bun's attempt to control the vandalism is another example of frustration when he relates his encounters with the vandals.

"It was so bad on Easter Sunday," Bun said, "I didn't even get a chance to go to church."

KEEPING ON MOVE

He explained that on that day more than 50 teenagers kept him on the move throughout the complex, but to little avail.

"Even when we had arrested a few they'd be back in a matter of hours, throwing rocks, getting into the houses and even taunting and teasing me," he said.

Some of the rocks, Bun said, are so large they not only break the windows but damage the steel casements of the windows. And in addition to the windows, Bun himself has been the target of the stone-throwers while trying to chase the gangs.

fan letters

April 26, 1965

Mrs. Myer Solomon
432 Pearsons Avenue
Williamsport, Pennsylvania

Dear Mrs. Solomon:

I am writing on behalf of Mr. Farmer and all of us at CORE to let you know that the dedication and support of the people of Williamsport for the cause of human rights is an inspiration to us all.

Your initiative in circulating the petition, visiting the City Council, sending copies of the letter to your Governor, Senators and Congressmen was undoubtedly helpful. By the same token, those who remain silent in the face of injustice are in fact acquiescing to that injustice.

We thank you for your interest and hope that we may count on your continued support.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

Wiley

432 PearsonAvenue
Williamsport, Penna.
April 15, 1965

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

APR 19 1965

Dear Friends:

A group of Williamsport area citizens met a few weeks ago before the President's speech and circulated the enclosed petition thru our churches and synagogues and labor unions. About 500 petitions were turned in but some were not entirely full and we figured that we had roughly 10,000 signatures which were mailed to President Johnson.

A delegation visited the City Council. Copies were mailed to our Governor, our Congressman, our Senators and also to Governor Wallace of Alabama.

I enclose an advertisement we had inserted in our local paper.

We would appreciate hearing from you as to what response you have.

We hope that we have been helpful.

Sincerely,

Ruth Solomon

Mrs. Myer Solomon

The President
White House
Washington, D. C.

Mr. President:

We, citizens of greater Williamsport, Pennsylvania, of every race, color and creed, are horrified at the inhuman treatment of our fellow Americans in Selma, Alabama. That it continues to happen in this great country of ours is almost unbelievable.

We petition you to do everything in your power to ensure the constitutional rights for peaceful assembly and redress and to provide the right to vote for citizens of our country, wherever they may reside, and regardless of race, color or creed.

As is acknowledged, if the rights of any segment of the people are diminished, then the rights of all are eroded. We respectfully request you, as President of all Americans, "not merely to defend freedom: to extend its writ, to strengthen its covenant."

As Liberty lies in the hearts of the men and women of America, we confidently call upon you, our President, to put our wishes and feelings into practice, to take the necessary steps to protect the rights of our Negro citizens in the United States, and especially at this moment in Selma.

Respectfully,

Name	Address	Name	Address

DO I BELIEVE IN FIRST CLASS CITIZENSHIP?
WANT TO HELP OTHERS ATTAIN IT?
HOW CAN I HELP?

By sending a check TODAY to one of the following organizations

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
(CORE)
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

NATIONAL ASSN. FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
(NAACP)
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N.Y.

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
(S.C.L.C.)
c/o The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.
332 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

THESE ORGANIZATIONS ARE DEDICATED TO BRINGING ABOUT FIRST-CLASS CITIZENSHIP FOR ALL AMERICANS THROUGH NON-VIOLENT DIRECT ACTION AND EDUCATION

This ad is sponsored by the following concerned citizens of Greater Williamsport

Dr. & Mrs. Harold Adelson
Rev. Robert Allen
Bruce A. Anderson
Rev. J. W. Anderson
Dallas C. Andrews
Floyd Baker
Rev. Francis R. Bell
Samuel Belle, Sr.
E. H. Berfield
Rabbi Herbert Berger
Paul Berger
C. K. Bird
John O. Boswell
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Mr. & Mrs. Marlin Wolfe
Rev. & Mrs. Charles Woody
Dr. Robert S. Yasui
Mrs. Robert S. Yasui

April 15 1965
[illegible] Sun-Gazette

file
fan letters

April 28, 1965

MAY 3 1965

Mr. James Farmer
CORE National Office
38 Parkrow
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I realize that the name Barbara Seabrook doesn't mean anything to you, but I am one of CORE's task force workers in Columbia. I was at Second Nazareth Baptise Church where you gave your lecture about Voter Registration. Working with Voter Registation, as I do, I realize how difficult it is to get some of the people in South Carolina, and everywhere else I amagine, to register. I felt it necessary to let you know how encouraging your lecture was to me. I don't know if you have ever done the door to door soliciting as we do, but if you have surely you can recognize the old, familiar, "I am not interested," or "My husband and I don't participate in politics," and of course, "It's against my religion." These statements have confronted us every since I have been working. Some of those people have been made to realize that there attitude is wrong and they have promise to register. Other's are almost hopeless.

Your speech Sunday made me see that these people not only need to register but that they have to register. Thank you for the inspiration. I am sorry that I didn't get a chance to meet you. I hope that when ever you visit South Carolina again I'll get that opportunity.

Sincerely yours,

Barbara Seabrook

Barbara Seabrook

fan letters

April 29, 1965

Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth C. Klotzkin
90 Union Street
New Rochelle, New York

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Klotzkin:

We thank you for your recent letter and your interest in CORE's activities.

You say you agree with our aims, but not our methods. The philosophy behind our methods is the Ghandian principle of non-violence, used in direct action after exhaustive negotiations have failed to correct instances of discrimination.

You are, of course, quite right in pointing out that unemployment, poverty, poor education, etc. affect all Americans, not only black Americans. We recognize this fact, too, and realize that even if racial discrimination were miraculously eliminated tomorrow morning these problems would still plague us and would require far-reaching reforms.

Nonetheless, the Negro in America is discriminated against in every state of the Union in every conceivable area - employment, housing, public accommodations - and is daily subjected to indignities simply because of the color of his skin. This has been the plight of the Negro for the past 300 years.

Although much progress has been made in the direction of equality of opportunity for all Americans, no one can possibly deny that a very great deal remains to be done simply to allow the Negro to start from the same point as the white man. The white man may be just as poor as the Negro, or even poorer, but in America today that means that he has a head start.

We feel that in addition to working to eliminate discrimination (and working for economic reform too, for that matter), we must also press for a program which takes into consideration the need for remedial and compensatory action, which will help to make up for this situation that was caused by 300 years of segregation and discrimination.

We also agree that the way to "get rid of" Mayor Wagner is at the polls, and that is the way we intend to do it. But to defeat a candidate requires preparation as you suggest, educating the people. That is why we have begun our campaign now.

We appreciate your interest in and sympathy for the goals of the civil rights movement and hope that you will continue to be sufficiently interested to let us know how you feel about various issues. We hope also that in the future you might sympathize with CORE's program!

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

NM/mf

P.S. I have enclosed a copy of "ALL about CORE", "CORE Rules for Action" and "Calendar of Coercion" which may be of interest to you.

Wiley

APR 21 1965

Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth C. Klotzkin
90 Union Street
New Rochelle, New York

19 April 1965

Dear Members,

We have just listened to your reply to a CBS Television editorial.

While we agree with the aims of your demonstrations, we cannot agree or sympathise with your methods.

You want to 'get rid' of Mayor Wagner. So do we. But the way to get rid of him is at the polls in the next election (coming soon). Your efforts would be better directed toward educating people and enlisting their support to elect someone other than Wagner. You have got the vote, use it!!

You want better housing and educational facilities. So do we. But the same argument applies here.

We come now to what we consider a vital point — one which your organization overlooks and one which may possibly cause CORE to lose the support of many white citizens.

CORE and other 'civil rights' organizations emphasize:
better housing for Negroes
better education for Negroes
voting rights for Negroes
Job opportunities for Negroes.

What about these things for all people?

We want to see equality of opportunity for all people. If you say, "better housing for low-income families", we support you. But if you force [illegible] to make a choice [[illegible]] between 'better for Negroes' and 'better for Whites', we must chose 'better for Whites'. We're white!

You still have an opportunity to make it a 'CIVIL RIGHTS FOR ALL' movement.

We are interested in your reaction.

L. C. Klotzkin
M. P. Klotzkin

fan letters

April 29, 1965

Mrs. Zabelle Tourian
184 Hillside Ave.
Teaneck, N. J. 07666

Dear Mrs. Tourian:

Because of the crises of the past week, Mr. Farmer has been out of the office almost constantly and has not been able personally to keep up with his correspondence. He has asked me to let you know that he appreciated your letter of April 27th and the kind words you had to say about him and CORE.

Your feeling that the civil rights movement needs "positive acts of assistance", such as tutoring, is shared by us. We have CORE people working in this and similar fields in almost every state.

Again many thanks for writing.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

NM/mf

184 Hillside Ave.
Teaneck, N.J. 07666

April 27, 1965

Mr. James L. Farmer
National Director of Core
38 Park Row, New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I know your real self is wanting to be a great leader led by God.

You may be interested in the following facts.

I am of Armenian background This month we are commemorating the Armenian massacre of 50 years ago when over 1½ million Armenians lost their lives.

The Diocese of the Armenian Church of America planned a solemn mass, and a classic concert at Philharmonic Hall, N.Y.C. During these two events two clergymen and one professor spoke.

One Armenian had thought up the idea of having a march to the

U.N. He advertised it in the Armenian Community.

I wrote to him

"The public is "fed up with demonstrations and marches. This will, therefore, do more harm than good to the Armenian cause.

Besides, one theory is that some persons may be going into a march or demonstration in order to get into the limelight and counteract a feeling of insecurity or inferiority."

I feel that in the integration cause, too, much more good can now be done by positive acts of assistance such as finding volunteers to help students who are behind, to catch up with the class.

Confidentially I have sent $200 to Moral Re-Armament for one Harlem student to attend this summer's Conference on To-morrow's America at Mackinac Michigan. The 2,500 students who attended the Conference last summer from here and abroad were ennobled.

(2) " One Harlem pupil took to heart the M.R.A. principle that

"a better world begins with me."

When he went home, he returned the library books, told his teacher of the times he'd cheated, confessed to his parents about his unclean living and his resolution to follow the M.R.A. code of absolute honesty, purity, unselfishness, and love.

I met some of the students who had attended last summer's Conference. What an ennobling, enthusiastic group they were!

God's blessings upon you, your family, Core, M.R.A. and The Free World.

Very truly yours,

Zabelle Tourian

Conference on To-morrow's America
Moral Re-Armament
112 E. 40th St, N.Y., N.Y. 10016

Peter Howard,
leader of M.R.A.
passed away
recently

Peter Howard

LOS ANGELES MAYOR, NEW MEXICO INDIANS SEND MESSAGES

LONDON, March 2 - Among messages received by Mrs. Peter Howard from the United States is the following from the Mayor of Los Angeles:

> We in Los Angeles have learned with deep sorrow of the death of your husband. He has given so much to the cause of peace and tranquility in the world that his loss will be mourned by all men of good faith.
>
> His challenge to the youth of the world to live for home, homeland and humanity lives after him, an inspiration and a goal.
>
> Those of us who were privileged to know him share your loss and extend our heartfelt sympathy to you and your family.
>
> Sincerely,
> Samuel W. Yorty, Mayor of Los Angeles

*

A message has also come from Indian leaders of New Mexico who referred to Howard's visit to their pueblos last August:

> Thank God this great statesman took the time and effort to come and speak to us. He is the first man to unite the Indian people across America with a great purpose.
>
> He taught us to be more concerned with our fellow man than with ourselves. He brought a mirror into the Southwest so people could really look at themselves. He entered into our lives and showed us what mankind's purpose really is. Color or background are not the point.
>
> He challenged our youth where to go with their lives.
>
> Peter Howard died as he lived, working for the world in another country. He was involved in what would make or break humanity. His going means that people have to rise up and meet the challenge.

Signatures include:
Governor and Mrs. James Hena, Tesuque Pueblo
Lt. Governor and Mrs. James Singer, Santa Clara Pueblo
Mr. and Mrs. Preston Keevama, San Juan Pueblo
Mr. and Mrs. Herman Cata, San Juan Pueblo
Governor Abel Sanchez and family, San Ildefonso Pueblo
Ron Hopper, Ponca Tribe
Angelo John, Navajo Tribe
Brother Godfrey, St. Michael's High School, Arizona
Philip Martinez and family.

file -
fan letters
form p. card

910 Theriot Ave.
Bronx 10472 N.Y.
May 6,1965

5.00 check

MAY 17 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
The Congress of Racial Equality
38 ParkRowe
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir;

I wish to express my gratitude for the formation of the Brooklyn Freedom Democratic Party. In my opinion a Freedom Democratic Party is urgently needed in all cities as it is in Mississippi and should be fully supported by all Civil Rights Organizations,because such a party is greatly needed and long overdue.

If and when a National Civil Rights political PARTY is organized and fully supported it will be a significant factor in the political history of this country, because, for the first time, the Negro people will have a real choice and be truly represented by a National Freedom Democratic Party.

Since that day when in a Negro-owned hotel in Washington, D. C. A historic political deal was sealed, in the year 1877,that brought the reconstruction Era to an end and ushered in the Era of segregation. Democratic leaders at that conference agreed to end the dispute over the election of Rutherford B. Hayes, the Republican candidate, if Republican leaders would withdraw Federal troops form the South.

From that year on, I believe that as far as Negroes are concerned there has been and still is in existence a socalled two party system with only one difference that of the name, Republican and Democrat.

The Negro people have received the same treatment under the so-called two party system for a century. I think that the formation of a national Freedom Democratic political party will be the ultimate guarantee that the Negro people will receive the full benefits of the already existing laws and the voter registration law when it is enacted.

I notice that the Civil Rights organizations are being plagued with the question of Communist infiltration such a question should be put to rest once and for all times. Since the Negro people have been boycotted economically, politically and socially for a century, the reply to the question of communist infiltration should be that the Civil Rights organizations will accept aid from anyone of sound mind and who will work for the policy and program of the Civil Rights Organization.

According to an article in the Amsterdam News, April 24th,1965, by James Booker, the Democrats and Republicans launch a non-partisan political clinic to encourage young people into politics. George Fowler, Chairman of the state Commission for human rights, and President of the New York Negro Republican Assembly,disclosed that he and Assemblyman Percy H. Sutton are working out plans to establish a free clinic for all who wish to enroll.

Sir, I think that your office has better ways and means to commenicate to these gentlemen that as far as Negroes are concerned the Democrats and Republicans have been acting in a non-partisan way, politically, since that historic political deal was sealed in a Negro-owned hotel in Washington, D.C. In the year 1877.

I think that this so called Democratic and Republican non-partisan clinic is just another attempt to head off any effective National Freedom Democratic political Party that will grow out of the Civil Rights Revolution.

The racist beast was mortally wounded by the Selma-Montgomery March and therefore is utilizing any means and arguments to discredit and discourage all those who participate in the Civil Rights Revolution.
They are spreading vicious rumors that during the Selma-Montgomery march there were sex orgies. If such events took place which I doubt than they were carried on by paid enemies of the Civil Rights movement.

I believe there is a great need for a national educational campaign to inform the people that the Civil Rights struggle is being waged to liberate the Negro people from a century of semi-slavery and also help to free the white people of their myth of mental and racial superiority.

The proposed economic boycott by Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King should be fully utilized in this struggle and all those who have expressed reservation or objection to the boycott should restudy their history.

I would also recommend to these people to read Dr. W.E. B. DuBois' memorial issue in " Freedomways," the "Mississippi Closed Society" by James W. Silver and "Three Lives for Mississippi", by William B. Huie.

After reading the article "Battle of Public Opinion" in May 1,1965 issue of the Amsterdam News by the pitiful and pathetic Mr. Roy Wilkins, National Director of the N.A.A.C.P, I would especially recommend to him to read the above memtioned three books and I would also sugest to him that he perch himself upon the unsphere at the World's Fair and beg the visitors attending the Fair to become good friends of the Negro people and that the visitors appeal to the powers to be a little more kind to the twenty two million Negroes.

Also he urge that a Federal law be enacted requiring the states to pay a financial penalty a minimum sum of $500,000 for the loss of life and a minimum sum of a $100,000. for the destruction of people's property by racist acts.

Enclosed you will find a personal money order #C-M- M-629839 for the sum of $5.00 as a contribution.

Yours respectfully,

Mrs. Sonia Jones

fan letters

form p-card

Mr. James Farmer,
Congress of Racial Equality,
Washington, D.C.

May 7, 1965

MAY 12 1965

DEAR SIR:

I THINK YOU WOULD BE THE FIRST TO STATE THAT THE MASS DEMONSTRATIONS, LOUD PROTESTS AND TEARFUL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE NEGRO ORGANIZATIONS HAVE DONE MUCH TO CALL THE NATION'S ATTENTION TO THE NEGRO AND MAY EVEN DO HIM SOME GOOD.

I AM SURE YOU CAN VISUALIZE THE RESOUNDING THUNDER IN THE HALLS OF CONGRESS, CHURCHES, EXPRESSO PARLORS AND OPIUM DENS IF THREE WHITE YOUTHS ATTACKED AND MURDERED A YOUNG NEGRO BOY DOWN HERE WITHOUT PROVOCATION (SEE ENCLOSED NEWS ITEM FOR A REVERSAL OF THIS SITUATION). A DOZEN SENATORS, A HUNDRED REPRESENTATIVES, A THOUSAND CLERGYMEN AND A MILLION NEGROES WOULD SCREAM FOR A SUMMARY PUBLIC HANGING AND NEVER MIND THE DUE PROCESS OF THE LAW — WE JUST CAN'T WAIT AND KATZENBACH WOULD AGREE.

BUT — THE ONE THING THAT IS GOING TO RETARD THE NEGROES ACCEPTANCE MORE THAN ANY OTHER ARE YOUR YOUNG PEOPLE NOR CAN THEY BE EQUATED AND RATIONALIZED BECAUSE SOME WHITE YOUTHS DO THE SAME. THE DIFFERENCE IS THAT FOR 10-11 YEARS, THE YOUNG NEGROES HAVE BEEN TAUGHT THAT WHEN LAW AND ORDINANCE

INTERFERES WITH WHAT EVER THEY WANT TO DO IN THE SWEET NAME OF CIVIL RIGHTS, THEN THE LAW MAY BE JUSTIFIABLE BROKEN. THEIR ELDERS UNDOUBTED HAD IN MIND ONLY SUCH LAWS AS RELATES TO illegal PARADES, TRESPASS AND DISOBEDIENCE OF THE POLICE, BUT MANY OF THE KIDS DO NOT POSSESS THE MATURITY TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN THE "LITTLE" AND "BIG" LAWS. UNDER THE GUIDING LIGHT OF SUCH AS MALCOLM X, DICK GREGORY AND LOCAL Bully BOYS, THEY FEEL PERFECTLY JUSTIFIED IN GANGING UP ON A LONE WHITE BOY TO MURDER OR A LONE WHITE GIRL TO RAPE. IN SHORT, THE ELDERS HAVE OPENED A PANDORA BOX OF EVILS, OFTEN WITH THE TACIT APPROVAL OF THE ADMINISTRATION AND I KNOW OF NO, ABSOLUTELY NO, EFFORT BY THESE ELDERS, YOU, REV. KING, NAACP, DUBOIS CLUBS OR ANYONE TO RAISE A HAND TO STEM THE TIDE.

I would STRONGLY RECOMMEND THAT YOU AND OTHER LEADERS TAKE THE MOST DECISIVE STEPS TO CLEAN UP YOUR YOUTHFUL BACKYARD — JUST AS SOON AS YOU DISCOVER THAT FEW NEGROES ARE TRAINED TO FILL THE JOBS RECENTLY OPENED TO THEM AND AS FEW ARE PRESENTLY MOTIVATED TO SERIOUSLY BUCKLE DOWN AND LEARN THE HARD WAY; THAT YOU WILL HAVE ONLY LIMITED SUCCESS IN VOTER REGISTRATION ANY WHERE NO MATTER HOW LENIENT OR NON EXISTENT THE QUALIFICATIONS LAWS (OR LACK OF THEM) UNTIL THE NEGRO CLIMBS OUT OF HIS MIRE OF SELF-PITY, THAT ON ACCOUNT OF PAST INJUSTICES, THE WORLD OWES HIM A LIVING REGARDLESS OF HIS PERSONAL WORTH AND VALUE TO SOCIETY AND THAT LONG CONTINUANCE

OF HIS POLICY OF 'HATE THE WHITE MAN' WILL GET HIM ANYWHERE.

THERE ARE LITERALLY MILLIONS OF WHITE SOUTHERNERS WHO HAVE LONG OPPOSED SEGREGATION, OBEY THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT AND STAND READY TO ACCEPT THE NEGRO - IF AND WHEN!! THE WHITES HAVE A CODE OF CONDUCT AND MORAL RESPONSABILITY FROM WHICH HE CANNOT DEVIATE AND WHICH IS AT CONSIDERABLE VARIANCE WITH THE NEGRO. THE CHANGE - IF AND WHEN - WILL HAVE TO BE ON THE NEGRO'S PART, IF FOR NO OTHER REASON THAN HE IS OUTNUMBERED 10-1 NATIONALLY AND EVEN 4.5-1 IN THE SOUTH AND THE WHITE MAN POSSESSES THE MONEY AND THE ULTIMATE POWER.

!?

EXCEPT FOR THE LUNATIC FRINGE, EVERY WHITE SOUTHERNER REALIZES THE TREMENDOUS POTENTIAL OF TEN MILLION PRODUCTIVE, AMBITIONS, LAW-ABIDING, TAX-PAYING NEW FIRST CLASS CITIZENS. THE SOUTH DESPERATELY NEEDS THESE PEOPLE BUT THEY CANNOT BE MANUFACTURED BY FEDERAL LAW, PRESIDENTIAL PROCLAMATIONS OR JUDICIAL ORDER. IT MUST BE BASED UPON HUMAN MUTUAL RESPECT, AND TO DATE, I HAVE NEVER HEARD A NATIONAL NEGRO LEADER SERIOUSLY CONDEMN ANY NEGRO FOR ANY CRIME OR MAKE ANY ATTEMPT TO LEAD THEM IN ANY MANNER OTHER THAN THOSE WHICH WILL PERMANENTLY ALIENATE THEM FROM THE WHITE MAN.

Sincerely,

William C. Frost

William C. FROST

CHARLESTON, S.C.

REX WIGGINS • PHYSICIAN-ANALYST • MONTREAL, 28 CANADA

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misc.
fan letters

MAY 17 1965

4476 Madison Avenue,
May 11, 1965.

Esteemed Sir:

Full gratitude for your thoughtful and encouraging letter of April 15 in response to the positive modern moral Guides.

May I be privileged to give them to you for your people, in your most laudable and just cause.

I would like to give you my personal analysis of your people. Having practised Medicine in three southern States, I came into intimate contact with thousands of them. Of all groups of people, I believe them to be the most spiritually minded, the happiest and the most understanding. Their understanding comes from their suffering under the constant discrimination against them. This is part of God's justice.

In highest esteem of your unusual merit,

Rex Wiggins

Rex Wiggins, M.D.

James Farmer, Esquire,
C O R E.

fan letters

form p.card

MAY 1 7 [illegible]

300 Coolidge Ave
Englewood N. J. 07631
May 12th 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row.,
New York, N. Y. 10038

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am enclosing herewith a letter in which I recently received from the "Reverend. Ivan Backer" Honoray Chairman via"CORE" in the interest of "Congress of Race Equality" Sponsons of'CORE-Louisiana-Project via National Organization with affiliated Local Group Working in the Bergen County Chapter, of Englewood New Jersey.

It is noted however, that there are (39) CLERGY in this line-up that are represented in this letter sponsors to this project which is incidentally are in the State of Louisiana. I agree that the State of Louisiana is no better in their treetment to the Negro than any other Sourthern State, and they have did this injustice for One-Hundred-years or more, however, our fight now is in Alabamer and Mississippi, for the Negro'Equal-Rights"to have the right to'VOTE' as other American's.

The (3) person's that was murdered as stated in this letter was committed in the State of **ALABAMA not**-LOUISIANA. My question now is "WHY-LOUISIANA?

And too, it have been notice that in this letter, there is not a single Negro-Clergy Name made mention in the (39) names therein stated. Why not The Negro-Minister's in Bergen-County a chance to stand-up and be counted along with the White-Clergy's? Remember, **these**--**demonstration** by and for the Negro-have gone arround the World.

And too, I have a problum right here in the State of New Jersey, my own State' where a certain Insurance Company have refused to pay its Hospitalization-Coverage or the Doctor's Fee's. It stand to reason for it can come under the "Civil-Right-Law, if tested to that effect.

We will be pleased to hear from you, and are grateful for your reply.

Req:

Sincerely yours,

A U Terrell

A. U. Terrell

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE
BERGEN COUNTY CHAPTER -35 HUMPHREY ST., ENGLEWOOD, N.J. LO 8-9579

Recd May-11-1965

Dear Friend:

We know that you, as all of us, were shocked and horrified at the recent murders in Selma, Alabama. Events in another Southern community, Bogalusa, Louisiana, are now leading to yet another Selma. The time for all of us to act is now--before more tragedies occur. People must be made aware of the conditions in Louisiana now, before reason will no longer prevail--before hatred and violence rule men's actions.

What is the reality of the name Bogalusa, Louisiana? It is a town of 25,000 just across the state line from Mississippi. Negroes comprise 35% of the population. The sole industry consists of three large mills, which although unionized, have separate unions for white and Negro. It is estimated that Bogalusa has the largest per capita concentration of Klu Klux Klan members of any community in the South. Segregation exists in restaurants, theaters, libraries, hospitals, schools--in short, in all public accommodations and facilities. Hand in hand with this, is severe abridgement of Negro voting rights.

On Saturday, 22 May, Bergen County CORE is sponsoring a rally to memorialize those civil rights workers--the Reverend James Reeb, Mrs. Viola Liuzzo and Jimmie Lee Jackson--who died in the violence and hatred of Selma. We are asking all people of good will, the reasonable people of Bergen County, to unite against bigotry. To unite and to show Selma, to show Bogalusa, to show communities wherever racial intolerance festers, that we will not stand silent.

The rally will be held at the Central Unitarian Church, 156 Forest Avenue, Paramus, N.J., Saturday May 22, at 8:00PM. Speakers will discuss the conditions in Louisiana, what is being done, and what is to be done. Funds will be raised to support the CORE Louisiana Project.

We are looking to you, as an active, responsible member of the community, for support. A cause is only as good as the support it receives. We seek your aid, your support in the struggle for civil rights.

Very truly yours,

Ivan Backer
Reverend Ivan Backer
Honorary Chairman

CORE LOUISIANA PROJECT
Partial list of Sponsors:

CLERGY

Rev. Ellis Gibson,.Park Ridge
Rev. W.J. Powell,..Ridgewood
Rev. R.H. Roberts,.Rgfld Park
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Rev. Robert I. Miller,.Englwd
Rev. Vernon Dethmers,.HrgtnPk
Rev. Harold E.Van Oort,..Tnck
Rev. Lee L. Kestor,Pastor.Orad
Rev. F.A. Heinen,.....Westwood
Rev. B. Lickteig,O.Carm.,Engwd
Rev. James T. McHugh,.Fort Lee
Rev. James F. McGill..Tenafly
Clerk Alfred Sitwell..Rdgwood
Rev. George Howard,...Paramus
Rev. Harold Shelly,...Paramus
Rev. Kenneth Patton...Rdgwood

N.A.A.C.P.........Bergen County
Fair Housing Council.Bergen County

P.S. Please make all checks payable to:
CORE Louisiana Project

39

form postcard - fan letters

May 12, 1965

Mr James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

MAY 14 1965

Dear Sir:

This past Sunday an incident happened here in Wichita I believe should be reported to National Core because it is a situation which is occuring in many American Cities It amounted to police brutality. In this particular case it was mental brutality.

Several weeks ago I took a young negro girl to Mass with me and then to dinner, on Mothers Day she requested to return the gesture. This touched me very deeply but patrolmen of the Wichita Police Force ruined her joy. While we were eating one patrol car after another kept circling the restaurant then finally the paddy wagon. She got so scared she wanted to leave half-way through her dinner and I told her not to let them bluff her that this was a free country and the police department was not going to decide who our friends are to be. I also told her not to be afraid that they had practiced the same tactics on me for several years now and that if we put our trust in God, He will take care of us.

I repeat what I have said before Wichita needs a "Core Chapter". Last Sunday night when we were minding our own business obeying the laws these patrolmen made it their business to try to scare that poor girl while this week the police tell parents and teachers that they have more important things to do than to baby sit with teenagers who gather in riot form fashion to settle their arguements of the day with fighting behind a Church near the school. They haven't time to stop fights and rioting by teenagers but they do have time to aggitate and promote racial hatred. To me this was another Selma for they openly were showing us by their actions they were defying us for having an integrated dinner. The restaurant was very cordial as it has always been in the past. The police officers are the instigators of trouble and they are suppose to be preventing it. This same situation occured on the Washington March. I and one of the male marchers went to the lunch counter in Union Station to eat lunch. We had not even ordered and four M.P. of The United States army sat down across from us and stared. We were aware of the situation as was another fellow in the lobby. He came in and sat down on the other side of me. In the credo of non violence we left separately. I to a Church to pray because I do not believe it is our next door neighbors or the common Joes who are keeping this hatred alive but people in authority. I have been a victim of hatred, to many times for me to believe otherwise. The week before Easter I was put into the same position as Mrs Luizo when she was killed but with God as my partner I walked on fearless. I had been off work due to an accident when I returned I was told I had to go to health school and that I would take off work in morning and go with two negro boys and a negro girl. I knew it was a set up and I was scared but could not say no I will go in the afternoon when I get off work because I did not want to hurt these people I was to go with. There were three classes Monday, Wednesday and Friday. On Tuesday an Alabama car passed me when I was returning from mass On Wednesday in the same block two cars from Alabama one displaying the confederate flag. On Easter Sunday I saw an officer of The United States airforce getting into the drivers side of the car displaying the confederate flag. In February I received a thankyou note from President Johnson and Lady Bird for a Christmas Card. I received this note two days after I had sent clippings of the investigation of a plane crash which killed 30 persons and destroyed a whole block of negro homes. Most if not all the investigators were from socially torn states. On the Card I received from the President was printed these words on the envelope Missent To McConnell Airforce Base. There was nothing crossed out nor anything else on the envelope but my correct address. McConnell was the home base of the plane that crashed

Even before I joined "Core" in Dayton O. I was active in Civil Rights and I shall continue to be in union with Our Lord and Savior who created all of us equal. I have requested that my mother send my birthday gift to Billy Graham in memory of the wishes of

The late President Kennedy begging that not only Billy Graham but every Christian pray to God that he will send the Holy Spirit upon this nation. We have tried human efforts and now it is time, for past the time to beg God for his powerful intercession Kennedy's Birthday was May 29th and Mine was the 28th God still answers the prayers of those who give up their own wills and put their complete trust in Him.

I have also written the Immaculate Heart Crusade asking for their prayers. God is everything to us if we but let him. We all know that President Kennedy's wishes were equality for all negroes.

Sincerely
Mrs Joyce Davis
General Delivery
Wichita, Kansas

P.S. I neglected to mention Police Chief Ponds went on an indefinite sick leave this week due to weight loss. He is resting at home.

file

form p. card

MAY 20 1965

fan letters

900 So. Massachusetts Ave., DeLand, Fla.
May 18, 1965.

James Farmer,
c/o Core, 38 Park Row,
New York, N.Y. 10038

Dear Mr. Farmer:

As an octogenarian and a political refugee from the tyranny of Tsardom since 1903, I continue to be a student of a continuous revolutionary action against the formation of the vested previleged interests forming in all countries, demanding a shakeup in about every hundred years. In this country it is due now after the last shakeup of the Civil War, a hundred yaers ago.

That the racial problem now gives the impetus, plays a minor role, until the world has learned the moral science to its proper hight of which Benjamin Franklin complained. The time has now arrived when the shakeup comes in the form of a worldwide social revolution. That our liberal press fails to ~~be~~ accept this basic fact is no excuse for the leaders of the oppressed negroes to have learned their lesson and solve their problem in the manner it affects the white prople too.

Instead of falling into the path of our country's capitalist counter-revolutionary way, these leaders should have learned that money never has solved social adjustments that rely on the determination of the peole's will, and natural resources. The tragedy consists in the fact that the negroes of this country have become contaminated with the bankrupt Judeo-Christian covilization, the most warlike and aggressive the world ever saw.

As geographer and diligent student of history, I find right now the China liberation has become the central controvercial point. While all western civilized countries have come under the influence of the collectivist theory of Marxism, enhanced by the ~~the~~ industrial revolution with its factory-slaves, in China a higher moral order found a revival and a renaissance of western learning that is doing away with the abuses of modern science and technology that has brought about the decline and downfall of western civilization that has endangered the survival of the human race.

For mere survival reasons the oldest and wisest Chinese peole reverted to the primeval commune, or communalism that is the antithesis and antidote to communism, going now in China under the misnomer of communism, The present-day communists forget that Karl Marx himself looked forward to the whithering away of the State that is taking place in China, where only two thousand idle lawyers supervise a nation of 700 million people living in autonomic communes that, according to Mao-Tsetung, are the basic unit of society.

I claim that the negroes of this country could well initiate these communes on an agrarian basis, learning their lesson from the Chinese revolution, a thing taking place all over the world where the modern capitalist system has been found wanting. This is in line with the demands of the highest cultural pattern that demands man's builing a higher character by learning to provide for his food and shelter at the bosom of mother earth. In China, as well as in the somewhat defaulted Russia, all people, to a certain age, are to spend each year a month as agricutural laborers - in the intensive cultivation field- to their physical and moral buildup lost away from the mode of living that developed man in all its faculties.

Sincerely,

Frederick Kraemer.

Inmate Dies After Fight In City Jail

A scuffle in a City Jail cell early Saturday morning resulted in the death of one of the participants.

Otis Pelton, 328 N. Waco, died at St. Francis Hospital at 4:45 p.m. Saturday.

An autopsy Sunday morning revealed Pelton's death was due to hemorrhaging caused by a small broken bone in his neck.

PELTON was arrested early Saturday morning on drunk charges, his 120th arrest since 1939 on similar charges, and booked into City Jail.

He was placed in a cell, but created a disturbance with the man already there and was moved to another cell containing Hayes Jordon, 40, of 524 Wabash, authorities said.

Jordon, arrested Thursday night on drunk charges, had been transferred to a cell by himself after a fight with other prisoners the night he was booked.

JORDON and Pelton had been in the cell about 20 minutes when it was decided by the desk sergeant that Jordon should be moved to another cell.

When the turnkey opened the cell door to make the change, he saw Pelton — lying on the floor. Pelton told the turnkey Jordon had been choking him.

In an appearance in Police Court later that morning Pelton was sentenced to 30 days on the City Prison Farm.

Capt. Paul Lunsford, farm superintendent, noticed when Pelton arrived at the farm he was not looking well and sent him to St. Francis Hospital. At the hospital Pelton was examined Sunday by police physician

Inmate Dies After Fight

(Continued from Page 1)

Dr. Clyde Miller, but died a few minutes later, police said.

JORDON, who admitted fighting and choking Pelton, declined to say what the two men had been arguing about, according to Detective Capt. Floyd Hannon.

Pelton was born in Sharon, Kan., and came to Wichita in 1925.

Survivors include a sister, Mrs. Clara Christianson, San Bernadino, Calif.

Services were pending Sunday night at Schaeffer Funeral Home, Caldwell. Lahey Mortuary has charge locally.

file - fan letters

May 24, 1965

Mr James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038

MAY 27 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer,

Again I wish to bring to your attention an injustice which took place in Wichita. Scene of this Wichita City jail.

This clipping does not give all the facts. It says Jordon declined to say what the two men were fighting about. This is an untruth. It was an argument over race. Now I have a few questions (1.) Why was this man lying on the floor taken to court and not to hospital. (2.) If the farm superintendent could see this prisoner was ill when he arrived so ill he sent him to the hospital why did not the police take him there? They also neglected to say that the victim was in his seventies.

I discussed this quite fully publicly today and tonight on the way home from Mass I again encountered the Alabama Car displaying the Confederate Flag. While I was engrossed with the sight of it again the driver a ~~United States~~ Airforce officer jaywalked across the street and came face to face with me. For three blocks farther down I was literally surrounded by local police first a patrol car, then a police station wagon, a paddy wagon, two more patrol cars, the paddy wagon again. This continued until I arrived at the hotel and there were witnesses.

The January plane crash which killed 30 people in a negro residential area was an accident??? I might be able to believe it was if. I had not received the Card from President Johnson which for no reason at all was carrying this message on envelope MISSENT TO McCONNELL AIRFORCE BASE I received this thankyou note for a Christmas Card in February two days after I sent clippings of the investigation through the mail.

This is not the first time Alabama car with Confederat flag has been used in an attempt to scare me The week before Easter when I was put in the

same position as Mrs Luizzo by employer and City Health Department. Several Alabama cars were used in an attempt to scare me off. The City Health Department is still holding my Health Card up for no medical reason. All others who attend the same class received their cards within in a week after school. We as private Citizens cannot break the law by not getting a Health Card but The Health Department can break the law and refuse to issue said card after I have complied with all regulations.

Sincerely
Mrs Joyce Davis
General Delivery
Wichita, Kansas

P.S. I wish to thank you for acknowledging my last letter as the Card from President Johnson is positive proof someone is meddling with my mail.

Airman Shot By Detective Still Critical

A 24-year-old McConnell Air Force Base airman who was shot early Thursday morning by a police detective remained in critical condition in St. Francis Hospital's intensive care unit Friday night.

Airman 2.C. Cary B. Holsenbeck, 5020 E. Funston, was charged with three counts of burglary, one count of rape, and one count of attempted rape in a state warrant issued by Deputy County Atty. Paul Dugan Friday morning.

HOLSENBECK WAS wounded by one of two shots fired by Detective Floyd Williamson, assigned on a "stakeout" of a south Wichita apartment where two women occupants had been attacked two separate nights earlier in the week.

Williamson said the airman attempted to flee after breaking through a window in the apartment.

The officer said he identified himself twice, then fired two shots, the first striking a chair by the window.

file
fan letters

May 26, 1965

MAY 28 1965

James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038

Dear Mr. Farmer,

Although this is not a racial issue it does involve an airforce man and shows the brutably of The Police.

This man allegehedly enter the appartment occupied by two girls several times. The first time on Monday the younger one 19-years old supposedly was alone and was choked and raped by this so-called prowler. The second time he returned he was suppose to have attempted the same on the older girl and because she screamed so loud he according to police department called her and said he would return to kill her.

A plant was put in the appartment - Two detectives so the story went. In the next attempt to enter he supposedly cut a screen and came through window. Detectives supposedly made themselves known and he supposedly attempted to flee through the window. He was shot with the intent to kill. The bullet hit him in the back in his spine. He was found lying on the ground outside the window and taken to a local hospital St. Francis.

On the testimony of two barmaids the police shot a man in the back. A few questions (1.) Why was this Airforce man not taken to McConnell Airbase Hospital? (2.) How did he know the telephone number of this appartment if he was a true prowler he would not even have known the girls names. Why is the police permitted to shot a man in the back on circumstantial evidence? Police in this case become judge and jury.

Sincerely
Mrs Joyce Davis
General Delivery
Wichita, Kansas

fan letters

May 27, 1965

Mr. Robert W. Smith
Department of English-Speech
Alma College
Alma, Michigan

Dear Mr. Smith:

I have your letter of May 25th and am afraid that the very premise on which you base your letter is unfounded. At no time has CORE, or to the best of my knowledge any other civil rights organization, urged that unqualified persons be hired for positions requiring verying degrees of skill.

What CORE has insisted upon, however, (for example in Niagara-Mohawk project in upper New York State) has been the elimination of artificially high standards for positions not requiring such standards. We have observed too often that such artificially high standards are designed to perpetuate past practices of discrimination. Under the pretext of non-discriminatory hiring, artificial standards not required for the job are often instituted in order to prevent Negroes and Puerto Ricans, who have previously been discriminated against in their education and employment opportunities, from obtaining employment.

In addition we insist upon, wherever possible, companies instituting on-the-job training programs to assist Negroes and Puerto Ricans in fulfilling reasonable, minimum standards required for the job. We also try to persuade companies to institute training programs for Negroes and Puerto Ricans in order to meet reasonable standards for first employment in the company. We hope by these various means to eliminate gradually the effects of discriminatory education and employment practices.

I trust that this answers your inquiry.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:nm

ALMA COLLEGE ALMA, MICHIGAN

MAY 27 1965

May 25, 1965

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer,

I write in response to what I fear is a turn for the worse in racial relations, a turn which CORE and other groups have fostered and continue to encourage. I refer to their insistence on companies, businesses employing Negroes unqualified for the job. I first learned of it some months ago with, I believe, the Motorola Company in Chicago. Since then several other instances have come to mind as well. Isn t the insistence that standards were lowered especially for Negroes (when whites can't even qualify at the same level) discrimination in reverse? Won't it accomplish less for the cause of Negroes to put institutions under such pressure? It would appear to me the same kind of situation when the father (nepotically) appoints his son to a position quite apart from the standards the position demands. Commonly we deplore such instances, and rightly.

Wouldn't the cause of the Negro be better served if he insists that when he has the same qualifications that he be indiscriminately hired or allowed use of facilities? Sense of fair play dictates this in our culture. I hope that some new thinking will go into this situation.

Sincerely,

Robert W. Smith

Robert W. Smith
Department of English-Speech

fan letters

MAY 11 1965

postcard ack. 5/27

142-31 120th Avenue
South Ozone Park, N.Y. 11436

Mr. James Farmer
Director of CORE

Dear Sir:

In reference to your article in the May 1, 1965 issue of the New York Amsterdam News about Police brutality and about them carrying Guns off-duty. You don't seem to realize that there are more Negroes that carry weapons at all times than there are Policemen: self preservation is the first law of nature.

I am a Negro Mother of two Law Officers in New York, where we were all born and we know our People. We know the good and the bad. If it was left to you, this City would be worse than it is. Anytime that people don't have any fears of punishment for wrong doings, they run rampant. I know because I raised one daughter, a nurse, and four sons that are highly repected by everyone that knows them. I raised them with love and a strong hand, if it was needed, and they love me for it.

To tell the truth, I really blame you for a lot of the hostilities that exist in this City, because I believe you are an Agitator. You can't hold a Candle as a leader to Dr. King or Mr. Roy Wilkins. Their method of leadership is more respectful and he instills good-will in all peoples. Wherein you seem to be instilling hate and hostilities in the young people who are easily led.

If people don't respect themselves, they can't expect others to respect them. One of the main things I cant understand about you and a lot of people like you is that you claim White People are against your people, still in all, you are the very people that marry White People. So you love and hate them in the same breath.

I hope your leadership is not run just for the financial gains you can get, and eventually will be brought to light.

I have fourteen grandchildren that I want to live in this City of their birth, without your bad influence. I don't want them to hate any one or to hold themselves back with an inferiority complex. The older ones all have good jobs in the government and with the Airlines. They were accepted for their ability and educations. They applied for the jobs and took the required tests, passed them and was accepted for the jobs, and thats the way it should be. If you are not qualified, you should get the education needed and God knows that this City is full of day and night schools.

I know as I went back to night school after I had four children and got a trade that payed me top salary.

Take a good look at yourself as Mr. Malcolm X finally did and try to remedy the wrong you have created. I am sure your intentions were good when you started, but they really have gotten out of hand, for which I am sure you didn't intend for them to do.

You know that Rev. Galamison now realizes a lot of mistakes he made, in encouraging children to play truant from school. That was all most of those kids wanted,to get some grown up to give them a good reason to do wrong. Believe me I'm all for improvements in ways of life, but there is a right way and a wrong way. But don't believe in unlawfulness for any effort. Intelligent people know how to conduct themselves under any condition, but you know as well as I do that two thirds of the people that you are dealing with are illiterate from way back in their families. They have no decent home life and are angry at the world , inggeneral including you and me, who are their own people. You should encourage them to be better citizens and learn to reppect their fellow man.

Very truly yours,

Mrs. Dorothy Shepperson
142-31 120th Avenue
So. Ozone Park, N.Y. 11436

for letters

May 27, 1965

Mr. Jerome C. Berger
424 Albany Avenue
Brooklyn 13, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Berger:

Your letter of May 23 addressed to Mr. Farmer has been referred to me in Mr. Farmer's absence. First I want to thank you very much for your contribution to CORE which was enclosed with your letter. We are also glad that you took the time to write to us regarding the incident in Brooklyn.

You certainly are correct that remarks such as the one you quoted reflect poorly on CORE. We do try to instruct all CORE members and all those participating in demonstrations on CORE Rules for Action and appropriate conduct. Nevertheless, occasionally such incidents occur.

Again, many thanks for your dedication and support. It is only with the help of friends like you that we are able to continue our struggle for equality of opportunity for all.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Nutarelli
Administrative Department

NN:mkr

4.00

JEROME C. BERGER
424 ALBANY AVENUE
BROOKLYN 13, NEW YORK

MAY 25 1965

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 7, New York

5/23/65

Dear Mr. Farmer,

Enclosed is a small contribution towards your relentless work of bringing equality to all men.

Permit me to also share with you the following account of a recent incident

On Saturday, May 22nd, representatives of the Brooklyn and Long Island CORE picketed in front of the home of a Mr. Leon Spitz which is in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn. They protested the slum conditions of property that he owns.

After some discussion with neighbors and the police, the leaders of the picket recognized that in timing the picket, they should have taken into consideration that on Saturday afternoon, in this neighborhood, many people sleep or learn with their children. In a way it was as if the picketing was being held at 3 o'clock in the morning.

In the process of leaving some of the pickets referred to the inconvenience the timing of the picket

JEROME C. BERGER
424 ALBANY AVENUE
BROOKLYN 13, NEW YORK

imposed, in an apologetic manner, and I believe this enhanced the stature of CORE. It is the statement of one white picket which I want to bring to your attention.

When the group was leaving, he said to the small crowd which gathered and which consisted mostly of young Jewish children,

"Now you can all go back to your money."

It is my own feeling that people who make such sweeping statements are no credit to your organization and their participation in Civil Rights only intensifies the problem and harms the cause of progressive liberalism. It is therefore essential that vigorous efforts continue, to weed out those small numbers of individuals who wrap themselves in a noble cause to warm and nurture their own emotional deficiencies.

Sincerely yours

Jerome Berger

file - fan letters

May 28, 1965

JUN 1 1965

Mr. James Farmer
Congress on Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am frankly appalled by the tactics of your organization. Moreover, as a Negro, I am deeply ashamed and embarrassed, so much so that I categorically refuse to be aligned in any fashion with such a group.

The most recent source of my profound irritation is your current dispute with the Niagara Power and Light Co. in Upper New York State. If their contentions as stated on television are correct (i.e., refusal to drop their requirement of a high school diploma for employment, refusal to open their employment records to your organization, refusal to establish a "quota" of Negro employees), I am in complete accord with the company's position. Your request for such servility is either a demonstration of incomprehensible stupidity or a calculated stipulation (impossible of achievement) designed to placate the more militant and patently more ignorant of your "clan."

I repeat, I am a Negro - 34 years of age, married, mother of four children, presently secretary to the Medical Director of one of the branch ethical pharmaceutical divisions of an internationally known drug firm. In my entire twelve years of working experience, I have never found a job through one of the Negro-oriented organizations, placement agencies, etc. I have never lacked for employment when I wanted, at the salary I wanted, for one very simple reason - I am qualified for the positions I seek. The presumption of organizations such as yours in demanding unearned and undeserved benefits is what will probably result in more violent resolution of the present conflict than need be.

If your organization spent more of its time and money in crash programs to educate trainable Negroes, then attempted to obtain employment in all-white firms, your protestations of discrimination would have some justice and more than likely win wider support. (I suspect it has never crossed your mind that a highly reputable firm in insisting on certain qualifications from its personnel seeks merely to perpetuate the fine standards on which it has built a successful operation.) If a qualified Negro applicant is not hired for a particular position on a first-come-first served basis, then shout, "Discrimination!" If your goals are at all realistic this should be the ultimate Utopia you seek.

As far as your present practices and method of operation are concerned, you can forget it. I'd fight you myself!

Sincerely,

Joan E. Jones

/jj

(Mrs.) Joan E. Jones
1141 East 221 Street
Bronx, New York 10469

P.S.: Don't bother to reply. I know you won't anyway!

fan letters

BENJAMIN SCHULMAN
640 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

JUN 3 1965

June 2, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Recently, in two separate instances, policemen were threatened and assaulted by Negro mobs while attempting to arrest Negroes observed in the commission of a crime. In one case, the policeman's club was taken from him and he was struck down and injured while a citizen coming to his aid was stabbed in the back. In the other case, two private public-housing policemen came to the aid of the patrolman and saved him from similar treatment.

Without wishing to over-dramatize the situation, this would seem to be more than a small step toward a condition of anarchy.

As a Negro leader who has so vehemently charged the police with brutality you were, I believe, under a duty to publicly condemn these unlawful and brutal assaults upon police officers. It is a source of regret that you did not do so.

Sincerely yours,

BS:K

June 14, 1965

Mr. Benjamin Schulman
640 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Of course I deplore any unprovoked attack on policemen in regard to the two matters refered to in your letter of June 2, I may note that it was the opinion of the Police Department, as reported in the New York Times, that these attacks did not involve racial matters. To impute to them such a connotation I believe would be incorrect.

Yours truly,

James Farmer
National Director

fan letters

June 3, 1965

Mrs. Ethel Parsons
Bethel Methodist Home
Ossining, New York 10562

Dear Mrs. Parsons:

We want you to know how very much we appreciate the interest you expressed in the work we are doing here at CORE. Your moral support and your prayers are indeed valuable.

When you support your church and help your grandchildren through college, you are indirectly supporting the goal toward which we are all striving - freedom and equal opportunity for all.

Our best wishes to you and sincere thanks for your interest.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

NM:abr

Ack

MAY 24 1965

MRS. ETHEL PARSONS
BETHEL METHODIST HOME
OSSINING, NEW YORK 10562

May 20/65

Dear Friends:

I want you to know that I am very much concerned about your work and your needs are very great, I know. However, I am sorry to have to say that the time has now come when I shall have to confine my giving to my own church and my grand children who have reached college years and it is now my first oblegation to help them all I can.

Also I am now a few

months past 88 and am almost blind. Cannot read now any of your communications except with a magnifier and even then with difficulty.

Hope more and more people will soon take the places of those of us who must fall out.

My prayers will still be with you.

Very sincerely

Ethel F. Parsons

JUN 17 1965

File ~~[illegible]~~ fan letters

P.S. 125 Man.
425 W. 123 St.
N.Y.C., N.Y.
June 15, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
C.O.R.E.
38 Park Place
N.Y.C., N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer,

We are sending you a copy of our yearbook for 1965. In this yearbook you find stories about the Atlas Dept. Store and C.O.C.R. We are especially writing to you because you gave us encouragement and help.

Very truly yours,
Diana Hernández

File - fan letters

MRS. PAUL FELDENHEIMER
4125 S. W. BERTHA AVENUE, PORTLAND, OREGON 97201

JUN 17 1965

Mr. James Farmer,
Core Headquarters,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer,

As a longtime supporter and sympathizer of Core, I must tell you how grateful I was for your magnificent gesture in calling off the Chicago demonstrations the day of the astronauts' welcome there. The resentment that would have caused would have far outweighed the value of its publicity. Now your well-wishers can point with pride to your restraint.

With every good wish for your success, I am

Very truly yours,

Edith Feldenheimer.

June 14th

fan letters

June 29, 1965

Mr. E. Washington Rhodes
The Philadelphia Tribune
520 South Sixteenth St.
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19146

Dear Mr. Rhodes:

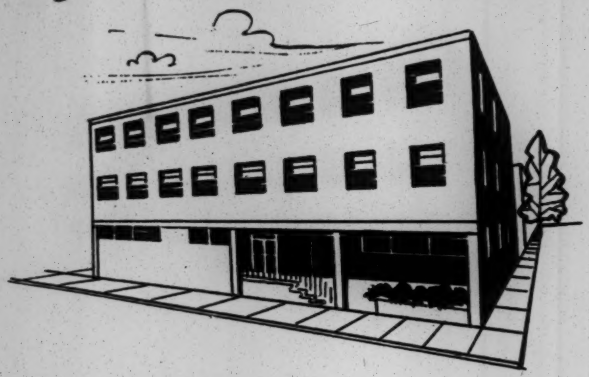
Thank you very much for your kind remarks concerning my speech at the National News and Publishers Convention in Louisville.

You are, of course, right that without equality freedom has little meaning.

Very truly yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF/rwb



The Philadelphia Tribune
The Constructive Newspaper
520 SOUTH SIXTEENTH STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19146
Kingsley 6-1005

Published Twice a Week

JUN 24 [illegible]

Mr. James Farmer
C.O.R.E.
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

The address you made at the National Newspaper Publishers Association Convention in Louisville was the best I have ever heard. I am not speaking of the oratory, but the meat and substance of the speech.

Too many of our leaders do not understand that freedom without equality to participate in all phases of American life is of little value.

With high personal esteem,

Sincerely,

E. Washington Rhodes

ewr/b

make card for VaF

★ AMERICA'S OLDEST NEGRO NEWSPAPER ★

fan letters

July 1, 1965

Miss Beverly Larson
Ernest, Pennsylvania

Dear Miss Larson:

Thank you for your good letter of June 24th and the kind words you had to say about my participation in the radio program "Contact".

It is always good to hear from friends and supporters of our work in the struggle for civil rights. All of us at CORE very much appreciate your interest and your taking the time to write.

If you are interested in learning more about CORE's activities in your area, I suggest you contact:

Mr. Nicholas Flournoy
Chairman, Pittsburgh CORE
2132 Centre Avenue
Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania

I have enclosed some literature on CORE that might be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:nm
Enclosures

JUN 28 1965

Beverly Larson
Ernest, Pa.
June 24, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director of CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

This evening as I listened to Contact, on the Pittsburgh radio, I was very impressed with your talk. As you say, Negro people must keep the pressure up, and though I am not a Negro, I will certainly stand behind them if they need me.

My opinion is that people who call themselves Christians, but consider Negroes to be of a lower class, are Hypocrites, because it is stated in the Bible by God Himself that all men, whether red, yellow, black, or white, are **EQUAL** and should be treated as equal.

I don't see how anyone can say they believe in God and still be down on the Negroes. Maybe I am wrong. I'm not an intelligent person. Just an 18 year-old girl who believes that Negroes should be given a break.

I have many Negro friends, and I don't consider myself superior to any of them. If I did, they wouldn't be my friends.

In closing I would like to say that you must be very proud to be considered a leader of your people, and I sincerely hope that some day your people and mine can live together in a world of peace.

Very sincerely yours,

Beverly Larson

short note -
mention nearest Chap
enclose Core material

Fan Letters

July 2, 1965

Mr. Duane M. Belcher
Bakersfield College
Bakersfield, California 93305

Dear Mr. Belcher:

I am in receipt of your letter of June 18th, in which you take us to task for our support of the Deacons for Defense and Justice in Louisiana. I think it most important for you to know that we did not, in fact, found, help to found, incorporate, or even advise the Deacons. They sprang quite naturally from the alarmed Negro communities in rural Louisiana in response to the recent homicidal frenzy of the Ku Klux Klan. I deeply believe that CORE must remain a non-violent organization. However, it is essential for us to function with the people of the Negro community. The kind of people who feel they must arm themselves to protect their homes and lives cannot be excluded.

I think that anyone taking a hard look at the historical environment of the American Negro must judge that violence is standing in the wings. If violence does explode, I would much prefer to see it happen within a strong defensive discipline, such as is the case of the Deacons, than in an insanity of rioting.

CORE, I assure you, is not going to change its philosophy fundamentally, but I can also assure you that CORE will continue to respect the views of many sectors of the Negro community outside of our structure. I would be deeply distressed if you felt that you could no longer support CORE because of this commitment.

I hope this does something to explain our very tenuous and difficult situation in regard to the Deacons.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:mm

Wiley

June 18, 1965

JUN 24 1965

Dear Sirs.

I have supported CORE in the past and am presently active in Civil Rights work. I served for a time on the executive Board of Bakersfield CORE (Legislative Action). The recent support for the Deacons in Louisiana, however, leaves me deeply shocked. Only through the principles of non-violence can we win. Turn CORE back from folly – before it is too late.

And count me out as long as CORE continues to support the Deacons.

Sincerely yours.

Duane M. Belcher

DUANE M. BELCHER
BAKERSFIELD COLLEGE
BAKERSFIELD, CALIF. 93305

fan letters

July 2, 1965

Mr. Stanley C. Marshall
Vice President
Lando, Inc.
725 Liberty Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15222

Dear Mr. Marshall:

I am always interested in listeners' reactions, but it is especially gratifying to receive letters indicating such a positive reaction.

I very much appreciate your kind words and your taking the time to write.

Sincerely yours,

~~Stanley C. Marshall~~
James Farmer

JUL 2 1965

Lando, Inc. *advertising · marketing · public relations*

725 LIBERTY AVE., PITTSBURGH, PA. 15222 • 281-5887 AREA CODE 412

June 28, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
President
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Mr. Farmer,

I thought you'd be interested in a reaction from a listener to your KDKA program with Mike Levine the other night.

It was superb. Your feeling of questions made me happy that anyone with that much dignity and wit is such a responsible person in our national life. Come back again. We enjoyed you thoroughly.

LANDO, INC.

Stanley C. Marshall
Stanley C. Marshall
Vice President

SCM/mws

fan letters

July 7, 1965

Mr. Ronald M. Doctor
2511 Lawndale Dr.
Champaign, Illinois

Dear Mr. Doctor:

I'm sorry that you feel unable to support CORE at this time. I am not clear on what you mean when you say, "I cannot condone its actions nor the behavior of many of its more aggressive agents." In so far as acts of civil disobedience, CORE takes the stand that acts of civil disobedience are justified when laws, either on their face or in their consequences, are so harmful as to merit their violation, and when the individual who violates the law is prepared to accept the consequences of its violation.

I too share your belief that "strong, rational, intelligent, and dynamic leaders" are needed. Further, I believe that CORE is making a genuine effort to identify, recruit, and train such leadership. I believe you will be pleased to know that at our annual convention, just completed in Durham, North Carolina, we adopted a program of training for our national staff and CORE chapter members.

I do indeed hope to see your name once again on our donation roles.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF/vp

JUN 28 1965

June 23, 1965

James Farmer
National Director, CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038

Dear Mr. Farmer,

Normally about this time of the year you would receive a small donation to your organization in response to your brochure. However this year I cannot, in good conscience, send you anything. While I agree wholeheartedly with the stated purpose of CORE and can appreciate its efforts to establish and maintain equal civil rights for Negroes, I cannot condone its actions nor the behavior of many of its more aggressive agents. Its very disappointing to read of CORE leaders leading groups of people into acts of civil disobedience.

From my point of view-and one of the reasons I had hoped the CORE organization would become strong- I feel that the Negro today needs strong, rational, intelligent and dynamic leaders and that the CORE organization would provide a recruiting and training ground for such a purpose. However, I don't see such a leadership emerging.

I hope you can understand my feelings on this matter and that some future date will again see my name on your donation rolls.

Sincerely yours,

Ronald M. Doctor

Ronald M. Doctor
2511 Lawndale Dr.
Champaign, Illinois

fan letters

July 27, 1965

Mr. Richard La Salle
White Oak Lane
Westhampton, New York

Dear Mr. La Salle:

In answer to your letter of June 13th, I am sending the following two quotations as characteristic of Mr//Farmer.

1) (This was made in answer to northern liberal critics who objected to CORE confrontations in the North, while applauding our activities in the South): "It is always easier to slay cobras in Borneo than to swat flies in your own kitchen".

2) (This was the opening line of a speech delivered at the memorial service for Mickey Schwerner in the fall of 1964): "Evil societies always kill their consciences".

Sincerely yours,

Val Coleman
Public Relations Director

VC:nm

Vol

JUN 15 1965

White Oak Lane
Westhampton, New York
June 13, 1965

CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mister Farmer:

I am a student of history and am preparing a book of favorite quotes of distinguished personages. I would appreciate it to have yours amoung the collection.

Sincerely,

Richard LaSalle

Richard La Salle

"Cobras - Bones'

Fan letter

AUG 9 1965

August 7, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Farmer:

It is one of the numerous disgraceful facts of contemporary national affairs that a man who runs a rotten organization such as yours has access to the White House at most anytime.

I seem to recall that last year when that birdbrain in the White House opened the New York World's Fair and our national anthem was being played that it was the scum from your organization who remained seated. It is indeed a very "patriotic" outfit. And you expect equality for these bums?

However, it is much to our satisfaction to observe that the funds to keep your machinery going are now in the process of drying up. And they will continue to do so until your outfit sinks into utter dispair. Scientific strangulation, I would say.

The temporary victories of the vicious Negro leadership are of little far reaching importance. Within five years, these gains will be wiped out, the fraudulent "civil rights" movement exposed, discredited and its rotten leadership more than likely in exile.

Joe Bersovich

Fan letters

AUG 10 1965

26 N. Llanwellyn Avenue
Glenolden, Pennsylvania
August 8, 1965

Mr. James Farmer, National Director of CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

My dear Mr. Farmer,

Have you decided to make the switch?

Have you decided to make the switch and buy the political philesophy of W. E. B. DuBois, the communist?

Has that moment come when you will make the switch? Have you already made the switch? Once again I ask you, when you make the switch and buy the political philosophy of the communist W. E. B. DuBois do you intend to tell the American public or will you pull a Castro and keep it real quiet?

I smiled when the news came over the radio last Friday that you were present at the signing of the discrimatory so-called voting rights bill. My, I thought, you must be a deliriously happy little civil rights leader. And then I recalled the statement you made to one Taylor Grant via Radio Station WCAU a year or more ago.

Yes, Sir, you said it, "The Negro will only vote for the Negro." Mr. Grant said, "But Mr. Fammer, do you mean the Negro will not vote for a white man?"

And thenyou said, "Oh, he will vote for a white man if the white man is with him."

Now will you tell the American peopbe just how you intend to bring the pressure and terror to bear to drive the Negro to the polls and vote as he is instructed in order to upset the power structure of the South, in short th finally complete the plan of Johnny Pepper. Can we look forward to an exodus from the North to the South, a reverse migration, so to speak?

Frankly, if my analysis is true, I do not believe you are going to make it, Mr. Farmer. Too many Americans are getting wise.

Have you made that switch?

Sincerely yours,
Fred Devine
Fred Devine

cc: YES

26 N. Llanwellyn Avenue
Glenolden, Pennsylvania
August 8, 1965

Mr. Martin Luther King
Ebenezer Baptist Church
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Mr. King,

Now that you have your so-called 'voting rights bill' it seems appropriate to say that the agony of the South will begin. How soon can we expect to see the completion of the 'Pepper Plan'. Have you ever told your people the truth about Johnny Pepper?

It will be interesting to watch how you people beat the Negroes into line, if my analysis is correct. Of course it will be useless for them to cry about the violation of their 'civil rights' if they prefer not to go along and vote as they are instructed.

It has been announced in the press that you intend to make a tour of Africa. May I suggest to you that on your return that you stick scrupulously to the truth. For your information many, many, Americans are learning the truth about the so-called 'anti-colonialism' fraud. Please do not return with any glowing reports about Algiers, Guinea and Ghana, for instance. Please do not bring back that phony line about the cruel Portuguese and the wicked South African whites. We are wise to those pitches.

Perhaps Nkrumah, that great democrat, will permit you to visit his prisons and view the leading citizens in chains. Perhaps in Algiers you will be permitted to visit your friend Ben Bella, if he is still alive.

In closing, Mr. King, permit me to inform you that the time has come to tell the American people, the entire Nation, that you cannot possibly hope to achieve the complete integration that some of your more careless followers have hinted at. For example, Dr. Felder Rouse of Chester, Penna., has said that in several generations we will be all either light Negro or dark white. He is out of his cotton pickin' mind.

Another example, Stanley Branche, also a Chester, Penna. civil rights firebrand stated some time ago that the Negro would be integrated "whether he wanted to be or not." We must let the Negro know that his Constitutional rights not to be integrated, if he so desires, must beheld inviolate. We are working on the phony aspects of this so-called revolution. May I suggest that in my opinion you laid an egg in Philadelphia last week.

Sincerely yours,

Fred Devine

cc: YFS

26 W. Llanwellyn Avenue
Glenolden, Pennsylvania
August 8, 1965

Hon. Edward G. Bauer, Jr.
Philadelphia City Solicitor
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

My dear Mr. Bauer,

It is respectfully suggested that you and others involved in attemping to arrange a settlement of the travesty or comedy, as you will, at Girard College face certain facts in this case and expose the real motive or motives behind the issue.

It is suggested that you study thoroughly the publication put out by the so-called Friends Peace Committee.

I am sure that if you make an honest assessment of this so-called "Manual for DirectioAction" you will find that the objective of the so-called civil rights activities is to force surrender to the revolutionary foces and not to bring about 'peadeful settlement'. It is time for somebody to expose the little angels with dirty wings who are causing the hell in America today.

It would please me if people such as yourself would blot out from your minds the slurs and slanders and hate that have been leveled at educated Americans who can recognize the pattern. The slurs, slander and hate have been leveled at the behest of the Kremlin.

You are a reasonable man, I believe. You are also a highly intelligent man. Unless you are consciously following the revolutionary plan and helping the enemy then you should be willing to open your mind and face the facts. To me it is utterly ridiculous to persecute the young men who desecrated the American Flag at Girard College last week. The real culprits should be brought to bay who caused the young men to act as they did. You will, I am sure, find those culprits in the churches, the universities, the political field and in the so-called humanitarian groups. In my opinion these people have no love for the Negro and if given the power would cut the Negro to pieces. The Negro, if we face facts, is being used only as a means to an end.

I am enclosing the copies of letters to Mr. Martin Luther King and Mr. James Farmer. Perhaps they will explain what I mean. Please study that manual.

Sincerely yours,

Fred Devine

cc: YRS

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
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1965 AUG 14 PM 6 45

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CORE
NYK

NEITHER, THE PIGNANT PATHOS OF A PEOPLE CAN BE SUBSTITUTED BY SODDEN SEETHING LYNCHING; NOR, NORMAL HUMAN NEEDS BE SUBSTITUTED BY THE CLAY OF CLANG AND CLAMOR OF NORMATIVE GREED. WHICH DO YOU NEED

BERNARD DATLOW 1263 CLINTON PL ELIZABETH NJ
(47).

Fan Letters

AUG 16 1965

COMMUNITY PROJECT

("Operation Boot-Strap")

4171 [redacted] South Central Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90011

September 9, 1965

(Community Project No. 2)

The recent revolt in Watts has succeeded in bringing clearly into focus a message that many of us in the Civil Rights movement have been trying to get across for some time. There is a frustration, centered around hopelessness, in the black ghettos of the North. The Civil Rights movement, instead of bringing relief to the ghetto-trapped Negro, has succeeded only in adding to the frustration.

The Civil Rights Bill and the Voting Rights Bill, which were acquired largely through the efforts of the Civil Rights movement, have little or no meaning to the Northern ghetto Negro. These measures attempt to eliminate the political and social barriers confronting the Southern Negro. The exclusion from the economic life of this country, in the form of lower paying jobs with the consequent effect of low purchasing power, was and still is the primary obstacle in the path of the Northern Negro in his attempt to obtain first class citizenship.

Our efforts at eliminating job discrimination in the North have led to "tokenism" with the "front" Negro being drawn from the middle class and not the poor black from the slums. The excuse given over and over again has been that the poor Negro lacked training and skills...We have decided to concentrate a large part of our energies to eliminating this barrier to the ghetto Negro's entrance into the American economic world. We are at present preparing several programs for that purpose. This prospectus will deal with the first of these programs, which is patterened after the program developed by Reverend Leon Sullivan in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (Opportunities Industrialization Center - see enclosed reprint from the Wall Street Journal).

We have acquired a building at 42nd Street and Central Avenue as the first of a series of centers to be located throughout the Negro ghetto. Experience has shown that when a program is located in the target area and involves people from that area, the response from the people to be affected is multiplied many times. The failure to use this approach is the reason that many well meaning programs have failed in the past. One must understand that the ghetto is a world apart from the rest of society.

The success of this program depends upon the response of the industrial leaders to our program. We have no desire to train people for menial jobs, but will concentrate on the higher skills that are not already being affected by automation. We have purposely left out listing these job skills until we receive ideas and counseling from the industrial community.

We have the community organizing skills. We have a building and the desire. The ghetto community has the need. The industrial community has the means and know-how. This program will require the complete cooperation of all these forces. Morally and economically it makes sense to pursue this project. The ghettos of our country contain a reservoir of untapped human talent. We have a responsibility to harness this resource and feed it into the mainstream of our country's economic life.

Robert L. Hall
ROBERT L. HALL
Co-Coordinator

LOUIS SMITH
Co-Coordinator

RLH/LS:mal

Attachment

(Copy from: Wall Street Journal, Tuesday, August 10, 1965)

Wall Street Journal

In Philadelphia, the Reverend Leon H. Sullivan has run head-on into the same problem. A few years ago he ran a youth employment service from his church and found jobs for 1,000 young Negroes in one year. But 4,000 others went unplaced. because they lacked skills. More recently, Mr. Sullivan and 400 other Negro ministers were remarkably successful in organizing sporadic trade boycotts against Philadelphia companies believed to discriminate against Negroes in hiring. The boycotts were, in a way, too successful; not nearly enough qualified Negroes could be found to fill all the jobs that were opened to them.

So, Mr. Sullivan started a massive adult training program, Opportunities Industrialization Center, in one of Philadelphia's poorest neighborhoods. City businesses chipped in $250,000 worth of equipment for job training and counseled the center on the skills they needed most. Mr. Sullivan raised another $400,000 from foundations, churches, and door-to-door canvassing in Negro neighborhoods, and opened the center in an old police station 16 months ago. Since then more than 400 "graduates" of the center have been employed locally, and about 84% of those entering the program are assured of jobs when they finish.

Common Ground

Mr. Sullivan expects the enrollment to be guadrupled within a year and plans to have 10,000 Negroes in training within three years, compared with 1,000 now learning such skills as drafting, sheet-metal work and machine tooling. "This is one thing in which the white businessman and the militant Negro have a mutual interest," says Mr. Sullivan. "The Negro needs a job, and the white man can profit from a new customer."

COMMUNITY PROJECT

("Operation Boot-Strap")
4151 South Central Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90011

September 16, 1965

WHAT IS COMMUNITY PROJECT?

Community Project is designed to be a non-profit corporation to plan, coordinate and initate projects that will bring people trapped in ghetto life into the main stream of our society. (Prospectus on Community Project I and Community Project II, enclosed.)

WHY IS COMMUNITY PROJECT NEEDED WHEN THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA HAS AN EXTENSIVE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AVAILABLE TO ALL?

Our experience in Negro ghetto work both North and South has shown us that the inhabitants of these areas live in a world all their own. They find themselves physcologically cut off from the "outside world." This condition is re-enforced by racial discrimination and the low incomes of most of the people so trapped. Courses taught at these institutions are foreign to the ghetto world.

For these and many other reasons to numerous to list here, the established institutions become a part of the "outside world." In short, the horizons of the ghetto trapped Negro are extremely narrow. With a lack of Negro "image makers" in the ghetto world, the chances of a spontaneous broadening of these horizons are nill.

Therefore, It is essential that these training centers be located in the community to be affected and a door to door campaign be started to get community people to take a part in "their" center. Let us say that along with being a training center, our school will also serve the purpose of a half-way house that will allow people to watch their neighbors reach escape velocity.

WHY IS IT NECESSARY TO INVOLVE BUSINESS AND INDUSTRIAL LEADERS?

Questions such as,which skills are not being automated out, which skills are presently in demand, what pahse of the training should be given priority (to meet individual plant set-up) etc., can only be answered by those closest to the situation.

The chances of racial discrimination entering the picture are greatly reduced, if not eliminated, when close ties between industry and trainee exist. Many Negro trainees have been stopped by the racial barrier in the past which has had a negative effect on the community towards education.

The chances of getting a superior employee are good when these ties exist. A relationship other than that of employer, employee develops when the trainee discovers that someone cares.

WHY NOT USE GOVERNMENT SPONSORED PROJECTS?

Our experiences with these projects has, to a large extent shown that the people administering the programs approach the community with a paternalistic attitude which is just the opposite from the approach needed.

The political factor also enters the picture. Our program is designed to stimulate the community and once moved, assist them in bettering their lot.

A boot-strap with technical assistance instead of a welfare approach is needed. The demands of our time are that we produce individuals with pride and dignity instead of obedient vegetables.

not list

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33

November 5, 1965

Dear Friends:

Two men have stood up in the United States Senate to protest our military adventure in Vietnam. They are Senator Gruening of Alaska and Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon. One of these courageous statesmen ... Senator Gruening ... will be our speaker on December 10th at our Bill of Rights Dinner.

A handful of heroic Negro leaders have defied the Establishment in Mississippi at the risk of life, limb and livelihood. They are the members of the Mississippi Democratic Freedom Party. One of these heroic Negroes ... Mrs. Victoria Gray ... will be our speaker on December 10th.

What Senator Gruening and Mrs. Gray say to us on that evening will be of the utmost importance. But what we say to them will be even more important.

A huge audience at our Bill of Rights Dinner will tell Senator Gruening that he has support for his principled stand against the war in Southeast Asia. He deserves your support; he needs it. His place in American political life today is a lonesome one. Uphold him. Show him that you care.

A huge audience at our Bill of Rights Dinner will say to Mrs. Victoria Gray that the decent people up North have not given up the struggle. Let her take back to her wonderful co-workers the enthusiasm that your presence can engender. (Incidentally, you will be charmed by Mrs. Gray's eloquence and wit.)

We are enclosing tickets for what promises to be a truly inspiring affair. Please send in your reservation and check as soon as possible. A prompt response not only will save us money; it will go a long way toward giving us the morale lift that all of us on the Civil Liberties Front need today.

We look forward to greeting you at the Americana on December 10th.

Sincerely,

Clark Foreman

Clark Foreman

CF:vdb

AFL-CIO

American Federation of Teachers

DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION • EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

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Public Relations Counsel

DR. GEORGE S. REUTER, JR.
Research Director

CATHERINE McGOURTY
Office Manager

483

DEC 9 1965

December 7, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
C.O.R.E.
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Brother:

I am enclosing herewith the press release of the Press Conference announcing the appointment of Mr. Arthur Reese as Director of Freedom School Program for the American Federation of Teachers.

I hope that this program will prove an area of mutual concern as have so many others over the years.

With best wishes, I am

Yours truly,

Richard Parrish

Richard Parrish
National Chairman
Civil Rights Comittee
American Federation of Teachers

encl.

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM
W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
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JAMES FARMR EXECUTIVE DURECTOR
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY 38 PARK ROW NYK

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUES ANNUAL CONVENTION WOULD BE INCOMPLETE WITHOUT FORMAL GREETING FROM YOU. HOPE VERY MUCH THAT YOU CAN GET MESSAGE TO MA TO BE READ TO OUR ASSAMBLED DELEGATES. DATES AUGUST 1 THROUGH 5. PLACE EDEN ROC HOTEL MIAMI BEACH FLORIDA

WHTNEY M YOUNG JR

213 1/2 West Main Street
Durham, North Carolina
May 31, 1965

Mr. Marvin Rich
Community Relations Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York'

Dear Marv:

I spoke to Farmer on Saturday night regarding the hiring of three to four civil rights workers in the State of North Carolina under the Summer Program where CSEDF is paying $250. We still have quite a bit to do in North Carolina and many communities are calling upon us to assist them in many projects. The problem of the teacher firing and organizing groups into unions is the area that we would primarily use these workers as well as in the setting up of CORE Chapters wherever they are desired.

Kindly let me know if and what you can do along this line at your very earliest convenience.

With very kind regards, I am

Yours very truly,

F. B. McKissick

fbmck/efe

cc: Mr. James Farmer, National Director

June 22, 1965

TO: Alan Gartner
FROM: Val Coleman

RE: Freedom...When?

This is to confirm agreements reached at my luncheon meeting with representatives of Random House.

1) It was agreed that Random House would prepare and print a special insert to be included in our holiday mailing. They understand that the mailing will be somewhere in the 300,000 to 400,000 range. I have agreed to send them a draft of copy for both the book jacket and the insert.

2) It was agreed, pending CORE approval, that we would purchase from Random House a quantity of books at 44-50% discount. (Depending on Quantity.) to service the holiday card mailing. I think we should explore the possibility of having the same mailing house we use for handling the cards for the books. My understanding is that we will be commited to purchasing a minimum number of books and we will pay for these books as money comes in.

3) I am setting up liason with Random House public relations and have agreed to send them a complete breakdown of Farmer's October-November lecture appearances. Also we discussed means of using Farmer's normal press appearances as a means of moving the book-i.e.-planting "book content" questions with reporters. It was firmly understood that all appearances emanating out of Random House would be cleared in front with me.

4) I promised also to hypo Farmer into finishing the final two chapters as soon as possible.

5) They are a fine bunch of guys and I honestly think that it's gonna be a pleasure doing business with them.

cc:
Mr Silberman, Random House
Mr Gervasi, Random House

Val

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 522-1420

SCLC

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President*
Ralph Abernathy, *Treasurer*
Andrew J. Young, *Executive Director*

Val

JUL 19 1965

July 15, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference is holding its Ninth Annual Convention in Birmingham, Alabama, August 10-13, 1965. The opening session will be Tuesday, August 10th at Sixteenth Street Baptist Church.

As you know, Sixteenth Street Baptist Church is the symbol of all the suffering of the Negro people in Birmingham and the South, for it was this church that was bombed one Sunday morning and killed four innocent little girls.

We know it will be difficult for you to be present, so we are asking that you send greeting to the Convention.

Our Convention Theme is, "Basic Issues - The Grand Alliance - Human Rights." Your message would be appreciated and shared with thousands of freedom loving people. Please send your message to the attention of Rev. Andrew Young, c/o Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Convention, Gaston Motel, Birmingham, Alabama.

Sincerely yours,

Andy

Andrew J. Young

MISC

FEB 21 1966

2.19.66
363-2922
9 to 5

CORE
Mr. James Farmer

Dear Mr. Farmer -

Last time I wrote you I must have made you laugh because I thought your first name was Francis. It just got mixed in my head because of Frances Farmer I guess.

A judge said - as much sympathy as we have with the young offender - we know you come from a broken home - it's too bad we can no longer put you to death.

We've got sympathy for you boy
Yes we've got sympathy for you
We hung your father
We took your mother
We've got sympathy for you

We let you be born
We let you work
In the field at ten
etc

If that's any good you can have it, or what parts you want or with changes, for the movement. - I have been singing it on the street & at Seamen's Institute.

I do not know anything about music or poetry which may be obvious.

Will you have someone call me & tell me what this is from if you know, please.

Mary Ann, Mary Ann
Oh she prayed and she prayed for a man

And voices came -

Mary Ann, Mary Ann, (High - Different - Echoing - Female)

Would you sell your soul to the devil for a man? (male)

I don't think that necessary (snapped Mary Ann)

There ain't a man, there ain't a man alivin' can do without praises and cooking like mine. (Repeat)

Then why? Why? Why are you praying for a man (Female as above in all)

Why am I praying for a man? Cause I'don't see a man

Not see a man? I'm a man

Ha you a man?

I'm a man .

You a man?   Ha, ha, ha,

I'm prayin cause I don't see a man.

======must be from some show====== and as I don't go to shows it must have been on TV========

Thank you.

So Long, Cathleen J. Hamilton

PS - It's not safe to have much to do with with me as I may go to jail any day.

cjh

JF pers

HOWARD UNIVERSITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20001

OFFICE OF THE
ACADEMIC VICE PRESIDENT

February 7, 1966

FEB 9 1966

Mr. James Farmer
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

Dear Jim:

I received, just a few minutes ago, an autographed copy of your new book entitled, "Freedom - When?". Thank you so much for sending me a copy.

I am looking forward to reading it at the earliest possible moment.

Sincerely,

Stant

Stanton

James Farmer Column

Los Angeles

When rioting explodes in an American Negro community, a number of automatic things happen, most of them born of ignorance and molded of the same bigotry that made this mess in the first place. First, white public officials go on record with "shock" and "surprise" that those nice Negroes who've been "getting everything, including the Nobel Peace Prize" are mad about anything at all. After all, didn't Mr. Wilkins, Dr. King and Mr. Farmer go right down to Washington last week and get a free fountain pen? And second, a lot of folks, of all colors, grab the Kleig light to make pronouncements about "responsible leadership" and "savage behavior".

What frightens and worries me about all of this is that the very ignorance reflected in these reactions sets the stage for further violence, indeed demonstrates that even after 300 years of trouble and seven years of rebellion, the vast majority of Americans simply refuse to believe that you are in trouble if you are born black - trouble that strides through your entire life. I will concede that CORE and similar organizations have not done their work adequately; we have not walked tough in the squalor of the ghetto, we have failed to revise our approach sufficiently to embrace the terrifying reality of Negro poverty - but we are aware of our shortcomings and are doing something about them.

But what are those famous "power structure" folks doing --- as little as possible. Selma and Bogalusa are the raw material of a Voting Rights Bill....but 1,0000 Selmas cannot feed the immigrant Mississippi Negro who comes to the Watts ghetto of Los Angeles to find a closed economy that tells him to clean up the men's room if he can't run a computer. One thousand Bogalusa's can't comfort a fatherless home, or stop a man without hope from finding it in a bottle or a needle.

Rioting makes no~~t~~ sense tomorrow; a dead man can't seek a job or attend a school. But despite what we wish to beleive, rioting makes sense today to the outraged victim of poverty and hatred. And it is poverty and it is hatred that lie at the root of violence....and it is poverty and it is hatred we must confront before we are engulfed by the stupid carnage that made the "city of the angels" a preview of Hell.

Farmer Column
Jan ?

Publications

There is a special eloquence in nonviolent direct action; it speaks in a metaphor of brutality and love. I have always felt that truth, unvarnished, is one of our most potent weapons. That is why I am happy to write these columns for the Amsterdam News.

Yes, the Negro is angry now.... Not just in the Gethsemane of Birmingham, Montgomery and Meridian, but throughout this ill-jobbed, ill-housed, ill-educated world.

Ironically, much of the white community feels that there has been vast progress in the past few years in the areas of education, employment, housing and public accommodations. The Civil Rights Bill has become law and thus redeems America's promises. But the American Negro sees nothing but a maddening slowness and tokenism. We saw James Meredith in the University of Mississippi, but no one took his place. We see integrated lunch counters, but only a blackout in jobs which could give us the wherewithal to enjoy newly desegregated facilities.

The white community sees a "war on poverty". We see a program that says: "The problem is with you. If you get a skill, learn to be like white folks, then everything will be all right." We're too cynical for that. We're in favor of the program, but we know that we'll still be black and everything won't be all right. We know that the "man" won't hire us because we're black and we know that if he would hire us, there simply aren't enough jobs to go around.

In truth, we want more than freedom. The Negro wants a recovery of pride (this is, in part, why I am now in Africa), a sense of simple dignity, a genuine competitive social and economic equality. All of this must be understood in terms of an enormous awakening within the Negro community.

The awakening has brought new hope. It has also made our deeply seated, historic anger visible. It is the anger of a man long taught to stare at his toes who now has proudly leveled his eyes at his antagonist. There is no geography in this anger and as the months of protest and oppression pass, the apathy and distance of the upper and middle class Negro are being replaced with commitment both personal and economic.

We walk in the ghetto streets, North and SOuth, and we sense the immediacy of the demand. Listen to the singing in the jails, where the whole white superstructure of control, the clinical redress of the state, is made lyric with a unison of Negro voices. We have so much to do and so little time do do it. This is the temperament, the mood, the sense of historic timing that make it manifect that the entire job must be accomplished quickly.

THE CORE OF IT!

by JAMES FARMER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR

MY WAY TO REMEMBER

This is a week of sober reflection. But one year ago, James Chaney, Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman were brutally slain in ths backwoods of Mississippi. Much has and will be said by way of memorial to these young men and most of it fine and fitting. I would like, however, to use this space for some tough and possibly disturbing questions that, in my mind, are the questions Jim, Mickey and Andy would be asking.

What, for example, have we really accomplished since June 21, 1964 - - - ?

1. We have witnessed four further public murders and countless others, gone unrecorded except in the memory of the bigot who "got himself another nigger."

2. We haven't got a voting rights bill as yet—and there are questions about the total effectiveness of the one we hope to get.

3. The extremists and the Klansmen are in a homicidal frenzy across the south, and the House Un-American Activities Committee sits on the promised investigation of the Klan.

4. The Mississippi Congressmen still stand an excellent chance of sitting in Congress despite the fact that they do not represent their own people.

No Change

5. There has been no substantive change in the way Negroes live in this nation — anywhere, North or South.

6. There has been no substantive change in the employment future for our people. We still are the last hired, first fired and lowest paid.

7. Rats still bite, roaches still spread their filth and buildings still fall down as our tax dollars clutter up the public trough.

8. The Federal Government's War on Poverty still insults the intelligence of the poor community by floundering about in patronage and often willful mismanagement.

9. The entire liberal community sits on its Civil Rights Bill and won't ante up the wherewithal to bring about a bill with real guts.

10. And our children waste in a broth of bad schools, worse streets and a climate of hatred.

What, then, can we say to Mickey, to Jim and to Andy — what beyond pious pronouncement, beyond poetry?

I say this — "We live in an evil, half-formed society and we have done precious little to change it as was your dream. But I promise you this, I will not rest nor will anyone who listens and believes what I say until the changes are profound, not on the surface, until I and all my brothers can measure their freedom in the fruits of their labor and in the peace of their home."

THE CORE OF IT!

by JAMES FARMER NATIONAL DIRECTOR

Jackson, Mississippi

The significance of the mass arrests in Jackson, Mississippi last week goes even beyond the original issues raised by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party regarding the legality of actions in the Mississippi Legislature.

The arrests. which were random, often unmotivated and brutal were and are a challenge to our basic and constituted right to peacefully protest in this nation.

Incredible as it may seem, in the state of Mississippi picketing in itself is often considered a crime and virtually thousands of unconstitutional arrests accompanied by on-the-street and in-jail brutality have occurred in the south for no other reason than people picking up a picket sign.

Few northerners realize the lengths to which the deep southern states are prepared to go to preserve racism . . . and more often than not, the lengths involve a fundamental challenge to the American way of life for both black and white people.

The stockades outside of Jackson, where nearly a thousand demonstrators were housed, were a jungle of mismanagement and outright police-inspired violence. Prisoners were actually denied medical aid on several occasions and a Medical Committee woman doctor who got arrested in an effort to bring help inside the compounds was actually isolated so as to render her ineffective. There is something horrifying in these facts — and anarchy of law enforcement and a Nazi-like disregard for the simplest needs of human beings.

Real Question

The real question hinges on how long the federal government intends to stand by and countenance this "government within a government" that wilfully violates the words and the intent of our Constitution. How much longer will brutality and apparently sanctioned homicide be allowed to continue under the cloak of state sovereignty? (Let us not forget Sheriff Rainey . . . even for one moment.)

Meanwhile, the original questions raised by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party stand unanswered. It is perfectly clear to anyone close to the Mississippi scene that the convening of the Mississippi Legislature is a bold effort to circumvent the upcoming Voters Rights Bill which we hope will soon be enacted in Washington. MFDP puts its people on the streets of Jackson to dramatize this segregationist gambit. And further, one cannot ignore the fact that Negroes are systematically disenfranchised in Mississippi — making it perfectly clear that acts of that state Legislature do not, in fact, represent even a majority of the people of Mississippi.

For those who raise questions as the wisdom of the MFDP move in Jackson, I say this "the black people of Mississippi have no other ballot box than the commitment of their bodies to the streets of their state capital when they witness the violence and hypocrisy of a bigoted state government. There is no other redress — no vote, little prospect of a vote; so they cast their vote in the wire stockades of Jackson for the nation to see and be ashamed."

And make no mistake, the people of Mississippi led these protests and they came from counties whose history of terror and intimidation read like the archives of the Gestapo. Let us put away the nonsense and the misinformation, let us not make our fight on the length of a demonstrators beard, but at the truth of a terrorized and disenfranchised southern Negro who now speaks with the authority of his own courage.

James Farmer   Column

Community Organisation
(First of two parts)

"Community organisation" has the smell of a cliche - a waspish ideal born in the university tea-room and nurtured by "right thinkers" who have rarely been North of 110th Street. Making it real has been largely left to a handful of political comers and a fistful of the "deserving poor" that seem to proliferate in the War on Poverty.

Of the very few times it has worked, however, one story has not been told... and that story, the story of a project supported by, but not initiated or run by CORE - an idea that jumped off the page - is the story that follows:

The Council for Jobs and Freedom - February 1 to May 21, 1965

In the fall of 1964 it became increasingly clear to many that the civil rights revolution was in mortal trouble - legislation, poverty programs, all vastly inadequate and often insensitive to need, were slowly but surely draining the militancy and solidarity ffom the movement.

The name of the game, it became clear, was the "urban ghetto", dramatised by demonstrations and riots, but left utterly unchanged at the roots. In fact, evidence of discontent and retaliation in the streets was accelerating. Everything that was being "done" had a bad odor of paternalism and first-aid procedures. The ghetto cried for organisation - organisation outside the federalism and politics of OEO and the monopolies of partisan pork-barrelling.

So a small group of men and women, formerly of the East River chapter of CORE, moved out of the seminar, out of the reams of low-circulation newsprint about the "grass roots" and into the streets. Despite all the heady discussions they weren't really sure of what they were doing, but they were sure that they would be taught - by their own people.

They had approximately $2,000 in the bank, so they rented a loft at 72 West 125th Street, spending the Christmas season plastering and painting - the doors were to open at the end of January. They opened and the founders ducked.

Within a week the place was an asylum, a thimble-sized riot with hundreds of youngsters placing their outrage on their threshhold. Miraculously, and almost immediately, a shape and direction began to emerge from the chaos. The men, women and children that came to them were not familiar faces - few, if any, had gone to jail for civil rights activity, but many had been jailed on possession, felonious assaults, alchoholism, or for lifting two-pants suits from Blumstein's windows during the summer riots. They were suddenly and startlingly at the nitty-gritty, and it can be a terrifying place to be when much of your membership has a life-expectancy of around 34.

The early, somewhat primitive programs were entirely centered around the needs of the people who had come into their orbit. Youth councils and clubs, centered around youngsters bursting with resentment and footloose after Malcolm X's death, became a channel for heated dialogue and self-governing groups. Many of these youngsters began, over a period of time, to conceive of a means of "whipping the white man at his own game" - through words and aggressive competition withe job market, rather than with gasoline-filled Ruppert bottles. This was a small-time miracle, dubbed, by the youth clubs themselves, as "intellectual nationalism".

(continued)

THE CORE OF IT!

by JAMES FARMER

POLITICAL POWER AND AMERICAN NEGROES

To be candid about political power is to say that the American Negro, north and south is almost, if not wholly disenfranchised. Voting rights bill or no voting rights bill, the Negro electorate is either forcibly kept out of the booth or the impact of our vote is fragmented or diluted by white and black political factionalism.

It is only on rare occasions that anything resembling a "Negro vote" can be identified as a political force and on those occasions, Johnson vs. Goldwater for example, the Negro vote is not really addressing itself to a practical redress of Negro greivances.

It is, in this context, that CORE is now deadly serious in its efforts to mount Freedom Democratic Movements throughout the country, movements which will represent black power addressed to black questions, mobilized outside the usual political alignments.

The historic pilot for this, of course, is the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which CORE helped to found.

The MFDP was mobilized around the moral questions of absolute segregation and near-total disenfranchisement. It became apparent, however, that functioning outside of the usual political soup was a powerful place for Negroes to be. Witness the muscle MFDP has shown in its current Congressional challenge to the seating of Mississippi white representatives.

In this case their energies and their leverage could be addressed pointedly to questions affecting them as Negroes . . . Negroes whose voice has been historically stilled by the "needs of the nation" or by the fusion of Negro grievances into "larger questions affecting the entire community."

No Mechanism

Only the Civil Rights Revolution had made it absolutely clear that Negroes had no mechanism aside from physical protest to change their lot in the American way of life.

In the north, as usual, the problem is much more complex. Here, the moral question of disenfranchisement is replaced by the equally vicious problem of political manipulation.

There is virtually no place in the urban north where a fully registered and voting Negro community has any substantial effect on the political and thereby economic decisions affecting their own lives.

In Chicago, for example, an intrenched and predominantly white ward structure controls Negro votes with the ease of a pushbutton. In New York City (where appallingly few Negroes actually register and vote), the Negro mandate is channelled directly into the Democratic Party structure where insensitivity to black problems and black needs is the name of the game.

And the story is repeated with local variations on the theme throughout the country.

Thus the Freedom Democratic Movement concept.

First Candidate

The first of these is already off and running in Brooklyn with Major Owens, chairman of Brooklyn CORE as its first candidate for city council. The significance of Major's candidacy is that, if elected, Councilman Owens will speak loud and clear for a Negro constituency without the harness of Democratic Party give and Democratic Party take.

He will be his own, and his people's man; a strong and singular voic[illegible]epresenting real power outside the murky and wh[illegible]oriented political power structure.

Envision this throughout the nation, in city after city, north and south — a Negro political movement acting in national concert with a voice that cannot be denied.

No one, for a moment suggests that such a political turn in the civil rights movement will ultimately crystallize into a fully competing third party — its power will be the power of an offensive right guard in pro football — charging the linebackers to keep the defense honest.

And it may well become the critical factor in realigning the patchwork Democratic Party into a truly liberal striking force for freedom and social change.

THE CORE OF IT!
by JAMES FARMER
NATIONAL

Deacons For Defense

Let's get two things straight regarding the Deacons for Defense and Justice down in Louisiana. Yes, they tote guns and no, they don't shoot first. A good deal of nonsense has been alked about the Deacons, most of it coming from the Southern press — in an effort to discredit CORE, the Deacons, and even to justify violent reprisals and assaults from the Klan.

First, a little history — the Deacons were originally formed in Jonesboro, Louisiana as a strict and disciplined defense organization. They did not and do not seek violence. But an embattled Negro community decided it needed to defend itself from the homicidal frenzy of the Klan and others in that state.

Some of the bad people like to compare the Deacons with the Klan and that's stupid. The Deacons don't lynch, burn, or assault. The Deacons don't ride shotgun in the enemy camp.

Understand, the Deacons don't replace legal law enforcement — there is no such thing as legal law enforcement in much of the South that will protect a Negro citizen.

In fact, there is considerable amount of police complicity with the Klan assaults — enough so, that alarmed Negroes, fearful for the lives of their families armed, organized and walked a beat.

And I can't blame them. I can't find fault with a man for exercising his constitutional right to protect his home, with weapons if necessary. Period.

Relationship

CORE's relationship with the Deacons is a more complicated story that also, has been distorted through the southern white press. CORE is and will remain a non-violent organization. And that is an on-going fact in our lives.

We believe non-violence still has much tactical validity in the Civil Rights Revolution and many of us are philosophically committed to non-violence as a way of life. . .But this movement is about people, not philosophies and it is people that we must move, ally ourselves with and ultimately sway.

And the kind of people who would prefer to die than to see their families outraged are the kind of people we mean to live and work with until we turn this thing around. And that means poor people and that means Deacons.

Our so-called "alliance" with the Deacons is a partnership of brothers, not a tactical alliance of two armies. They don't tell us how to conduct a march, run a voter-registration campaign . . . and we don't teach them how to zero in on a moving target.

One thing is apparent in this year of our Lord 1965 — Negroes in this nation are down to about their last ounce of patience. For all the hoopla and the speechmaking and legislation, very little has changed in the reality of Negro life in this country . . . rats still bite kids and citizens of Bogalusa still don't have the vote.

Now if you accept that as fact — then it's clear that violence may be on the horizon. And if violence is on the horizon. I would certainly prefer to see it channeled into a defense discipline rather than the random homicide and suicide of rioting.

Or, in another light, I firmly believe that in the search for political, social and human rights, non-violence is the only practical mechanism at this moment in history. But I believe that when threatened, any man has the right to protect his life . . . retaining of course, the non-violent injunction inside a non-violent demonstration.

CORE is in the rights business and the Deacons are in the protecting business. I don't believe in electric chairs, because that is the society retaliating violently, but I do believe in the personal right to selfdefense and can only work and hope that that right is rigidly disciplined through organizations such as the Deacons.

Farmer Column

BOGALUSA---A BLACK PAPER
(First of two parts)

The significance of Bogalusa, Louisiana to the entire civil rights revolution is no longer a matter for conjecture. Encased in this small southeastern Louisiana city are the ingredients for either violence or amity, outright racial warfare or constructive settlement. The town is polarized and the chalk line has been drawn ~~[illegible]~~ between the opposing sides————but behind this well-publicized stilled ~~[illegible]~~ violence lies a hidden history of squalor and homicide, politics and bad faith; a history of a city administration shattered and subsequently controlled by the Ku Klux Klan, and a defiant Negro community totally mobilized and committed to victory. ~~[illegible]~~

NEGRO BOGALUSA

The Negro community in Bogalusa lives (as in most all of rural Louisiana) in a turgid ghetto, laced with decay and poverty. Sewers, underground in the white sections of town, x open into ditches at the ghetto border; indoor plumbing is an exception; streets, when paved, are rarely ~~never~~ lighted and the entire Negro sector is shot through with the terror of frenzied night riders from the Klan. Negroes in Bogalusa are subjected to an economic "feif" system, in which men, by and large, are employed only in menial positions and women are excluded from outside work entirely———in order to keep them working as domestics and human slop jars for the white community. It is not a pretty city———it is an American tragedy.

But Negroes in Bogalusa, Louisiana are not a docile ~~xx~~ lot———and their courage is now a matter of public record.

THE ANTAGONISTS

On the white side of the ledger there is a three-edged sword; the city administration, the Crown-Zellerbach Corporation and the Louisiana Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The ad

The administration, led by Mayor Jesse Cutrer vacillates and dissembles, bending to the current tide of pressure, apparently spineless and demonstrably bigoted.

The Crown-Zellerbach paper mill is a San Francisco-based combine with major investments in racist South Africa. It holds absolute economic power in the Bogalusa community. Crown, which runs a ruthlessly segregated plant employing a majority of the town's citizens has precisely nothing to mitigate the community's racial crisis. Employing huge numbers of avowed Klansman, Crown is the company that stands primarily guilty of the practice of keeping Negro employees in menial jobs and the Negro women in the white man's pantry.

The Klan, as murderous as any branch in the nation, not only sends its terrorists against Bogalusa Negroes and CORE workers but has successfully infiltrated and controlled the city administration, reversing every negotiated settlement reached over the past six months.

There is a fourth entity---hardly worth mentioning---the white "moderate." Peering out from behind his blind, he shakes his head slowly from side to side.

The Negro community has, in the past six months, mobilized, despite intense pressure, behind the militant Bogalusa Civic and Voters League. The League, headed by Mr. A. Z. Young and Mr. Robert Hicks, has done what few local Negro organizations have been able to do in the South; represent the total black community and stand fast in the face of murder, assault and political manuevering from the State Capitol.

It was the BVL that invited CORE to come to Bogalusa to bring its tactical experience and to teach nonviolence. ~~And it was from the BVL that the Deacons for Defense and Justice sprang----the now famous, defensive organization in which Bogalusa Negroes have banded together to protect them their homes. And CORE and the Deacons represent no contradiction to the BVL----there are many ways to wage this kind of war.~~

this struggle

(continued)

[14 Aug. 1965]

THE CORE OF IT!

by JAMES FARMER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR

Community Organization

(First of two parts)

"Community organization" has the smell of a cliche — a waspish ideal born in the university tea-room and nurtured by "right thinkers" who have rarely been North of 110th Street. Making it real has been largely left to a handful of political comers and a fistful of the "deserving poor" that seem to proliferate in the War on Poverty.

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Into Streets

So a small group of men and women, formerly of the East River chapter of CORE, moved out of the seminar, out of the reams of low-circulation newsprint about the "grass roots" and into the streets. Despite all the heady discussions they weren't really sure of what they were doing, but they were sure that they would be taught — by their own people.

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Needs of People

The early, somewhat primitive programs were entirely centered around the needs of the people who had come into their orbit. Youth councils and clubs, centered around youngsters bursting with resentment and foot-loose after Malcolm X's death, became a channel for heated dialogue and self-governing groups.

Many of these youngsters began, over a period of time, to conceive of a means of "whipping the white man at his own game" — through words and aggressive competition on the job market, rather than with gasoline-filled Ruppert bottles. This was a small-time miracle, dubbed, by the youth clubs themselves, as "intellectual nationalism."

(To be continued)

James Farmer Amst News

A NEW LOOK AT THE CIVIL RIGHTS REVOLUTION

The major war now confronting us is aimed at harnessing the awesome political potential of the black community in order to effect basic social and economic changes for all Americans, to alter meaningfully the lives of the Black Americans (our plight has not been and will not be changed by past victories), and to bring about a real equality of free men.

This job cannot be done for us by the Government. In the first place, the establishments--Federal, State, and Local--have too much built-in resistence to fundamental change. Any establishment by definition seeks its own perpetuation and rejects that which threatens it. For example, too many politicians take over and seek to make the anti-poverty programs an adjunct of their political aspirations. They attack community action programs of the anti-poverty war as being anti-city hall. School Boards, which have already lost the drop-outs and other under-privileged youth, more often than not reach out greedily to control community education programs and see that they do not shake up the school systems.

Powerful lobbies, such as the financial and the real estate interests, exert tremendous pressure to see that programs to relieve poverty do not threaten their interests.

Further, it is impossible for the Government to mount a decisive war against poverty and bigotry in the United States while it is pouring billions down the drain in a war against people in Viet Nam. The billion dollars available to fight poverty is puny compared with the need and insignificant compared with the resources expended in wars.

Thus, we must be constructive critics of the anti-poverty program, using its resources for our fight where we can, insisting that local anti-poverty boards be truly representatives of the deprived communities and the minorities which they are supposed to help, and attacking waste and pork-barreling wherever it occurs.

Yet it would be fatal to think that the anti-poverty program alone can make the necessary changes in the social and economic life of Black Americans. It can be no more a solution to our problems than were the Civil Rights Acts of 1957, 1960, 1964 were, or the Voter Rights Act of 1965 will be. Like those laws, the anti-poverty program has to be seen as no more than a tool, useful at times but inadequate at best to do the job.

We can rely upon none but ourselves as a catalyst in the development of the potential power of the black community in its own behalf and in behalf of the nation. CORE [redacted] has the nationwide network of militant chapters required, unshackled

by compromising entanglements, political commitments and alliances. CORE ~~alone~~ has the flexibility to move in the new directions demanded by this phase of the war, while it fulfills its commitments to the unfinished tasks of the last phase.

In this new phase of our war to change the life of the Negro in a changed America, there are two aspects: Community organization and Political organization. It must be clearly seen that neither aspect is an end in itself. Community organization, including social services, for its own sake is mere social uplift and has no basic importance in changing the life role of the Negro. Political organization for its own sake is sheer opportunism. While both aspects must be undertaken simultaneously, the first, community organization, may be seen as a step to increase the effectiveness of the second, political organization. Or another way of viewing it, is to see community organization as a tool--a tool to build a vehicle. Political organization, then, is the vehicle to take us to the desired objective. That objective is an open society free of race discrimination and forced segregation, shorn of poverty and unemployment, with decent housing and high quality education for all. The objective, in a word, is a new society, a free and open society.

COUNTRY COUSIN WORK PROGRAM

The broad purpose of this program is to provide a means for constructive assimilation of the new migrant to urban America.

In the past decade, there has been a large influx of migrant farm laborers, primarily from the south into the urban ghetto community. Several factors make it likely that this process will accelerate sharply:

--The mechanization of plantations in the South resulting in the displacement of thousands upon thousands of agricultural workers.

--The extension of minimum wage coverage to farm labor making marginally productive labor more expensive.

--The pattern of welfare public assistance and food distribution programs which cumulatively operate to drive farm workers out of the South by starvation, brutality, discrimination, and disease.

These newcomers to the city very often provide a major source of unrest and discontent in the city. It is no accident that Watts was the terminal for western migration across the Southern and Southwestern states.

Coming from an essentially rural background, looking for work in the "promised land," such workers are not prepared for urban life and not equipped with skills necessary to secure employment--nor, on the other hand, is the urban community equipped to deal with those problems some of which the new "urbanite" brings with him, some of which are created by the conditions in which he finds himself compelled to survive.

To these factors, we must make special mention of one other problem: the massive relocation of industry out of the city and into industrial parks on the outskirts of the city. Such parks are not accessible to those in the central city--for both physical and psychological reasons. While federal programs such as MDTA have attempted to deal with the relocation of industry by moving excess labor hundreds of miles from one locality to another, the real mobility problem we now face is: how does one move a labor force five, ten or twenty miles from the center city to the new industrial parks.

There is no realistic response, now on hand, to cope with the problems of migration by rural Negroes to the city. The failure of response is total--despite the variety of efforts that might be cited.

The failure is conceptual in part: the poverty program, the model cities program, the new-style neighborhood corporation programs are all static in concept. Theyview the community, the city, the neighborhood, or at most, the metropolitan region as a closed system--static. Brick by brick, child by child, adult by adult, they attempt to scrub it clean and middle class. The problem is that cities and communities and neighborhoods are dynamic. Normal patterns of change in themselves might undo much that has been done. Add to that vast in-migration and today's fragmented, token efforts become even mode ludicrously inadequate.

The failure is programmatic: efforts that are made are one-shot efforts. There is no continuity, no sustained follow up, and no designed flow from one transitional stage to another. There has been no attempt in designing programs to differentiate the special needs of the newcomer from the complex of needs of which all in the ghetto share commonly.

The failure is racial and paternalistic: those who do provide help are often white, frequently as much strangers to the ghetto as the newcomer. They lack the sensitivity, the outlook and the empathy necessary and so often increase the feeling of strangeness, distrust, and forced dependency on the part of the newcomer.

CORE, having as it does both urban and rural roots, may well be able to do a far more constructive job in providing for adjustment to the urban environment than that presently done by white volunteer groups, local municipal programs, and private charitable agencies.

The point of entrance into the city is a crucial point of intervention. Once the newcomer comes to the ghetto, he relies upon it for whatever portion of security and identity it can provide. Part of the price now exacted for that security is lack of mobility, lack of access to services and resources, and lack of employment opportunity. This is virtually inevitable since there are at present no institutions in the ghetto which would provide the rudimentary knowledge needed to understand even the transportation system let alone the numerous other networks of resources and services.

Not only does the new migrant find that he is physically unable to leave the ghetto because he does not know how to use the transportation; it must also be realized that the whole bewildering array of problems--where to buy food, where to buy children's clothes, how to register a child for school, how to get to the hospital, how to find a baby-sitter, where to buy used furniture, and even where to find a place to live, and a place to stay while you look for a place to live--all of these are problems which any newcomer to any community faces but which are doubly baffling, frustrating and disheartening to the rural Negro who finds himself without friends, money or knowledge. This sense of frustration, helplessness and futility is reinforced through failure to achieve entry into the job market or to make any adjustments to the total urban community. If a family moves in with other families, it is often difficult or impossible to take the affirmative step of moving out, to acquire a home of their own, or to preserve the family unit.

The Program:

CORE takes cognizance of the fact that many major cities will soon be occupied by a population which is well over 50% black. It also takes notice of the fact that the great increase in population in the inner city will not occur simply because of the increase of births over death. In fact, a significant part of that increase will occur because of the migration of rural blacks to these great urban centers. CORE feels that it is the duty of this society and the duty of CORE to act so that no future generation is born into these rat infested, fear-ridden, hostility laden environments without hope--hope grounded in reality. Therefore, CORE desires, in setting forth this proposal, to provide a significant technique for arresting the further growth of a population which lives without hope often because help has come piece meal--too little and too late.

The program falls into three distinct phases:

Phase I - The Welcome Phase. The aim here is to find out the new migrant's most pressing needs, welcome him, see that he has shelter and food, assist him to start off a new life without immediately going into debt, being swindled or entering into arrangements forced upon him by sheer necessity.

Phase II - The Informational Phase. On the one hand, this involves informing the newcomer of available resources. On the other, it involves teaching him how to find out things for himself, how to cope, how to discover, how to venture forth. This may mean signing him for public assistance, Medicare, Head Start, child care programs (recent court decisions striking down residence requirements for welfare as unconstitutional may make this aspect of the program particularly critical).

Phase III - The Contributing Phase. Here the shift from passive to active takes place. The opportunity to give, to contribute, to produce, to assist others, to participate is critical. This can and will involve jobs training and placement programs--but it will also involve development of a sense of community.

An essential ingredient of the program which CORE proposes is based upon the principle of mutual self-help by the newcomer.

There is no reason why each person receiving help should not be called upon, as a condition of certain kinds of assistance to give half a day a week helping others following in his steps. This would give a feeling of pride, of community, of capability, of mutual support. It would generate friendships, equip each individual with a network of friends to whom he could turn and instill a sense of confidence and usefulness.

This program differs from other such programs in that it would start to provide services from the very moment that the migrant enters the bus terminal or train station in the urban area. Just as Traveler Aid starts to operate at the moment the unfortunate traveler appears upon the scene, so too this program would start to operate in order to provide transitional services for the migrant Negro before he enters the urban community. The frightened sometimes belligerent Negro needs to know he is welcome. A "travelers aid" type program would try to make the new migrant welcome. When combined with a type of "welcome wagon" program, real inroads should be possible to aid in adjustment. Thus, CORE will first attempt to make contact with the potential migrant before he ever leaves his rural setting. This can be done through a variety of ways: through announcement of Country Cousin Programs in the churches of the rural communities, through advertisement in the Negro press, and by developing new techniques. CORE, because it is a national organization and because it has worked in rural areas or cooperatively with other civil rights groups is specially situated as the organizational sponsor of a program.

CORE's appeal to and support at the grass roots level, its interpretation of black power as a programmatic concepts refusal to force integration upon the ghetto dwell or the newcomer from the South all make it the logical sponsor and organizer of a communal urbanization program based on self-help by Negroes and for Negroes. In fact, this program is simply one embodiment of the six point black power program which CORE developed and championed.

The Building Block Approach

The Country Cousin program has certain essential ingredients--but it is also readily susceptible of expansion by the provision of a large number of optional components which could and should be added to increase the program's effectiveness. This initial work paper does not purport to do more than sketch out those basic components. Each component would require separate design and development.

A. Essential components

1. Initial contact. Attendants would have to be stationed on an around the clock basis at every major terminal--bus, train, plane. In addition, for those coming by car, highway booths and Welcome Stations strategically situated in the ghetto would be established.

2. A need and resource inventory. An initial profile, made at the time of greeting or as soon practicable thereafter, would be made to determine pressing needs, past employment record, skills, relations in town who might be contacted, church affiliation, family left, behind, etc.

3. Freedom shelter centers. A Country Cousin Center should offer temporary living quarters, an apartment finding service, emergency medical care, an opportunity to learn about and join various civic, religious and social organizations; and a multiple registration desk for welfare, school, Head Start, health and nutrition check-ups, etc.

4. An employment placement center. A cooperatively owned and self-supporting job placement center would check out references (difficult to get for newcomers), bond employees (if need be), offer a battery of aptitude and skill tests (which were not culture biased), fill out resumes, provide practice in job interviews,

set up interviews, provide transportation to job interviews, secure placement in training programs, etc. The employment center might concentrate on building up a labor force inventory in the temporary manpower field, and for such jobs as bookkeepers, cashiers, grocery store checkers, general office clerks, business machine operators, automotive repairmen, bus drivers, taxi drivers, laundry and dry cleaning operatives, waiters, waitresses and cooks, practical nurses, hospital attendants, medical technicians, clerical assistants, shipping clerks, telephone operators and such other manpower sources as could be built up quickly, trained and employed in a relatively short time. Emphasis would be placed on job categories where there was employment both in and out of the ghetto.

5. A Country Cousin information center and telephone service modeled after the Citizens' Advice Bureau in England, which would provide guidance and information on problems for the urban newcomer including legal counseling, help and advice on specific problems and information on community and urban resources.

Optional components would include:

1. A total transportation system including:

a. A transportation information service on bus, subway, and public transport facilities.

b. A driver training school (which would also use specially prepared driving test manuals as literacy material).

c. A taxi cab company to provide driver training, transportation within the ghetto, direct experience with the physical layout of the city, a job interview transportation system, a children pickup service for working mothers.

d. A community tour guide service for the newcomer.

e. An automotive repair center for maintenance of taxies, for job training, for low cost repair of privately owned automobiles of Country Cousins.

2. An emergency Location Loan program - To provide money at special low rates of interest (or no interest. This would be particularly feasible in New York where a person is eligible for emergency welfare assistance pending a final determination of eligibility for welfare).

3. Special service industries to meet the immediate needs of the urban newcomers: a used furniture repair and sales business, an appliance repair business, a real estate business, drug store, grocery store, cooperative child care centers, home maintenance business, automobile insurance and general insurance business. These businesses would be owned cooperatively and could be invested in by Country Cousins and others who would get discount rates and dividends.

4. Freedom schools offering a combination of special tutorial programs, organizational training, protest techniques, and instruction on legal rights.

5. Community organization programs--welfare rights organizations, tenants organizations, poverty workers unions, school-parents organizations, youth organizations.

6. Satellite industry and investment programs. Korvettes, Sears, Macy's, Horn and Hardarts could all open up ghetto outlets that would serve both as businesses and training centers. Large manufacturing enterprises could establish small parts manufacturing plants that would provide On-the-Job Training using government funds. Workers in these satellite plants would then be guaranteed job placement in the larger plant if he chose. There could also be provision of opportunity to invest in the parent corporation through deductions from payroll and training stipends.

July 14, 1967

McKissick

COUNTRY COUSIN - PILOT PROGRAM
Cost Projections Summary

PERSONNEL	1,002,532.05
SPACE	225,729.00
EQUIPMENT AND SUPPLIES	54,109.74
OTHER COSTS	281,850.00
Items not individually priced out	312,844.16
TOTAL COST PROJECTION	1,877,064.95

NOTE: All figures quoted are for a 15 month period.

2

COUNTRY COUSIN - PILOT PROGRAM
Cost Projections

PERSONNEL

1	Directors	31,250.00
1	Associate Director	27,500.00
2	Communication Specialists (18,750)	37,500.00
5	Field Communication Specialists (working in states of out migration) (12,500)	62,500.00
20	Community Specialists (7,500)	150,000.00
2	Shelter Directors (12,500)	25,000.00
3	Placement Center Directors (13,750)	41,250.00
3	Lawyers (12,500)	37,500.00
1	Registered Nurse	7,500.00
6	Nursery School Teachers (7,500)	45,000.00
6	Placement Officers (10,000)	60,000.00
	Evaluation and Quality Control Team:	
1	Research Director	14,200.00
1	Assistant to the Director	8,000.00
14	Part-time college student researchers (20 hours/week; $2.50/hr.)	44,800.00
23	Secretaries (6,500)	149,500.00
3	Clerk-Typists (5,625)	16,875.00
1	Payroll Clerk	7,740.00
1	Purchasing Agent	8,000.00
1	Receptionist	7,000.00
1	Office Aide	5,000.00
2	Clerk-Typists for Office Pool (5,625)	11,250.00
1	Nurse's Aide	5,000.00
12	Teachers' Aides (4,000)	48,000.00
1	Cleaning Woman	5,500.00
	Part-time clerical help when required	1,000.00
Payroll taxes and Unemployment Compensation (5%)		42,843.25
Group Hospital, Insurance (4%)		34,274.60
Pension Plan (8%)		68,549.20
		1,002,532.05

SPACE

Shelter Centers: 50 apartments at $150 per month (includes furnishings, utensils, janitorial services, heat, lights, gas).	112,500.00
Placement Centers: 34,160 sq. ft. at $3.00 per sq. ft. (includes Nursery school space); based on 140 sq. ft. per person.	102,480.00
Cost of conversion	10,749.00
	225,729.00

EQUIPMENT AND SUPPLIES

61	Flat top desks at $80 each	4,880.00
51	Straight back swivel chairs at $34.27 each	1,747.77
28	Typist Chairs at $26.90 each	753.20
56	Side chairs at $20 each	1,120.00
150	Childrens chairs at $10 each	1,500.00
2	Arm chairs	
7	Lounge sofas	
6	Conference tables at $275 each	1,650.00
79	Telephones (installation and rental - $50 each)	3,950.00
55	Desk lamps at $13 each	715.00
16	Dictating machines at $300 each	4,800.00
16	Transcribing machines at $300 each	4,800.00
2	Electric adding machines at $289 each	578.00
31	File cabinets (5 drawer) at $81.85 each	2,537.35
	Book shelves	
98	Wastebaskets at $6 each	588.00
15	Standard electric typewriters at $470 each	7,050.00
13	Portable electric typewriters at $200 each	2,600.00
1	Mimeograph machine	
1	Xerox machine (or similar machine) rental $100/mo.	1,500.00
43	Smoking stands at $3 each	129.00
16	Coat racks at $21.62 each	345.92
10	Drinking fountains at $137.55 each	1,375.[illegible]
3	Sets law books at $3,000 each	9,000.00
	Law magazines and journals	100.00
	Subscriptions to popular magazines	
	Medical supplies for Registered Nurse	
	Testing materials and equipment for Visual and Auditory examinations (Registered Nurse)	1,000.00
6	Pianos (second-hand) at $200 each	1,200.00
6	Piano stools at $15.00 each	90.00
6	Blackboards	
6	Sandboxes	
	Toys and Books for Nursery Schools	
1	Portable vacuum cleaner at $100	100.00
		54,109.74

OTHER COSTS

Computer time	6,500.00
Court costs - filing for 3 lawyers	1,500.00
Legal forms	300.00
Accounting firm per year	18,750.00
General office maintenance	1,500.00
Consumable supplies ($75/person; 94 persons)	7,050.00
Consumable supplies for children in Nursery Schools ($50/child; 150 children)	7,500.00
Materials production: $10/client; 12,500 clients (includes testing materials)	125,000.00
Travel	31,250.00
Per Diem	12,500.00
Consultants	25,000.00
Insurance	25,000.00
Bonding	20,000.00
	281,850.00

These items have not been individually priced out therefore they are estimated at 20% of cost for the project.

Book shelves Arm chairs Lounge sofas Subscriptions to popular magazines Medical supplies Mimeograph machine Blackboards, sandboxes, toys and books for Nursery Schools	312,844.16

TOTAL COST PROJECTION	1,877,064.95

DRAFT

Office of the Director (420 sq. ft. of space)

*1	Director
1	Flat top desk
1	Straight back swivel chair
1	Telephone
2	Side Chairs
1	Desk lamp
1	Dictating machine
1	Transcribing machine
1	File cabinet
	Book shelves
*1	Secretary
*1	Clerk-Typist
2	Flat top desks
2	typist chairs
2	Telephones
2	Desk Lamps
2	Full size electric typewriters
3	Wastebaskets
1	Smoking stand

Office of the Associate Director (280 sq. ft. of space)

*1	Associate Director
1	Flat top desk
1	Straight back swivel chair
2	Side chairs
1	Telephone
1	Desk Lamp
1	Dictating machine
1	Transcribing machine
1	File cabinet
	Book shelves
*1	Secretary
1	Flat top desk
1	typist chair
1	Telephone
1	Desk lamp
1	Full size electric typewriter
2	Wastebaskets
1	Smoking stand

Office of Communication Specialists (560 sq. ft. of space)

*2	Communication Specialists
2	Flat top desks
2	Straight back swivel chairs
2	Side chairs
2	Telephones
2	Desk lamps
1	Didctating machine
1	Transcribing machine
1	File cabinet
	Book shelves
*2	Secretaries
2	Flat top desks
2	Typist chairs
2	Desk lamps
2	Telephones

Communication Specialists continued

2	Full size electric typewriters
4	Wastebaskets
2	Smoking stands

Offices of Field Communication Specialists (1,400 sq. ft. of space)

*5	Field Communication Specialists
5	Flat top desks
5	Straight back swivel chairs
5	Side chairs
5	Telephones
5	Desk lamps
5	Didtating machines
5	Transcribing machines
5	File cabinets
	Book shelves
*5	Secretaries
5	Flat top desks
5	Typist chairs
5	Telephones
5	Desk lamps
5	Portable electric typewriters
10	Wastebaskets
5	Smoking stands

Reception Centers (2,520 sq. ft. of space)

*20	Community Specialists
6	Long Conference Tables
18	Swivel straight back chairs
18	Side chairs
18	Telephones
6	Lounge sofas
18	Wastebaskets
18	Smoking stands

Office of Shelter Directors (700 sq. ft. of space)

*2	Shelter Directors
2	Flat top desks
2	Straight back swivel chairs
2	Side chairs
1	Dictating machine
1	Transcribing machine
2	Telephones
2	Desk lamps
2	File cabinets
	Book shelves
*2	Secretaries
2	Flat top desks
2	typist chairs
2	Telephones
2	Desk lamps
2	Full size electric typewriters
*1	Cleaning Woman
1	Portable vacuum cleaner
5	Wastebaskets
2	Smoking stands

Office of Placement Center Directors (840 sq. ft. of space)

*3	Placement Center Directors
3	Flat top desks
3	Straight back swivel chairs
3	Desk lamps
3	side chairs
3	Telephones
2	Dictating machines
2	Transcribing ;machines
3	File cabinets
	Book shelves
*3	Secretaries
3	Flat top desks
3	Typist chairs
3	Desk lamps
3	Telephones
3	Full size electric typewriters
6	Wastebaskets
3	Smoking stands

Legal Offices (840 sq. ft. of space)

*3	Lawyers
3	Flat top desks
3	Straight back swivel chairs
3	desk lamps
3	side chairs
2	Dictating machines
2	Transcribing machines
3	Telephones
3	File cabinets
3	Law libraries
	Book shelves
	Professional magazines and journals
*3	Secretaries
3	Flat top desks
3	Typist chairs
3	Desk lamps
3	Telephones
6	Wastebaskets
3	Smoking stands
3	Full size electric typewriters

Medical Office (280 sq. ft. of space)

*1	Registered Nurse
1	Flat top desk
1	Straight back swivel chair
1	Side Chair
1	Desk lamp
1	Telephone
	Medical supplies
	Testing equipment and ;materials (eyes and ears)
*1	Nurse's Aide
1	Desk (flat top)
1	Typist chair
1	Desk lamp
1	Portable electric typewriter
1	File cabinet
	Book shelves
2	Wastebaskets

Nursery Schools (6 schools, 25 children in each school) (23,520 sq. ft. of space

*6	Teachers
*12	Teachers' Aides
6	Flat top desks
6	Straight back swivel chairs.
6	Pianos
6	Piano stools
6	Sandboxes
6	Large blackboards
12	Side chairs
150	Childrens chairs
	Book shelves
	Toy shelves
	Toys
	Books
6	Telephones
6	Long coat racks
24	Wastebaskets
6	Drinking fountains

Offices of Placement Officers (1,680 sq. ft. of space)

*6	Placement Officers
6	Flat top desks
6	Straight back swivel chairs
6	Desk lamps
6	Telephones
6	Side chairs
6	File cabinets
	Book shelves
3	Dictating machines
3	Transcribing machines
*6	Secretaries
6	Flat top desks
6	typist chairs
6	desk lamps
6	Telephones
6	Portable electric typewriters
12	Wastebaskets
6	Smoking stands

Office of Payroll Clerk (140 sq. ft. of space)

*1	Payroll Clerk
1	Flat top desk
1	Straight back swivel chair
1	Telephone
1	Desk Lamp
1	File cabinet
1	Adding machine
1	Wastebasket

Office of Purchasing Agent (140 sq. ft. of space)

*1	Purchasing Agent
1	Flat top desk
1	Straight back swivel chair
1	Telephone
1	Desk lamp
1	File Cabinet
1	Adding machine
1	Wastebasket

Office of Office XXX Aide (140 sq. ft. of space)

*1	Office Aide (Duplicating duties)
1	Flat top desk
1	Straight back swivel chair
1	Desk lamp
1	Telephone
6	File cabinets
1	Mimeograph machine
1	Xerox machine or similar machine
1	Wastebasket

Center Receptionist (140 sq. ft. of space)

*1	Receptionist
1	Flat top desk
1	Typist chair
1	Desk lamp
1	Portable electric typewriter
1	Master Telephone
1	Lounge sofa
2	Arm Chairs
1	Wastebasket
2	Smoking stands

Typing Pool (280 sq. ft. of space)

*2	Clerk-typists
2	Flat top desks
2	Typist chairs
2	Full size electric typewriters
2	Telephones
2	Desk lamps
2	Wastebaskets

General Office Equipment

10	Coat racks
4	Drinking Fountains

8/26/64

Mr. Farmer:

Six months ago I would probably have supported your cause. It is my considered opinion, however, that your organization is as bigoted as the bigots you fight. Your personal conduct during the Harlem riots struck me as being directed toward incitement.

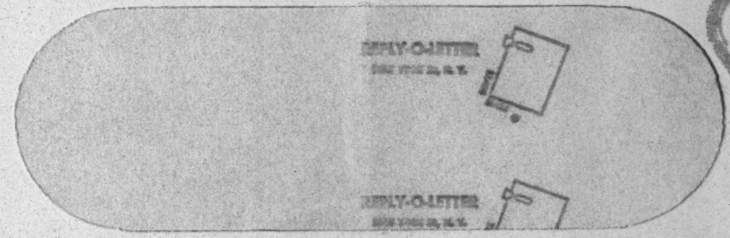
The "beatnik" types you turned out for the Republican Convention hold no interest for me. If this is the type you want to put *in* my neiborhood, schools, etc. I will not contribute toward it.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

ARTICLE XV

The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

CANCELLED



As a concerned citizen, you are undoubtedly planning to exercise your constitutional right to vote on November 3 -- along with millions of your fellow-Americans.

Yet despite the explicit guarantee of the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, other millions of Americans will not be permitted to vote.

The reason? Their race. Many will try to register, of course, and will be turned back. Many will not even try, for fear of bloody reprisals. For in much of the South, the would-be Negro voter faces a powerful combination of opposition from White Citizens Councils, from "Birchers," even from state and local police.

Neither "law-enforcing" nor law-breaking segregationists are shy about it. The entire nation was shocked by the awful fate which befell CORE staff members James Chaney and Michael Schwerner and student volunteer Andrew Goodman. For the first time, many Americans were made aware of the violence racists are capable of. But the fact is, the same cruelty, bloodshed, and totalitarian brutality has been used to terrorize the southern Negro since Emancipation.

For precisely this reason, courageous Americans are participating in a concerted voter registration drive throughout the South. In many areas, those who are registered will be the first of their race ever to help elect a President of the U.S.!

CORE will help in every way possible, especially in the hard-bitten areas of Mississippi, Louisiana, and northern Florida. But our nonviolent struggle to maintain the integrity of the 15th Amendment will not be easy. Many of our brave men and women -- white and Negro -- will be beaten and jailed. Others, perhaps, cut down.

Yes, the courage of our freedom workers is magnificent ... but, by itself, it is not enough to win the battle. Your support is needed for the medical care, legal costs, bail bonds that can make the Constitution meaningful to tens of thousands of Americans. I hope you will give $10 -- more if you can, less if you must. But whatever you give, please mail it in the envelope above today! Time is fleeting -- and we need you NOW.

Sincerely,

James Farmer

James Farmer

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
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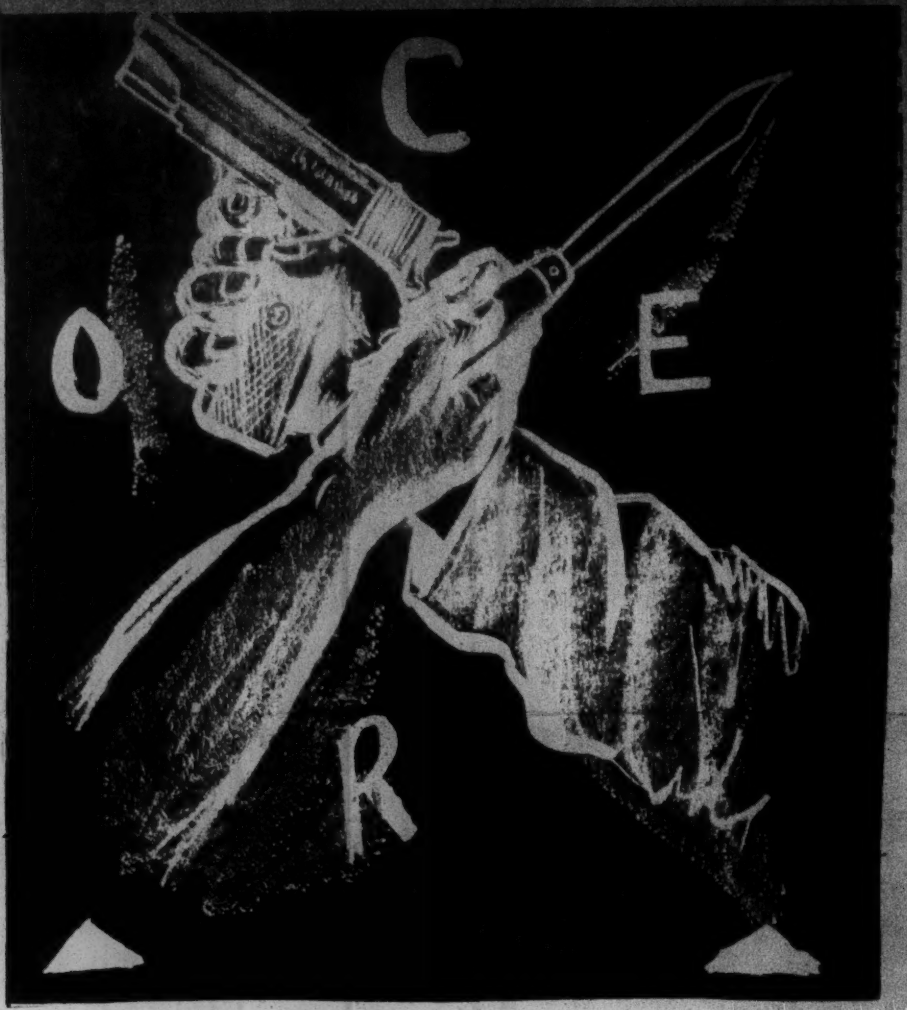

SEP 2 1964

Crutch Farmer

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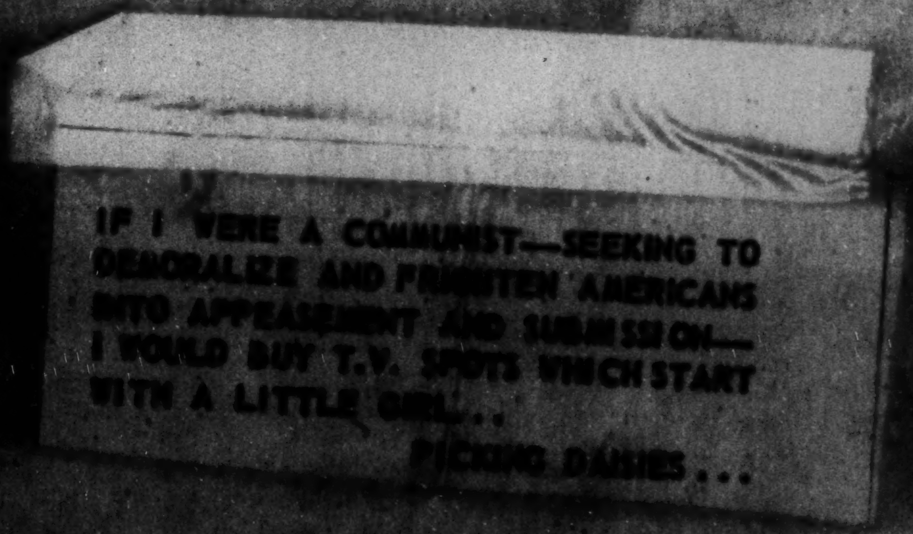
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URBAN DISORDERS RESEARCH - TENTATIVE PROGRAM FORMULATION

by

R. D. Holbrook and J. L. Sorenson

December, 1964

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1. INTRODUCTION

Early in 1964 Defense Research Corporation studies of insurgency in Latin America pointed up the threat to friendly governments from urban-area demonstrations, riots, and terrorism. As part of the company's studies of physical security problems,* this topic was investigated further during the year, with the aim of delineating the needs of the United States in general and the Department of Defense in particular for a program of research on "urban insurgency". As an important part of that effort an interdisciplinary conference was held in Santa Barbara during the first week of September. The specific theme of the conference was urban violence as a threat to established government, considered as a research problem. The conference was attended by some thirty specialists from a wide range of institutions and agencies. Facts and ideas gleaned from the September conference, communication with other interested researchers, and examination of a modest literature (see References to DRC IMR-176, Urban Insurgency Cases) have all aided significantly in maturing our understanding of the problem. This paper reports preliminary findings regarding the kind and scope of research DRC believes is needed on urban political disorders.

At the close of the DRC Urban Insurgency Conference general consensus prevailed among participants that, (1) current understanding of phenomena included under the tentative heading "urban insurgency" is insufficient to provide a sound basis for determining U.S. policy with respect either to overseas or domestic urban disorders; (2) measures now known to be available to the U.S. to prevent urban insurgent disorder, or to cope with it after it has begun, are poorly researched and implementation is full of problems; (3) current inquiries directed to the subject will not provide the necessary information; (4) the problems demanding study cover a range exceeding the normal concerns of the military R and D community; (5) that community is capable of making important contributions to solution of many of these problems; and (6) there are substantial reasons for initiating a research program at this time. The DRC project team accepts these conclusions and uses this memorandum as a vehicle to point out a systematic program to meet the need.

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*For the Advanced Research Projects Agency under OSD Contract No. 231.

Sections following discuss the problem, a description of an overall research program in urban disorders, a specification of particular research inquiries composing the program, and a summary.

It is particularly noted that, even though the literature on urban area insurgency is small and inchoate, we do not propose in this paper to try to fill the gap by providing an extensive, let alone a definitive, discussion of the field,. Preliminary characterization of some dimensions of the problem already has appeared in DRC IM-154 (Workbook for Participants, Urban Insurgency Conference). Conference discussions of a number of aspects of the topic are also contained in a transcript of proceedings which is available in manuscript. A more complete treatment of the entire subject appears in DRC IMR-176 (Urban Insurgency Cases).

II. PROBLEM RECOGNITION

The whole history of cities, at least since classical times, has shown them to be the scene of the most rapid social change and the most crucial political maneuvering in the more developed nations. With industrialization and the population boom of the last few generations scarcely any country has escaped involvement of its city masses in determining its structures of power. Violence--through strikes, riots, calculated terror campaigns, etc.--may be a vehicle for that determination. At present more than half the nations of the world have political opposition groups which may use violent means to gain power for themselves.* Increasing economic aspirations and growing political awareness among city dwellers combine with increasing numbers of inhabitants, crowding, breakdowns in traditional means of social control, and spreading agitation to multiply the situations where governments prove unable to keep internal peace. While the problem of security against guerrilla action is receiving much attention at present, methods for coping with urban disorders have changed little in decades.

Internally, our own country faces challenges to order on a number of fronts. Racial disputes, economic (strike) conflicts, political extremism, delinquent irresponsibility in young people, and other difficulties smolder on every hand, ready to flame up into serious disorders under agitation. After Rochester, Harlem, Birmingham, and Berkeley, the dangers to established authority of urban violence due to whatever motivation are more evident. Meanwhile, in places like Khartoum, Saigon, Dublin, Caracas, and Burundi, events show how planned and unplanned violence with a specifically political aim gives opportunities for powers unfriendly to the U.S. to probe for advantage. The two types of problems, domestic and foreign, have some significant differences, but certain of the phenomena in the development of both situations appear to be similar and research progress on the one should yield results applicable to the other. This paper considers the second problem:

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*from press materials of late 1964, being prepared as a DRC Internal Memorandum.

what are those research measures which seem most needed in a reasonable effort by the U.S. to contribute to the internal security of friendly nations overseas?

"Urban insurgency" was used initially in a commonsense way, contrasting urban events in an operational sense with rural (guerrilla) activity, and using insurgency to indicate a primary concern with matters of power and government rather than to encompass the larger question of criminal and unstructured violence. While it is obvious that urban-based insurgency is only a species-level component of the insurgency family, which in turn belongs to the larger order of social violence; for our purpose it appears analytically isolatable. Historical situations have demonstrated a number of times that the special circumstances of military and paramilitary operations in an urban setting involves such a distinctive set of geographical, sociological, psychological, logistic, and other factors that men not trained for such tasks prove unsuitable even though "normally" they knew their business well. Thayer has observed, soundly, that--

> The skills of the urban guerrilla are as different from those of his rural colleague as the skills of an office clerk or a factory worker are from those of the woodsman or peasant. Though he must be as familiar with the alleys and cellars, the sewers and utility tunnels of his town as the rural fighter is with his mountain tracks and forest trails, he must seek concealment not under a hat covered with native foliage but in his ability for dissimulation...*

Since "urban insurgency" is only a term of convenience, its use by no means rules out the likelihood that varieties will be specifiable within the category. We consciously resist the temptation either to divide up the field a priori or to fix terminology prematurely by offering a glossary. In this programmatic paper perhaps only one firm definition is required: Urban insurgency is defined as that range of social conflict which is aimed at overthrow or modification of a constitued political system by the use of violence, or the threat of violence, within the ecological and social setting of urban communities. As discussion develops and research proceeds a terminology will develop through usage among a community of workers.

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*C.W. Thayer, Guerrilla, p. 152, Harper and Row (1963).

It is convenient initially to provide working subdivisions of our topic by visualizing several levels of intensity of violence. For example, the DRC Conference tentatively considered four "periods" as follows: (1) one characterized by normally functioning government institutions, but with severe social dislocations, perhaps predisposing to disorder which may be precipitated by some particular event; (2) a time of unrest and violence (demonstrations, riots, etc.) sufficient to put normal police forces under severe stress and perhaps to require the employment of auxiliary units; (3) an interval characterized by strategically planned insurgency with fairly regular and extreme violence, approximating low-level "guerrilla" conflict; and (4) finally a full-scale uprising, with rebel paramilitary forces and the regular military engaged in an open contest for the city.

While this characterization may prove unsuitable for serious work in depth, it does help in a preliminary delineation of research problems in urban counterinsurgency. Interest in social dislocations prior to violence (as in (1) above) is aimed primarily at devising ways of forestalling disorders. One would also like to give the police greater flexibility and more effective tools for coping with urban unrest and major disorders such as violent demonstrations and riots (as in (2) above). This requires an improved understanding of the phenomena themselves, including individual behavior under crowd conditions, and of the police as a subsystem of government.

The possibility of regular low-level urban conflict (period (3) above) between organized urban insurgents and government forces i is quite real. Its mastery requires new techniques and material, as well as intimate knowledge of the ground and the methods of the enemy. While we do not normally think of full-scale city fighting (period (4) above) as part of insurgent conflicts, the subject does deserve study for a mumber of reasons: coups d'etat which may give rise to full battle (cf. Puerto Cabello and Carupano, Venezuela, 1962, and Dublin, 1916); the many cases of potential importance where military forces may be constrained not to utilize their full strength; and the few historically recent, very significant cases where organized dissidents have defied unrestrained conventional military forces for relatively long periods (cf. Warsaw).

Of course it has frequently happened that some sequence of related events, or even a single act, may precipitate a change from one level of violence to another. Thus no level is separable from others except for analytical purposes.

The brief recognition of the problem just presented assumes that proper protection of U. S. interests requires some rational, prepared response to urban insurgency. The nature of that response and the means for arriving at it require further explanation.

The primary response needed is understanding of the nature of the insurgency. It is likely that there are some situations of disorder in which no reasonable U.S. response, either anticipatory or operational, is desirable. Of those situations where U. S. action would be desirable for various reasons, circumstances will sometimes dictate that we are unable to do anything useful. Then, of the remaining settings where both should and can intervene, the relevant question is how to proceed most effectively. (we note that intervention does not necessarily mean responding to someone else's disorders. There could be occasions when U.S. interests will be served by provoking disorders ourselves).

The ramifications of urban disorders are so many, the timing so crucial, the stakes so high, and the opportunities for unwise action so frequent that policy decisions in these matters need to be made from the perspective of the most complete and systematic understanding of possible insurgent-counterinsurgent situations. We see the role of military R and D (including the social science component of the community) as a technical one in providing the policy-maker with this understanding where he is called upon to make determinations, and also to provide him with the broadest possible variety of operational tools to choose from in carrying out the chosen policy.

Our investigations to this point show that urban insurgent disorders are not at all clearly understood. Various of the social or behavioral sciences have impinged upon this area of research, but a clear focusing is now needed. For example, we need to determine from known cases whether there are certain social, economic, or political settings which make urban disorders probable, possible, unlikely, or impossible. If, for example, there is only the remotest chance that a terrorist campaign can be launched and sustained in Lisbon or Capetown or Santiago, we should know that fact, so that our resources are not needlessly dispersed where there is no possible need. Furthermore, it may well be that potential disorders can be spotted with good reliability years in advance through observation of crucial indicators (e.g., changes in the rate of crimes of violence, or in the number of unemployed intellectuals), in which case certain development programs might be implemented to head off serious difficulty.

Much more immediate and urgent, of course, is the problem of research and development in the clearly operational areas. What kind of police tactics are effective? How can sure-fire communications be worked out in the electromagnetic jungle which is the city? How is curfew best employed, if at all? Here the research required is directly comparable to much that has already gone on in general rural counterinsurgency R and D.

At first glance these two kinds of research seem to imply vastly different time-scales of effort--on the one hand much fairly basic research, and therefore considerable time, is required; on the other hand the data and postulated threats can be assembled and manipulated within a reasonably short space of time. While this is essentially correct, there are serious disadvantages in separating the two types of investigation too completely. As we are learning in rural counterinsurgency, the social-science kinds of problems merge into conventional military concerns without much respect for neat boundaries. That seems especially true in urban insurgency where social problems imperceptibly blend into occasional violence and then systematic disorder, while the military finds itself in not paramilitary, but semi-police, action with totally inadequate preparation (cf. Little Rock, Caracas, or Saigon). The strongly sociopolitical nature of any kind of insurgency is increasingly obvious; to separate research on the problems into two disparate segments would defeat the integrated approach which more and more seems required.

We recognize fully that some portions of the following tentative program fit into the normal research activities of the Department of Defense better than do others. Certain of the topics suggested relate to a greater degree to the normal concerns of other agencies such as the Department of State. An integrated plan must be aware of these differences but need not be unduly constrained by them. The detailed question of what portions of the proposed research should be supported or encouraged by which governmental agency has not bee considered in our work so far.

III. RESEARCH

The spectrum of data and concepts required in dealing with the urban insurgent disorders problem is so broad that coordination would be especially difficult. Skills needed range all the way from social psychology through military tactics and advanced equipment design. The full range of personnel to carry on such a program can hardly be expected in a single institution. Coordination, even of the most general kind to facilitate data sharing, therefore, will have to evolve more than be decreed.

The more than fifty distinguishable research inquiries suggested at the DRC Urban Insurgency Conference ranged from the simplest kinds of data collection to the most sophisticated field resting, utilizing the entire range of sciences. The overlapping which the recommendations of the conference's working groups finally displayed indicated that particular types and techniques of inquiry seem to be appropriate irrespective of the "period" or stage of the insurgency studied. For example, the same broad kinds of operational analyses are appropriate to tactical studies whether rioting or house-to-house infantry combat is under study, although different parameters are of interest.

Insofar as this holds, it is reasonable to order the specific inquiries into groups representing broad areas of investigation unified by methodology, as has been done below. Taken together these form a program aimed at providing the information necessary to conceive, develop, and implement a range of response mechanisms for short- and middle-term urban disorders control and also to prepare long-range preventive steps.

In recognition of the phasing problem, the program is intended to be preliminary, and represents something of a plateau which one would hope to achieve after some time. Having gained some experience from the broad program, we anticipate the refinement of diffuse questions which would then become specifiable research projects. In the discussion of projects given below an attempt has been made to indicate minimum reasonable levels of effort, holding in abeyance the question of what might appear to be needed at a later stage of research progress.

A. PROGRAM

the suggested program involves seven broad areas of investigation, each consisting of one ore more distinct inquiries. Divided into roughly different methodologies, the broad areas are

Urban Threat Analyses
Indicators
Urban Operations
Implementation
Research Techniques
Communist Bloc Doctrines of Urban Insurgency
Strategic Implications of Urban Disorders.

The urban threat analyses attempt to determine the whole nature and extent of the threat from urban disorders in selected cities of the world. The work on indicators concerns long- and short-term detection of forthcoming trouble. It attempts to devise measures for assessing the imminence of threats and the stability and sensitivity of the urban aspects of societies. These two are essentially parallel, cooperative investigations whose inquiries may be expected to converge. They are also more or less heavily oriented to the social, or behavioral, sciences.

The largest area of investigation in terms of effort, which is also the most technological in nature, concerns the tactics of government response in controlling urban disorders. It considers, to borrow from standard terminology, terrain, targets and operations, material, and techniques. It progresses primarily through operations research, feasibility investigations, and engineering measurement, although some of the measurements desired are of psychological and sociological variables.

The implementation portion of the program is aimed at the problems of application of control techniques to actual field situations, where cultural, political, or other factors may be of overriding importance in determing whether or not a particular technique can be brought into play.

The area of research techniques is called out because of very substantial difficulties in data collection and analysis which seem to be particularly obtrusive. Quantitative data on extensive urban violence is especially hard to find. This is perhaps most noticeable in demonstrations, riots, and other manifestations of violent mass behavior. For example, no suitable techniques appear to have been devised for systematic observation of these events, for controlled tests of crowd behavior, and for similar phenomena.

One of the concerns voiced by participants in the Conference and occasionally alluded to by students of revolution bears on the question of whether Soviets or Chinese theorists may be attempting to evolve doctrines for urban insurgent operations, analogous to the considerable body of theory developed for rural guerrilla operations. It seems highly desirable to examine communist works and statements bearing on this topic.

Finally, strategic thinking on urban conflict, analogous to the explorations of recent years of various aspects of strategic warfare, seems most pertinent.

The particular area divisions are traditional and frankly designed to match more or less standard procedures of DOD and the Services, in the interests of having either a single agency or closely related ones oversee the entire program.

B. PROJECTS

1. Urban Threat Analysis

A most urgently needed activity is a controlled examination of the nature and extent of the urban threat in selected cities of the world. Real situations need to be examined in detail before recommendations for preventive or corrective action can be taken seriously.

It seems most appropriate to focus attention initially on Latin America, but at least one other area should be investigated to draw attention to important differences which may affect research procedures and their validity.

Cities should be selected on at least four bases: strategic importance of the nation to U.S. interest; imminence of serious urban disorders; the possession of features suspected to be of broad significance to a whole class of cities; and accessibility of certain essential data. From this point of view the more interesting cities of Latin America--for urban threat analyses--are listed below:

Caracas, Venezuela
Panama City, Panama
Lima, Peru
Guatemala City, Guatemala
Recife, Brazil
Santiago, Chile
Guayaquil, Ecuador
Port au Prince, Haiti

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*Any actual list of cities chosen would, of course, be arrived at on the basis of an up-dated assessment of the likelihood of trouble and anticipated needs of the U. S. government.

Ideally, one would like to examine two cities in Panama and several in Brazil, because of the inherent complexity of each situation and the tendency of any one city to have unique features. At least one metropolis in the U.S. should be studied, and one city in a completely different part of the world, perhaps in the Middle East (for example, Teheran).

In order to extend understanding of the nature of Urban insurgency and to generate hypotheses, detailed analyses of the following factors would be undertaken on at least one dozen urban insurgency situations, using historical sources. The same kinds of information would also be obtained for each of the cities chosen from the priority list.

(a) History of violence and insurgency
(b) Cultural factors in the conception of violence and insurgency
(c) Sociopolitical structure
(d) Physical setting
(e) Resources for control of violence and insurgency
(f) Resources for use by the violent and insurgent

Given these data for each city, the following operations would be conducted: (1) the structural-functional elements of the city as a society would be modeled by methods already available in the social sciences; (2) the physical setting of the city would also be modeled; (3) various plausible scenarios of violence would be utilized to assess the probable significance of modifying a large number of variables (e.g., police organization, weaponry, intelligence capability, propaganda, communications facilities, etc.); (4) the present situation would be projected by one-year steps for five years to extrapolate logical changes in the situation and foresee contingencies; (5) first-order arguments would be formulated regarding steps which might be taken to forestall the growth in urban unrest; (6) the arguments would be reconsidered in the light of particular cultural and political obstacles to implementation and to consider the effects of implementation; and (7) specific plans for action would be formulated or existing plans evaluated.

It is suggested that a reasonable structure for carrying on these analyses is as follows: the basic sociological investigations (a) through (c) above would most usefully be carried out by academicians expert in a particular country, utilizing graduate students as assistants, or else by other area specialists used to performing similar studies. The data for operations analyses (d) through (f) could be collected by an analysis team which would perform the analytical operations (1) through (5). The sociological investigators could be attached to the analysis team either as consultants or by subcontract.

Experience with research operations of this kind suggests that the analysis team should consist of not less than three, nor more than six people. This appreciation arises from the fact that regular and intimate interactions are required and that for such studies it is desirable to avoid too great an involvement in detail.

For such a team, one city is too few, and five cities are probably too many to work on at once. Reasonably the team could deal with four cities if they were not widely disparate. (For example, a four or five man team could analyze two Latin American, one Middle Eastern, and one U.S. city somewhat less comfortably than, say, four Latin American cities.) The initial period of investigation would reasonably be a year, with the sociological and resources data being accumulated largely during the first six months. Basic analysis would be accomplished during the remaining half-year with the social scientists acting as consultants.

Of course it is not clear at this point whether continuing or additional city analyses would be required on the same urban areas. A holding operation at least would seem to be required, becase continuing comparison of projections with subsequent actual developments offers a way to test and refine the analytical techniques used.

As a practical matter, then, it might be desirable to begin this inquiry with two analysis teams, expecting each to shift to a new group of cities within a reasonable time while continuing to keep track of the situation in these already studied.

2. INDICATORS

An improved ability to anticipate urban disorders over both short and long periods would clearly be desirable. DRC experience in reviewing a series of cases of moderate to severe and explosive disorders suggests both that the authorities were surprised and that they did not have to be, although the data are admittedly sparse on this point.

This inquiry would consider recent historical cases, examining a sizable number of situations other than those suggested for the Urban Threat Analysis. (Historical material from the latter would later be added to the indicator study to extend the range of the sample without duplicating essential data gathering).

The investigation would look at cultural, social, political, and economic settings where urban disorders had occurred, with interpretation of the implications. This work would include (a) analysis of each situation in terms of a lengthy, standard set of hypothetical factors; (b) comparison of all the cases to determine those factors generally or universally shared; (c) determination of reliable scalable indicators of the shared factors; (d) formulation of one or more sets of stages or types of urban disorder on the basis of which a doctrine may be elaborated and (e) preliminary assessment of the probabilities of urban disorders or insurgency around the world, based upon the indicators tentatively established. Implicit in this work would be the objective of learning whether there is a natural developmental history for certain types of urban insurgency.

It is suggested that approximately two man-years of effort would be required to obtain significant results.

3. Urban Operations

The urban threat and indicator studies ultimately should result not only in increased overall understanding but also in fairly specific recommendations concerning preparations appropriate to particular urban area. Their utility will rest largely on the feasibility of certain tactical operations. The Urban Tactics inquiry is visualized as consisting of a fairly large number of discrete analyses and feasibility studies* directed to the general problem of prevention and control of urban violence. Such an inquiry should encompass a wide range of levels of violence and the phenomenon of escalation and should deal with the whole range of urban disorders.

Analyses would include target assessments; special requirements imposed by the urban environment; police and police auxiliary organization and operations; military operations; command and control doctrine; insurgent operations and organization; population movement control; psychological effects; and similar studies.

Feasibility studies include experimentation and would deal with such diverse subjects as collection or indicator devices; non-lethal weapons and delivery vehicles; protective devices for personnel and vehicles; urban control communications; requirements for identification and detection devices; selective demolitions; area-control techniques; counterinsurgent data storage and retrieval systems; and other applicable technology and tactics. Development would be undertaken as appropriate.

From the point of view of general progress and coordination it would be most desirable if one of the analysis efforts could be set up as a central clearing house and reporting point for the others, as well as for the feasibility studies and data collection efforts. If this could be implemented, the further step of utilizing that project to coordinate between efforts in Threat Analysis and Indicators would be a natural one. (It might be most convenient to begin such coordination with an analysis directed to target assessment and operations requirements on a range-of-cities basis. The effort required would vary slowly with the number of projects monitored and rapidly with the amount of analysis attempted.)

Since the analysis and feasibility studies vary widely in required effort, no reasonable estimate can be given at this time of the requirements for support.

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*A large number of topics for such researches is given in Appendix B. No attempt has been made in this short paper to describe such investigations in detail, as each requires considerable attention to characterize the program in proper detail.

4. Implementation

Even when action programs appropriate to meet an Urban insurgent threat have been determined, the subtle effects of local custom or tradition may provide obstacles to implementation. Successful implementation will in fact require an intimate knowledge of particular situations, a subtle administrative touch, diplomatic understandings, and considerable training of personnel involved. Even in the simplest case, where the only change in the situation is the provision of new equipment to existing forces, extensive retraining may be needed. In more complicated cases, where the operations and organization of established institutions are explicitly to be changed, the problem will be much more difficult.

It is suggested that one or more studies be undertaken covering the capability and operational procedures of counter-insurgent forces assigned to act in the cities of interest. These studies should take the local rules of behavior and tradition into account in determining practical difficulties in the implementation of hypothetical measures. Localized implementation studies should be prefaced by a look at the social science literature on social change to see if general principles have not already been established which may profitably be applied to this problem.

The studies should exhaust available U.S. data prior to undertaking on-the-site investigations. It is suggested that two one-man-year pilot studies are most appropriate to these explorations. Researchers might most profitably be individuals already knowledgeable in the areas concerned and well-known and accepted in the countries of interest.

5. Research Techniques

Work at DRC suggested, and numerous discussions during the conference confirmed, that the research techniques which have been applied to problems of conflict leave much to be desired. Some of these methodological problems must be attacked more effectively if the primary problems are to yield. The following list of topics for specific investigation suggests itself from a cursory assessment of reported methods of data collection and of available data; it is not offered as a comprehensive answer to this central problem.

a. Acquisition and Archiving

Three subtasks are conceived of here. The first is to establish a world-wide city map (or aerial photograph) archive of the physical environment of likely urban operational scenes. The second is to establish an archive of films and other observations of urban control operations suitable for reference and analytical work. The third is to develop a system for acquiring and cataloging the ephemeral handouts, tracts, and pamphlets put out by urban dissidents, which are rarely if ever obtained and analyzed even though they are among the most valuable sources for understanding the nature of the insurgent challenge. Such an information handling institution as Battelle Memorial Institute may be best equipped for such tasks. One man-year of effort should produce clarification of the needs and possibilities and recommendations for handling systems.

b. Data-getting Tools

Another task of a somewhat different nature, though still related to data collection problems, is to develop and test tools to tap new sources, or better to exploit old ones. There is need for a means of observing and even testing crowd behavior in terms of a common set of concepts or units of behavior. Also needed is an investigation of the possibility of using rapid sample survey tests to detect crucial indicators of unrest before the event. Finally there is the need, expressed by several persons at the recent DRC conference, for intensive interviewing of actual participants in urban insurgencies. The crowd behavior and sample survey jobs together seem to require a social psychologist. The interviewing might be broadly aimed at developing a record of operations and could well be made a fair-sized effort, inasmuch as it will be sure to give substantive results in addition to its methodological contribution. Two man-years for all this task might be appropriate pending an evaluation of results.

c. Quantification of Qualitative Data

Of perhaps longer-range importance is the question of how to quantify data which have usually been handled qualitatively (such as opinions or attitudes) so that the methods of operations research can be applied. A small and select working group of social scientists, mathematicians, and physical scientists should be able to assess the needs and possibilities in this area and provide initial guidance.

d. Novel Theoretical Frameworks

There is also the chance that novel theoretical frameworks might be applied to analysis of insurgency in the complex urban setting; for example, communications theory. Unless effort is applied to experimenting with some of these, it may be that only the more straightforward sociological or OR frameworks will be tried, certainly without exhausting the analytical possibilities. One appropriate person working largely independently could make an attempt at a novel analysis of the data on one city situation under study in Project 1 in order to judge the value of such approaches.

e. Manning Applied Social Science Research

This task considers the problem of manning applied social science research for military ends. There was general agreement at the conference that many social scientists seem reluctant to address research topics of military R and D significance where their skills might be relevant. There seems to be a variety of ideological, organizational, and other factors which influence this situation.

It is increasingly apparent that participation by behavioral scientists is particularly needed in researches on counterinsurgency. Our preliminary examination of problems in urban disorder suggests that it may be necessary to effect certain joint investigations using multidisciplinary teams with a behavioral science component. Since difficulty is anticipated in this area it seems desirable to initiate a modest survey to determine the best methods for securing participation and to define the key obstacles. Perhaps one-half man-year of effort should be invested in this problem.

f. Cost Analyses

Some cost analyses will be required but full-scale efforts are somewhat premature until results from some of the preceding (numbered) projects allow for description to the cost analyst of a rather clear set of alternative responses. What is suggested is a methodological approach, giving the economist an opportunity to wrestle with such phenomenon as police operating costs, lost working time of the civilian population, tax losses, and so on, which will be crucial to his calculations when specific cities are considered. This work should dwell on one city situation to begin with, paralleling part of Project 1. Rough cost comparisons would be made, corresponding to various responses which operational people on the project suggest are reasonable. Since the effort so conceived would depend rather heavily on Project 1, it could well begin about six months later so that preliminary recommendations would be available to the cost analyst at the outset of this work. It is suggested that the initial exploratory work be at a low level.

6. Communist Bloc Doctrines of Urban Insurgency

We are aware of no current body of explicit doctrine from the Communists for carrying on urban operations. (The writings of Lenin, Trotsky, and others appear "inactive" as doctrine now.) The dominant Mao-Giap-Guevara position treats the city as a strictly secondary environment. This question deserves considerable attention, however, since if a doctrine is now forming which would utilize the city as a battleground, the sooner its content and implications are understood the better the U.S. position. It is suggested that one or two of the prominent Soviet specialists at RAND, The Russian Institute, or elsewhere as appropriate, be enlisted to study this problem and present initial findings within one year.

7. Strategic Implications of Urban Disorders

As a complement to the operational questions of control and reaction to urban disorders it seems important to consider broad strategic questions relating to the suppression or encouragement of violence and U.S. interests. H.L. Neiburg in two seminal articles has suggested that at least the threat of violence may be a requisite for major social change*. It is apparent that much additional work is required on strategic implications of urban disorders and major power interference in them. A preliminary investigation by interested academic groups, or by organizations such as the Hudson Institute, which have specialized in strategic explorations, should be encouraged.

It should be reiterated at this point that the tentative program suggested above is pointed to exploration of the more important issues connected with the problem of appropriate responses to urban disorders which may bear on U.S. interests or commitments. The discussion is designed to provide program planners with an appreciation of the broad requirements for research, and with an unitial position from which to react to proposals for research. A more detailed program plan would require substantial additional work.

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*"The threat of violence and social change," American Political Science Review, Vol. 56 (Dec.1962), 865-73; "Uses of Violence," Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol. 7 (March 1963), 43-54.

IV. SUMMARY

This program proposal is based on the recognition that United States policy interests could be in serious difficulty in many countries, unless steps are taken to improve our capability to anticipate and respond to urban disorders, particularly those with an insurgent motivation.

Project 1 examines the actual urban threats in areas of the world where there appears to be enough time to take appropriate action to counter the threat.

Since the use of preventive measures to head off urban trouble before it becomes serious is being considered as the ideal method for handling such a threat. Project 2 attempts to determine what are the causes, or at least what are the warning signs, of urban troubles.

Project 3 covers the area of tactics and the feasibility of operational devices. This project is even more urgent than the other two projects to the practicing peace officer and administrator.

These three projects aim to provide some of the most vital tools needed to meet our obligations as a nation in the controlling of urban violence. Project 4, however, is intended to ensure that the tools developed can be used effectively in the field, it deals with the problems of implementing the knowledge gained in Projects 1 through 3.

Project 5 is contemplated as a longer range effort designed to improve the quality of research in these areas by special attention to data collection and the quantification of data. This includes using the special tools of the military R and D community both in observation and analysis.

Project 6 is concerned with Communist-bloc thinking and progress on the systematic exploitation of urban disorders in the cold war.

The seventh area specfically called out relates to problems of strategy from the U.S., Communist-bloc, and general points of view.

The particular program described contemplates a fairly modest, initial approach. It is defined in terms which permit the program planning to initiate specific action, respond to particular proposals, or lay out a program and call for proposals. The program is not comprehensive and would undoubtedly be modified under deeper consideration or further mental study.

APPENDIX A

PARTICIPANTS IN URBAN INSURGENCY CONFERENCE

Dr. Alexander Bavelas	Stanford University Palo Alto, Calif.
Mr. James E. Cross	Institute for Defence Analyses Washington, D.C.
Dr. James C. Davies	University of Oregon Eugene, Oregon
Mr. William H. Godel	Washington, D.C.
Mr. Edward W. Gude	Special Operations Research Office American University Washington, D.C.
Mr. Karl B.Hill	Associates for International Research, Inc. Cambridge, Mass.
Mr. Bernard P. Jaeger	The RAND Corporation Santa Monica, California
Dr. Andrew C. Janos	University of California Berkeley, California
Lt. Col.James L. Jones	Remote Area Conflict Office The Advanced Research Projects Agency Washington, D.C.
Mr. Edward K. Kaprelian	Director, U.S. Army Limited War Laboratory Aberdeen Proving Ground, Maryland
Dr. Frank A. Knapp, Jr.	Washington, D.C.
Dr. Harold W. Lewis	University of California (JASON) Santa Barbara, California
Mr. Abe Moses	Deputy Assistant Secretary for Political Military Affairs (C-PM) The State Department Washington, D.C.
Dr. William Nierenberg	University of California (JASON) Berkeley, California
Dr. Jesse Orlansky	Institute for Defense Analyses Washington, D.C.

Dr. Ithiel de Sola Pool	Mass. Institute of Technology Cambridge, Mass.
Dr. C. Neale Ronning	Tulane University New Orleans, La.
Dr. David Rosenbaum	Boston University Cambridge, Mass.
Mr. James R. Thomas	Battelle Memorial Institute Columbus, Ohio
Mr. Thomas Thornton	State Department Washington, D.C.
Dr. Hans Weigert	Atlantic Research Corporation, Georgetown Washington, D.C.
Dr. J.K. Zawodny	Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences Stanford University Stanford, California

DRC TEAM

Dr. Carlos M. Angulo	Brown University Providence, R.I.
Dr. R.D. Holbrook	
Dr. Edwin Lieuwen	University of New Mexico Albuquerque, N.M. (DRC Consultant)
Dr. John L. Sorenson	Brigham Young University Provo, Utah (on Sabbatical at DRC)

OTHER DRC ATTENDEES

B. Alexander

H. Beveridge

T.C. Bazemore

Dr. John A. Laurmann

Z.Pazmany

A. Stathacopoulos

APPENDIX B

URBAN OPERATIONS RESEARCH TASKS

The following list gives topics by title and group only suggested as suitable for research oriented to urban tactics and techniques. Since the state of the art in each area is not, apparently, well-known, a broad survey of capabilities seems indicated.

In many cases it appears that the particular arts are well-developed but usually out of the context of urban environments. Some topics do not appear to have been investigated in recent years. Each topic would be considered both from the point of view of the insurgent and from the control side.

Communications

Jamming and counter-jamming in city operations; more precise and speedier location of insurgent transmitters

Environment and interference problems

Courier vehicles through embattled streets

Completely silent (non-voice) methods for "next-room" operations

Control of telephone and power systems as communication channels

Intelligence

Photographing mobs for identification of participants

Counter-infiltration methods and possibilities

Interrogation methods

Dossiers, particularly for thousands of people with rapid computerized retrieval of crucial data

- Identification of friend and foe in the midst of masses of people
- Use of criminal elements as informants and aids
- Counter-gangs

Population Control

- Effectiveness of curfew, passes, deportation
- Censorship mechanisms and plans, particularly for sudden needs to control the mass media
- Rationing and financial controls
- Systems of reporting and movement control (such as the Chinese "five-families" mechanism)
- Emergency liquor and drug control measures
- Special prison and detention facilities for political subversives
- Re-education programs for political subversives
- Effectiveness of legal controls and insurgents' organizing and assembling
- Legal problems of arrest and detention of insurgents

Psychological warfare

- Divisive propaganda, maneuvers, bribes, etc. against insurgents
- Devices for voice communication to mobs (including translation)
- Rumor studies, both insurgent and counterinsurgent planted, and general
- Paper and printing controls to reduce propaganda
- Surrender appeals, rewards, implementation plans
- Civic action programs in cities for police and military

Protection of fixed sites

- Looting prevention, especially of liquor and guns
- Hospitals, orphanages, cultural treasures
- Prisons
- Bank protection against insurgent robberies
- Vital utilities and communications
- Major civilian work facilities, to guarantee minimum disruption of the economy by street disorders
- Economic sabotage

Surveillance and detection

- X-ray type search devices to process masses of people and luggage rapidly
- Night lighting by flares for urban needs
- Insurgent weapon storage capabilities, and detection
- Air surveillance
- Electronic surveillance, especially at night
- Listening and wire-tap devices

Logistics

- Disposition of forces and posts in relation to supply (including in battle)
- Care of wounded and dead
- Caches at various points for police or military emergency use
- Equipment maintenance problems
- Armored transport vehicles
- Emergency repair facilities for normal city services
- Fire-fighting capabilities in conditions of disorder

Fire power

- Non-lethal weapons for use in crowded situations (shooting tranquilizers, for example)
- Concussion weapons for use in buildings

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, N.Y. 38, N.Y.
27 March 1964

MEMORANDUM

TO: James Farmer

FROM: Gordon Carey

Re: Democratic Convention Challenges by Mississippi Delegation

I believe I mentioned to you that an anonymous caller indicated he could get transcripts of challenges to major party conventions which took place in the past. From Bill Higgs I got a list of the important challenges and passed them on to our anonymous friend. Simply for the record the information which we are seeking is the following:

1948. There were challenges at both the Democratic National Committee and the Democratic National Convention regarding the seating of Clarence Hood. In these challenges the Negro issue was used as one of the main points.

1952. At the Democratic Convention there were two contests involving Mississippi and Texas. The Mississippi regular delegation was led by Tom Tubb and J. P. Coleman. The Texas regulars were led by Governor Alan Shivers; and the challengers led by Mr. Maverick.

1956. There were rival delegations to both the National Committee and National Convention from Mississippi and South Carolina. J. P. Coleman again led the regulars from Mississippi, and the insurgents were led by E. G. Hamilton.

1944. There were rival delegations from Texas. Both were seated and the vote was divided half and half.

Mississippi
Convention
challenge

May 4, 1964

Mr. William L. Higgs
Washington Human Rights Project
619 G Street, S. E.
Washington 3, D. C.

Dear Bill:

Do forgive the delay in replying to your letter but, as you can well imagine, life here has been unusually hectic of late, and has left no time for correspondence.

I was glad to receive your memorandum on the delegation contest. You have done a painstaking bit of work. I look forward to hearing from you further as you receive access to more information and have more thoughts on the matter.

With best personal regards,

Cordially yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:GL

cc: Gordon Carey ✓
Velma Hill
Norman Hill
Dave Dennis

WASHINGTON HUMAN RIGHTS PROJECT
619 G STREET S.E.
WASHINGTON 3, D. C.

xxxxx 7-8704

WILLIAM L. HIGGS, DIRECTOR

Mar. 13, 1964

Dear Jim,

It certainly was good to talk briefly with you last week.

Enclosed is a memo that I have prepared on the delegation contest. I have the original and you and Jim Forman have the only two copies. Use it as you see fit. I will keep you posted as I receive access to more information and have more thoughts.

Gordon Carey and I had a good conversation this afternoon. I will give him the particulars in regard to the conventions contest briefs.

I read in the Times of your speech a few days ago. It sounded fine; I just wish I could have heard you.

And I trust you are well and doing fine.

Yours,

OF DEMOCRATIC PARTY
CONFIDENTIAL MEMO ON CONTESTING DELEGATION/OF MISSISSIPPI TO
DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION IN ATLANTIC CITY ON AUGUST 24,
1964

I. This memo is based upon the following sources:

A. For the National Convention procedure --

1. 1960 Convention Manual (the 1964 one is not yet ready)

2. A quick examination of the proceedings of prior conventions, except that the author was not given access to the 1960 proceedings, which have not yet been put in published form.

3. A 1-hour interview with Mr. Harold Leventhal, counsel to the Democratic National Committee. Mr. Leventhal later flatly denied the author access to the briefs of prior years' delegation contests, which are probably the most important of all materials

4. Attendance at the January, 1964, meeting of the Democratic National Committee plus various resolutions, etc. adopted at that time.

5. Attendance at the 1960 convention in Los Angeles.

B. For the Mississippi Convention Procedure--

1. The author of this memo is also the author of the earlier Mississippi Political Handbook.

2. Mississippi laws, excluding the most recent ones just passed by the legislature in the last few days. These should be obtained shortly.

3. Participation in the 1960 convention at all levels -- precinct, county, congressional district caucus, and state convention.

Note: This memo is primarily designed to sketch out the guidelines as much as possible at the present time. A further and more detailed memo will be made available as more events unfold and more information is available.

II. Procedure to be tentatively followed in Mississippi:

A. Watch carefully for the date of the precinct conventions scheduled for this spring in Mississippi. The law only requires that 10 days' notice be given. They are held in every precinct in the state at the same time (always at 10 A.M.) by law. Negro citizens - both voters and non-voters - should be ready on this short notice to attend these precinct conventions all over the state. I anticipate that most will be turned away. There may be some violence and intimidation. In any case affidavits, etc. should be taken of these incidents for use as evidence before the Democratic National Committee and the National Convention. The precinct conventions are held at the usual voting places, which are listed in the paper in the county. They should be widespread attempts to attend these conventions, since this will provide the greatest spread of evidence. A very careful watch of the papers in the state should be kept, since these notices are not prominently displayed.

B. I do not believe that it will be absolutely necessary to try to attend the county or state conventions; but it would be good for groups of Negro citizens over the state to attempt this, since the refusal to allow them to be spectators will be further evidence of total discrimination by the regular Democratic Party in Mississippi. The dates of these conventions are also announced in the papers. They normally follow each other about a week or two apart -- the county conventions being held in the court houses of the respective counties, and the state convention being held in the municipal auditorium (probably now the coliseum) in Jackson.

C. Regardless of the results that have been or are being achieved above, a state executive committee should be formed as soon as possible with headquarters in Jackson and composed of three members from each Congressional district. They should elect a chairman, other committee officers, a national committeeman and national committeewoman -- all to serve temporarily until the regular state convention. The committee would also lay plans for the coming precinct, county, state, and national Democratic Convention. I would suggest that these conventions be held in as many precincts as possible; if it is impossible to do that, then at least a token county convention should be held in every county in the state. A county executive committee should be set up in as many counties as possible -- composed of fifteen members, three from each supervisor's district. The county executive committees should initially be appointed by the state executive committee. The county executive committees should then proceed to lay plans for the precinct and county conventions. If only 15 people in a county are available, then they should ~~hold a county~~ convention~~s~~ among themselves, as well as constitute themselves the county executive committee. Each county convention elects twice the number of delegates to the state convention that that county has members in the state house of representatives. (I repeat, the widest and the largest participation, the better the chance of success.)

(Note: a respectable challenge could be had by just holding a state convention in Jackson and not holding anything else; however, the more detailed and extensive the plans, the greater claim we have to legitimacy and grass-roots participation.)

The state committee would set the dates for the conventions. I suggest the 21 of June for the precinct conventions, the 28 of June for the county conventions, and the 5th of July for the state convention. This leaves time for the summer students to make their weight felt, and it also gives a month and a half to prepare for the national convention on Aug. 24; (at least 30 days advance filing of the briefs with the national committee is probably necessary).

The state conventions should:

1. Elect 24 delegates and 24 alternates to the national convention.

2. Elect a slate of 7 presidential electors to be placed on the ballot pledged to the nominees of the national convention.

3. Elect -- three/by each caucuses/of each Congressional district's delegates to the state convention -- 15 members of the state executive committee to serve for the next four years. (After the convention, they meet and select their own officers, including the chairman.)

4. Adopt a platform. This platform is important and should correspond closely to that of the 1960 national convention. It should be very strong on civil rights and welfare programs -- this will contrast strongly with that of the regular Democratic Party in Mississippi.

5. Pass appropriate resolutions of various types.
6. Elect national committeeman and committeewoman.
(Note: the state convention, like the national convention, operates through various committees, such as credentials, rules, platform, etc.)

CAUTION: [illegible] in the process of passing more new laws, [illegible] with elections. Also some existing laws attempt to suppress the formation and activities of parties formed in opposition to existing political structures. However, this sort of situation is only to be expected in Mississippi.

III. Procedure to be tentatively followed at the national level:

A. Prepare briefs for filling with the Democratic National Committee not less than 30 days before the convention. Have as much evidence (affidavits, pictures, statistics, sound tapes, etc.) ready as possible. Ask for a full hearing prior to the convention. This will means that lawyers should begin work as soon as possible on preparing the case and advising on proper procedure to achieve the best chance of success. I suggest the formation of a lawyers' committee.

B. Contact and enlist the support of:

1. All National committeemen and national committeewomen for the seating of the new delegation by putting it in the beginning on the temporary roll of the convention.

2. All prospective members of the credentials committee to get a favorable report from that committee.

3. All delegates to the national convention to win a contest on the floor if a floor fight develops or is necessary to win.

C. Have frequent press conferences and in general obtain as extensive presscoverage as possible over as long a period as possible. This will make the issue even more pointed and will increase the chances of success. CORE and SNCC announcements have started the ball rolling well. There will should be little other news at the national convention and the press should be delighted to help make this the big story.

D. Have outline plans for a human rights national convention to follow the Democratic Convention, if desirable from results at Democratic Convention.

CAUTION: Mississippi is in the process of passing many new laws, some dealing with elections. Also some existing laws attempt to suppress the formation and activities of parties formed in opposition to existing political structures. However, this sort of situation is only to be expected in Mississippi.

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D. Have outline plans for a human rights national convention to follow the Democratic Convention, if desirable from results at Democratic Convention.

E. Enlist as much Congressional and non-Southern political support as possible. (The author has been working on the Washington end of this and will be delighted to continue doing so.)

F. Establish a committee to ~~[illegible]~~ raise funds for the challenge. It might be better to have a committee with additional functions of general coordination of activities outside of Mississippi which would include planning, press relations, and organization~~s~~ of protests and demonstrations at the convention, as well as fund raising. I would think that it would be a simple matter to obtain nation-wide press coverage of the state convention in Mississippi. Perhaps CBS news (Fred Friendly) would like to cover the whole contest from beginning to end.

IV. Importance of the challenge.

Just a few of the important things that can be achieved are:

1. Overthrow of the racist Democratic Party in Mississippi. This would take perhaps a while.
2. Considerable control over all federal patronage in Mississippi. This would happen immediately.

3. Denial of ~~the~~ seniority to Senator Eastland and other Mississippi Congressmen. This could be a direct result of a successful contest, since Eastland and the others are invariably members of the delegation to the national convention. January of 1965 would be the date (the reconvening of Congress.).
4. Achievement of a power base in Mississippi which could immediately begin to provide protection for our activities.

5. Provide us with spokesmen in the national councils of the Democratic Party. This would occur right away.

6. Force President Johnson to actively commit himself for civil rights and against the racists.

7. Greatly accelerate the destruction of the racist-oriented Democratic Parties in the remaining Southern states.

V. Some additional comments.

A. It is important to understand that the National Convention makes the ultimate decision. Notwithstanding any precedent or any Mississippi state law, the Convention (including the National Committee and the Credentials Committee) is relatively free to make what decision it sees fit.

B. A resolution adopted by the National Committee on the seating of delegates is attached hereto. The Convention adopted a similar one in 1960, which is presumably in effect now.

C. I believe that it is wiser to contest only the Mississippi Democratic delegation, for the following reasons:

1. Mississippi revolted against the party much more completely than did Alabama in 1960. (All of its electors went unpledged as against 6 of Alabama's 11; and 5 of its then 6 Congressmen opposed actively the national ticket, as did also its Governor Barnett, whereas Gov. Patterson of Ala. supported the ticket.)

2. Mississippi represents racial extremism more than does Alabama.

3. The challenge is much more likely to succeed if Mississippi is isolated. The rest of the South would be less likely to support Mississippi alone than Mississippi and Alabama together. And the rest of the South would be less willing to risk all of its seniority for only Mississippi (and the non-Southern forces in the convention could persuasively make such a threat if the South bolted for Mississippi alone, since Johnson in the White House probably insures Democratic control of the Congress for the first time regardless of what the hard-core South does.)

4. The chance of succeeding at the Republican convention is probably slim, since they are (1) far more in accord with the national party's principles, (2) steadfastly supporting the national nominees, (3) enjoying much greater support in the Convention than does the Mississippi regular Democratic Party at the Democratic National Convention.

5. Since Johnson will probably keep the Democrats in control of both the White House and the Congress, little would be gained even if we won. And a loss would be very bad precedent for the Dem. Convention.

6. We have less time to prepare for the Republican convention.

8. Participation in the Republican convention would divide our efforts and would subject us to the charge at both convention of not being either Republicans or Democrats.

Pres.

D. It is also important to understand that/Johnson has the power to assure us of victory, and conversely, perhaps has the power to defeat us -- though I believe that we can make the price high enough to ensure our success. It would be a great blow for the Democratic Party to go in to the election in November in the big cities of the country having seated an arch-racist delegation over an integrated, truly representative one at the convention. Maximum press coverage is of the essence here.

E. All of this political activity will all the more quickly accomplish the essential point of making Johnson enforce the civil rights bill prior to the November election.

F. A well-prepared and well-executed challenge that is highly publicized well in advance could endure success considerably in advance of the convention. In short we could go into the convention with sufficient pledges of support to know that we would win.

March 13, 1964
William Higgs

[illegible] ALL [illegible]
FOR THE 1964 CONVENTION

ASSURANCE OF SUPPORT FOR
NOMINEES OF THE 1964 CONVENTION

BE IT RESOLVED by the Democratic National Committee that the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee is authorized to call a National Convention of the Democratic Party in the Convention Hall on the Boardwalk at Atlantic City in the State of New Jersey on the 24th day of August 1964 to convene at such hour as the Arrangements Committee shall deem appropriate, for the purpose of selecting nominees for President and Vice President of the United States of America, to adopt and promulgate a platform and to take such other action with respect to any other matters as the Convention may deem advisable.

FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Call state:

Notice is hereby given that the following resolutions have been approved by the Democratic National Committee with recommendation that they be adopted as rules applicable to the 1964 Democratic National Convention:

BE IT RESOLVED by the Democratic National Committee that:

(1) It is the understanding that a State Democratic Party, in selecting and certifying delegates to the Democratic National Convention, thereby undertakes to assure that voters in the State will have the opportunity to cast their election ballots for the Presidential and Vice Presidential nominees selected by said Convention, and for electors pledged formally or in good conscience to the election of these Presidential and Vice Presidential nominees, under the Democratic Party label and designation;

(2) It is understood that the Delegates to the Democratic National Convention, when certified by the State Democratic Party, are bona fide Democrats who have the interests, welfare and success of the Democratic Party at heart, and will participate in the Convention in good faith and therefore no additional assurances shall be required of Delegates to the Democratic National Convention in the absence of credentials contest or challenge.

(3) It is the duty of every member of the Democratic National Committee to declare affirmatively for the nominees of the Convention, and that his or her failure to do so shall be cause for the Democratic National Committee or its duly authorized subcommittee to declare his or her seat vacant after notice and opportunity for hearing.

For release at 5:35 p.m., Wednesday, August 19, 1964. Testimony before the Democratic Platform Committee in Washington, D.C. by James Farmer, National Director, CORE (Congress of Racial Equality).

Further Reference: CORE, 38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038, CO 7-6270

I am James Farmer, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality, an interracial organization of Americans determined that the institutions of this nation will live up to the ideals we export for foreign consumption - particularly the ideal of total racial equality and justice.

Toward this end, and in the tradition of American protest, we have engaged in direct action, facing danger and sometimes facing loss of life. Three men were recently murdered in the state of Mississippi; two of these men, James Chaney and Michael Schwerner, were members of our staff. If these deaths will bring about a real change for the people of the south, those in want and need, our grief will be lessened and we and the nation will know that their sacrifice has not been in vain.

We believe that only by constant public reminders of the evisl that exist will the white majority face these evils and take the necessary steps to eliminate them. Direct action demonstrations serve as a way to channel the justifiable frustrations and anger of the Negro community; a community with no way of acting directly on its own behalf is far more likely to erupt in anger and violence than one which has the opportunity to vigorously demonstrate and whose just demands are met.

This convention will be the scene of direct action; citizens are coming from all over the nation as witnesses to the tragedy of the Northern ghetto, as witnesses to the horror of Southern inhumanity and legalized brutality. Neither this action nor my testimony is motivated by considerations of partisan politics. To the contrary, we are objecting to the Goldwaterism found in both parties - to object to that brinkmanship practiced in this nation with the Negro's struggle for his full and equal rights.

I want, therefore, to address myself to what you can do and what you can say to the American people in this crucial year of decision.

The lily-white composition of some of your Southern delegations is a visible and historical fact. The bi-racial delegation from the state of Georgia is an indication of that state's confrontation of the task which it faces, and its decision to progress rather than to decay. While the residents of that state still have many problems to face in abolishing second-class citizenship, they have indicated a realistic appraisal of the inherent evil in the maintenance of the status quo.

Senator Goldwater has said that he wants to provide the country with a clear choice. The Republican party has acclaimed Senator Goldwater as its standard bearer for the coming campaign and, in doing so, has chosen to present the American people with a candidate and a party platform which offers no hope for progress in a period which portends to be a turning point in American history.

The Democratic party must offer Americans an alternative, for we believe that the majority of this country's citizens abhor the immoral and unconstitutional practices of the Southern state governments, where Negroes are denied even the fundamental right to vote.

In the past two years, CORE has spent $90,000 in voter education projects in the South. We have helped to register 50,000 Negroes. This has been accomplished despite imminent dangers of murder, bombings and other forms of terrorism and harrassment. The right to vote is inalienable, as is the right for a citizen of this country to seek guarantees for all rights promised to him under the United States Constitution. A Negro who demands these rights is expressing his faith in his own dignity and his faith in his country's heritage.

Only 28,600 from a total Negro population of 900,000 are registered in the state of Mississippi. The disfranchisement, by violence and intimidation, of the vast majority of Mississippi's Negro citizens belies that state's claim to a democratic form of government. By no stretch of the imagination, therefore, can the delegation from Mississippi be said to represent the Democrats of that state; and the seating of that delegation by this convention can only strengthen the racist oligarchy which presides there.

There are two committments which CORE asks of the Democratic Party to ease Southern frustration. These committments, while minimal, would indicate to the voters of this country, and indeed, to the watching world that this convention is the convention of the truly democratic party - that this party will accept the challenges of the 20th century and not shrink from the tasks which lie there.

One of these immediate needs is the recognition and seating of the Freedom Delegation from Mississippi and the recognition of the illegality of that state's all-white delegation - a state which has a Negro population of 40%.

The second need is Federal protection for those persons in Southern states who are seeking their constitutional rights. As summer volunteers leave the south in the next few weeks, a dangerous vacuum will be created in which terrorists will be encouraged to increase violence. The nation's shame and grief over the recent murders of CORE staff members Chaney and Schwerner and student volunteer Andrew Goodman cannot be repeated. I dare not speak of the outcome if it is. The Department of Justice should take vigorous action to protect the safety of Americans attempting to bring the constitution to life in the Deep South.

Gentlemen, Negroes and their white allies have taken to the streets because the democratic process has been subverted by our political institutions. Institutions that were intended to embody, educate, and enact the will of the people; that were intended to redress grievances, guarantee rights of citizenship, and make governemtn the instrument of the people in the satisfaction of their common needs - these institutions have balked, frustrated, and perverted the democratic process.

Thus, despite public opinion polls and electoral evidence that the overwhelming majority of Americans favor socail legislation put before the Congress in recent years, that legislation has been bottlenecked by an entrenched minority of Goldwaterites in both parties who control Congressional machinery. We must break the coalition's hold on committee chairmanships. The seniority system must be jettisoned or radically overhauled. Chairmanships must go to men of competence who are pledged to steer their committees to a fulfullment of their party's platform in the area of their committee's concern. This principle must be written into the Democratic Party platform.

Abolition of the present seniortiy system is but one step towards democratization of Congressional functioning. If majority rule is to prevail in Congress, Rule 22 must be amended. The bi-partisan effort that broke the recent filibuster against civil rights was commendable. But why should an intransigent, unrepresentative minority be able to delay for months the passage of a bill which merely guarantees the most elementary civil rights to all citizens? The spectacle of the recent filibuster, witnessed by the entire world, can only play into the hands of totalitarian propagandists who charged democracy with bungling and incompetence.

I urge this committee to sound the clarion for Congressional reform and to draft a platform permitting the cloture of senatorial debate by a majority vote.

The frustration found in the Northern ghetto has been pointed up by the recent rioting. CORE deplores this form of violence and worked on the streets during the rioting to urge people to return to their homes and to form their demands in a meaningful and directed program which would include non-violent direct action. But I want to emphasize that while CORE will do all that it can to ease the frustration of the urban ghetto, it also can, in part, be relieved by immediate enforcement of the Supreme Court decision calling for re-aportionment of the state legislatures on a just and equal basis.

When systems of apportionment give the rural voter the equivalent of two or three votes as compared to one for his city cousin , the Negro's voice in state government, contained as it is in special districts, becomes inaudible.

Should the reapportionment cases be overruled or impaired, the further disfranchisement of American Negroes will result, and, make no mistake, they will know it. Racial tension, cynicism and alienation, especially in Northern cities, will mount in response to this evidence of hypocrisy.

For Congress to tell the Supreme Court that it can enforce the Equal Protection Clause in criminal cases, in commercial cases, in labor cases, in fact in all kinds of cases except legislative apportionment cases is hard to justify. A rather blatant attempt on the part of some to limit the jurisdiction of federal courts for the purpose of carving a big piece out of the Equal Protection Clause of the Constitution is being foisted upon us.

This nation's rural interest is beyond cavil. But in the context of state government, the representation of rural areas in all honor must be proportional to their population if the problems of the future, as they appear on the horizon, are to be met at the state level.

Many of the major problems of the future are to be found chiefly in the cities of this country - problems such as unemployment, housing, racial discrimination, mass transportation, air pollution and traffic control.

If states do nothing to remedy urban problems, those of today and those of the future, then they are placing the responsibility for solving those problems squarely on the shoulders of the federal government. Extremely ironic though it may be, it is nonetheless true, that by compelling reapportionment on a strict population basis the Supreme Court has taken a step which will have the effect of making state legislatures more responsive to social problems, thus reducing the need for federal action.

Establishing machinery for enforcement of Section Two of the Fourteenth Amendment is A Congressional function, too long neglected. The Democratic platform must pledge the party's Congressmen to fight for enforcement. In the North, as in the South, the principle must be clear: One Man - One Vote!

The responsible leadership of your party, working on a bi-partisan basis, passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The major task of enforcement of the bill will fall on the shoulders of the Democratic Party. At this time, the Democratic Platform must affirm its belief in the constitutionality of the Civil Rights Act and must pledge its efforts to total enforcement of the law. Those who would adovcate defiance of the act in hopes that a groundswell of opposition will force a Supreme Court declaration of its unconstitutionality must not be sustained or comforted in their delusion but silenced by both parties. CORE has been testing facilities covered under the Civil Rights Act, for without immediate use this historic law would become only hollow words and Americans would betray the intent of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations which fought for the bill's passage. Your platform must call upon all Americans to implement and enforce the act, not alone because it is the law of the land, but because it is just and morally right.

While the Civil Rights Act strengthens the Negro's citizenship rights, it nonetheless fails to help secure his structural and economic position in

American society.

The Negro unemployment rate today is at least two and a half times that of whites. Automation and technological change are devouring unskilled and semi-skilled jobs in which Negroes have been disproportionately concentrated. Such prominent economists as Leon Keyserling and Gunnar Myrdal, as well as the AFL-CIO, have pointed to the failure of the private sector of the American economy to generate sufficient jobs over the past ten years to absorb the influx of new workers into the labor force; in the last three years the number of Negroes employed in the private sector has declined by 100,000 - a dark foreboding of the future if the present trend is allowed to continue.

While the Negro fights for his right to earn a living, to support his family, to be a man, he is fighting for all persons in this country to have the same rights. He wants to take his place at the side of other men in the work of building a strong, stable, economy - one in which every man can earn a living wage.

CORE deplores any measures taken to weaken the strength of the anti-poverty bill. This country is facing not one crisis, but a number of major crises. These center on the need for full economic development and a are directly entwined with the civil rights struggle. The anti-poverty bill, even as first constructed, does not provide all the measures which should be taken to return this country to a thriving economy. It is time for the government to plan a massive federal works program, such as was advocated by the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, that will meet the nation's needs for decent housing, schools, hospitals, and simultaneously create jobs for the nation's unemployed. To maximize employment for the unskilled and semi-skilled, the work week should be reduced for workers in these categories and the remaining time spent in the retraining program. The demand for public works and retraining is a civil rights demand in that it profoundly affects the destiny of the Negro people. Similarly, our demand for a two dollar minimum wage, which I urge the convention platform to support, is a civil rights demand, since two-thirds of all Negro families exist on less than $4,000 a year.

Rising unemployment, increased automation in combination with the overwhelming rise in the birth rate would soon make the proposals that have been offered in the present anti-overty bill outdated. The National Health Education Committee reports that in the next year alone, more than a million new jobseekers will be unable to find work and estimates that in the next few years, 13.5 million new workers will seek jobs in fields with no new openings, or with diminishing job opportunities. At present growth rates, the population of the country will double before the end of the century!

While the poverty program is a step in the right direction and is a good pilot project, the amendment giving the State Governor veto power over any program in his state, even though that state contributes no money to the program, excludes, in effect, all help to the Deep South, where the need is great.

A close correlation exists between employment and education. The fewer years of school an individual completes, the greater his chances of being unemployed. According to Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz, today's machine has the equivalent of a high school diploma. Yet the average educational attainment of the Negro is 8.2 years. Only 3.2% of the adult Negro population has college degrees; only 240,000 Negores are now enrolled in colleges and universities.

If the gap between educational achievement and the skills required by tomorrow's technology is not to devastate the Negro community, federal action is imperative. Such action must be aimed at the elimination of de facto as well as de jure school segregation. The inferiority of segregated schools, North and South, is well nigh universally demonstrable and contributes to the high drop out rate of ghetto youngsters as well as to their general demoralization. Hand-in-hand with integration must proceed upgrading of the nation's public schools.

We are convinced on the basis of local experience, that integrated quality education cannot be achieved without massive federal aid to teachers' salaries and training, curriculum improvement, new buildings, etc. It overawes our educational system. We cannot forget the children of the poor. Their education should be directly subsidized by state and federal governments through cash payments while they are in school. Our society can make no greater investment than to end this untapped reservoir of human resources.

Nearly twelve million dwelling units in the United States are delapidated; our slums are mushrooming. Trapped in ghetto slums and exploited by ruthlessly greedy landlords, Negroes have launched rent strikes in many cities. They must resort to this device because no effective machinery exists whereby they may organize and seek redress of their grievances. Clearly these rent strikers deserve collective bargaining rights such as have long been established in employer-employee relationships. I recommend to this committee that the party platform endorse the idea of collective bargaining and contract negotiation for rent strikers.

But even this proposal does not get to the heart of the problem. The ghettos must be torn down and inhabitants placed in decent housing. The present federally aided housing programs, when completed, will rehouse only one out of eighty slum dwellers. Moreover, approximately 80% of all public housing today is, in effect, segregated.

Federal programs in these areas must be vastly accelerated. Since racial and economic segregation tend to go together, these programs should provide for mixed-income housing through government subsidization of both income groups in middle and low income housing.

Mister Chairman, all of these programs, for jobs, housing, schools, are profoundly interrelated. Tangible progress, commensurate with need, cannot be made in any one of these areas alone. What is required, is a broad and massive commitment on the part of the federal government, without which local efforts will founder or work at cross purposes.

What we have won we have won in hard and bitter struggle. No less vigorously will other Americans have to struggle if the great society is to more from paper to reality. The role of the Democratic Party in this struggle will be determined in large measure by what you say to the American people this year ans what you do in coming years.

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Phone: ~~[illegible]~~

TEAMSTERS, WAREHOUSEMEN,
HELPERS & PRODUCTION WORKERS
LOCAL 424 INDEPENDENT
~~[illegible] STREET~~
~~HUNTINGTON STATION, [illegible] N.Y.~~

1. We dont collect unemployment insurance.
2. A & P has big signs hanging in the warehouses stating that we can not collect it under the law.
3. The fact was brought to their attention that we may legally be entitled to it if we had a hearing by an unemploment referee.
4. The A & P then claimed they would buy their potatoes from their competitors packing houses and they would close down their plants and we would loose our jobs.
5. 80% of us make $1.40 an hour and a few earn $1.50. If we have a real good week and A & P doe'int farm out any of our work we make $45-$55.
6. Many of us are migrants from Puerto Rico and the south we live in labor camps and pay $20 a week room & board.
7. Last season the A & P. warehouse workers in Mattituck ~~only~~ were only making $25-$35 a week. after $20 was taken out for board they were only sending home $5.00-$15.00 for their families to live on
8. When they complained and wanted more work the A & P closed the packinghouse. Many of the men

could find no other work and had to wire home to their relatives they were stranded ~~an~~ for fare back home.

9. We work only five or six months a year getting a days work occasionally in between. But most of us who live in the Riverhead area have to budget our money from the potatoe season over the 6 or 7 months we are out of work.

10. We cant get any help from the welfare dept. they say we are strong and capable of working, but we cant find any work; so some men run off and leave their families, then they can collect checks.

11. We have a union but the old officers who ~~were~~ were voted out at the last election ran off with all the treasury funds and the new officers have no money to help us out with a strike fund if we wanted to picket.

12. The A & P knows this and wants to only give us a 5 cents raise for two years in our next contract. They told us if we dont take it they will ~~have~~ to close up and buy from the other packinghouses that are signed up with the Teamsters Local 202.

13. This is a union that has sweetheart contracts with the packing house owners who let them collect a dollar a week from all the workers, as long as the union lets the bosses do what they want with the men

14. These men may start working at 7 AM and quit at 11 PM and only get paid for 8 hours.

When the grader breaks down or they are waiting for a farmer to bring in a load of potatoes they don't get paid. When the grader stops their pay stops.

Their union contract calls for $1 35 an hour but they are lucky if they get $1 00, even their best bosses cheats them out of at least 20 hours a week.

They get no overtime even if they work 80 hours a week everything is straight time. They have no time clocks, vocation pay or insurance plans.

Local 202 has over a thousand migrants in their union and you just mention 202 and there isn't a man who wont start cursing. No one wants the union but the bosses force the men to join.

The 202 packing house owners hired labor Contractors to pack their potatoes.

The contractors get paid piece work and they in turn pay the men out of what they make.

The more they can cheat the workers out of the more money they have.

most contracts all have big new flashy cars. and a bankroll you could choke a horse with.

They sell 45¢ a pint wine to the men for $1.25 cigarettes 40¢ beer etc. Most are bookmakers and numbers men.

A typical pay day goes something like this, Contractor, – "Let's see you made fortysix dollars this week, you owe me $20.00 for board $7.00 for wine $3.00 for cigarettes; you owe my wife $5.00 so you got $11.00 coming."

On monday the man is broke and back in hock again to the contractor.

Many of ~~the migrants~~ us have ~~appealed~~ appealed to the ministers and the local branch of the N.A.A.C.P. for help over the years. Their only reply was "We know what's going on but there is nothing we can do."

TEAMSTERS, WAREHOUSEMEN,
HELPERS & PRODUCTION WORKERS
LOCAL 424 INDEPENDENT
~~32 LIVENINGTON STREET~~
~~HUNTINGTON STATION, L.I., N.Y.~~

Senate Committe investigation found the average migrant in the U.S. makes $710 a year for 119 days work + non farm income raises it to $911.00

1, a few years ago on elderly negro woman told a congressional committee that her crew leader in Suffolk county never gave her more than $16.00 a week for six days work. She said she worked from 6 AM to midnight.

"They take out social security on me with no number," she said. "I paid a dollar a week for union fees and I dont know what kind of union I was in."

2. Same union still exists - still collecting

3. still deducting Social Security without asking for a number.

4. Govt just takes notes.

5. migrants cant vote so are helpless

6. 2 ways to help migrants

a by union we small union $.00 other 186,000 - $146,000 - 80,000 home
→ can fire crew leader then union helpless in election

b civil rights groups pressure on state -

7. Fed. law townships less than 2500 pop. no minimum wage in packinghouses

8 just about all in towns less than 2500

9. powerfull lobbies - farm bureau - grange etc.

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Phone: HA 3-3240

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TEAMSTERS, WAREHOUSEMEN,
HELPERS & PRODUCTION WORKERS
LOCAL 424 INDEPENDENT
32 LIVENINGTON STREET
HUNTINGTON STATION, L. I., N. Y.

10. Farm bureau's complain that a minimum wage on agricultural labor could ruin the farmer- ups & downs on ~~f~~ farm products-not stable. so they cant afford a fixed wage rate.

11. ~~farm~~ migrants wages should be subsidized the same as the big ~~s~~ farms of the west are who really dont need it

12. now I would like to go into another segement of the migrants workers who are half a step ahead of the field hands.

13. show A&P signs - ~~[illegible]~~

14 unemployment insurance

15 can get it

16 A&P threatened to close up

17. 3/4¢ on 10lb bag potatoes give 50¢ over 2 yrs

18. offers 5¢ over 2 yrs none of our business

~~18~~. how much profit they make.

19. 202 rates much lower.

20 let some of the men who work in A&P packinghouses tell you a little more about it.

File

Fed Aid to Ed.

January 20, 1964

JAN 28 1964

Mr. Stokely Carmichael
Congress of Racial Equality
Post Office Box 58
Administration Building
Howard University
Washington, D. C. 20001

Dear Stokely:

Thank you for your letter of January 4, 1964. I am sorry to learn that our February 8th Steering Committee meeting conflicts with your conference at Bryn Mawr and Haverford and that you, therefore, will be unable to attend our meeting here.

However, I appreciate your advising CORE of your inability to attend, and I trust that the organization will send a substitute representative to attend this important meeting.

We shall keep you advised of any action taken at the meeting. And we look forward to your continued participation in the Conference.

Sincerely yours,

Pat Clary

Patrick C. Clary
National Co-Chairman

cc: Mr. Gordon R. Carey
Mr. Tim Ryles
Mr. Jim Hunt
Mr. Joseph Fallon
Mr. Dean Conrad

EMERGENCY: WE NEED $25,000 BY JANUARY 1. PROFESSIONAL STAFF WILL NOT RECEIVE THEIR SALARIES DURING THE CHRISTMAS PERIOD. SOME OF OUR FIELD STAFF HAVE NOT RECEIVED SALARY CHECKS DUE THEM SINCE LAST SUMMER--WE WILL NOT BE ABLE TO PAY THEM AS WE HAD HOPED. WE URGENTLY NEED FINANCIAL HELP!

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038

THINGS CORE NEEDS NOW

1. 50 people who will give $1,300 each to keep one member of CORE's Task Force in the field for a year.
2. Free warehouse space to hold supplies for shipment to Mississippi and Louisiana.
3. Free trucking to get the supplies of books and warm clothing to the Community Centers, Freedom Schools and Welfare Centers.
4. Photographic equipment for use in our darkrooms in New Orleans, Louisiana and Canton, Mississippi.
5. $6,000 to build a community center in Chattahoochee, Florida.
6. Typewriters and mimeograph machines in good condition.
7. The services of a good copywriter so that we can write more effective appeals.
8. A good layout man so that we can design better posters for our community centers.
9. Free printing--for posters, leaflets, brochures, reprints.
10. Unsold stocks of good books in publishers' warehouses for use in the Freedom Schools of the north as well as the south.
11. Good films on every subject.
12. Movie projection screens and projectors.
13. $25,000 to establish a series of regional Leadership Development seminars.
14. Phonograph records. Mostly jazz but pop and classical as well.
15. A group of 100 articulate people who are willing to write letters to the editor.
16. Thousands of rolls of pan XXX film.
17. Magazine writers who will tell the story of our workers to the millions who haven't head it yet.
18. A table-top offset press in good condition.
19. A folding machine that works.
20. Volunteers willing to type routine letters on a regular weekly schedule.
21. $2,500 for an automobile with a two-way radio for use in rural areas of Louisiana and Mississippi. Such a radio system might have saved the lives of CORE staffers James Chaney and Michael Schwerner and student volunteer Andrew Goodman.

Subscription Form file ↓

FREEDOM NATIONAL BANK of NEW YORK

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

IN PROCESS OF FORMATION

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE $25.00 per share

Sixty thousand (60,000) shares ($10) Par Value) are being offered to provide $1,500,000 to be allocated as follows:

CAPITAL $600,000 SURPLUS $600,000 UNDIVIDED PROFITS $300,000

I, ________________ ________________ wish to subscribe for
PLEASE PRINT
________ shares of the capital stock of the Freedom National Bank of N.Y. and upon call of the Organization Committee agree to pay therefor the sum of ________________ ________ dollars ($).

Subscriber________________________________

Address________________________________

____

Telephone________________________ Date____________________1963

Note: The Organization Committee reserves the right to limit the number of shares to be issued to any one subscriber.

Organization Committee
FREEDOM NATIONAL BANK OF NEW YORK
NEW YORK 10027, NEW YORK

Subscription Table

10 shares	$250.
20 shares	$500.
40 shares	$1000.
100 shares	$2500.
400 shares	$10000.
Etc.	

Do not send remittance with this pledge. You will be notified when payment is required.

(Your $25. payment per share will be distributed as follows: $10. to Capital; $10. to Surplus and $5. to Undivided Profits.)

I anticipate that I will use the following services of the new bank—

Savings Account________________________

Personal Checking Account________________________ Approximate Average Balances________________

Commercial Checking Account________________________ Approximate Average Balances________________

Other________________________

Name________________________

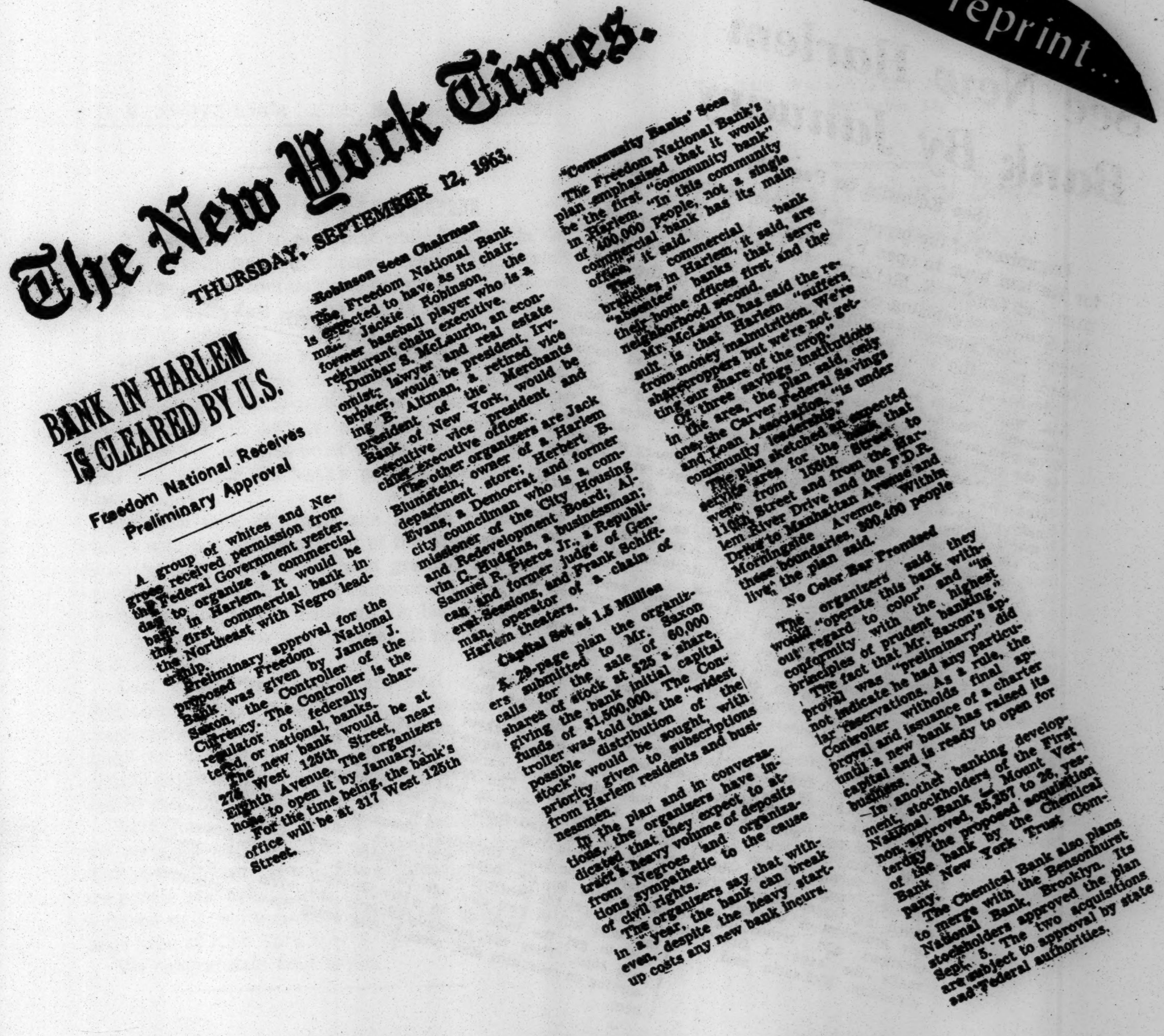
Company or
Trade Style________________________

____

FREEDOM NATIONAL BANK of NEW YORK
IN PROCESS OF FORMATION

317 WEST 125th STREET, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK UNiversity 5-2250

reprint...



The New York Times.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1963.

BANK IN HARLEM IS CLEARED BY U.S.

Freedom National Receives Preliminary Approval

A group of whites and Negroes received permission from the Federal Government yesterday to organize a commercial bank in Harlem. It would be the first commercial bank in the Northeast with Negro leadership.

Preliminary approval for the proposed Freedom National Bank was given by James J. Saxon, the Controller of the Currency. The Controller is the regulator of federally chartered, or national, banks.

The new bank would be at 275 West 125th Street, near Eighth Avenue. The organizers hope to open it by January. For the time being, the bank's office will be at 317 West 125th Street.

Robinson Seen Chairman

The Freedom National Bank is expected to have as its chairman Jackie Robinson, the former baseball player who is a restaurant chain executive.

Dunbar S. McLaurin, an economist, lawyer and real estate broker, would be president. Irving B. Altman, a retired vice president of the Merchants Bank of New York, would be executive vice president and chief executive officer.

The other organizers are Jack Blumstein, owner of a Harlem department store; Herbert B. Evans, a Democrat and former city councilman who is a commissioner of the City Housing and Redevelopment Board; Alvin C. Hudgins, a businessman; Samuel R. Pierce Jr., a Republican and former judge of General Sessions, and Frank Schiffman, operator of a chain of Harlem theaters.

Capital Set at 1.5 Million

A 29-page plan the organizers submitted to Mr. Saxon calls for the sale of 60,000 shares of stock at $25 a share, giving the bank initial capital funds of $1,500,000. The Controller was told that the "widest possible distribution of the stock" would be sought, with priority given to subscriptions from Harlem residents and businessmen.

In the plan and in conversations, the organizers have indicated that they expect to attract a heavy volume of deposits from Negroes and organizations sympathetic to the cause of civil rights.

The organizers say that within a year, the bank can break even, despite the heavy start-up costs any new bank incurs.

"Community Banks' Seen

The Freedom National Bank's plan emphasized that it would be the first "community bank" in Harlem. "In this community of 400,000 people, not a single commercial bank has its main office," it said.

The commercial bank branches in Harlem, it said, are "absentee" banks that serve their home offices first and the neighborhood second.

Mr. McLaurin has said the result is that Harlem "suffers from money malnutrition. We're sharecroppers but we're not getting our share of the crop."

Of three savings institutions in the area, the plan said, only one, the Carver Federal Savings and Loan Association, "is under community leadership."

The plan sketched an expected service area for the bank that went from 155th Street to 110th Street and from the Harlem River Drive and the F.D.R. Drive to Manhattan Avenue and Morningside Avenue. "Within these boundaries, 300,400 people live," the plan said.

No Color Bar Promised

The organizers said they would "operate this bank without regard to color" and "in conformity with the highest principles of prudent banking."

The fact that Mr. Saxon's approval was "preliminary" did not indicate he had any particular reservations. As a rule, the Controller witholds final approval and issuance of a charter until a new bank has raised its capital and is ready to open for business.

In another banking development, stockholders of the First National Bank of Mount Vernon approved, 35,357 to 26, yesterday the proposed acquisition of the bank by the Chemical Bank New York Trust Company.

The Chemical Bank also plans to merge with the Bensonhurst National Bank, Brooklyn. Its stockholders approved the plan Sept. 5. The two acquisitions are subject to approval by state and Federal authorities.

ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE:	DUNBAR S. McLAURIN. CHAIRMAN	SAMUEL R. PIERCE, JR. COUNSEL	IRVING B. ALTMAN CONSULTANT
	JACKIE ROBINSON CO-CHAIRMAN	HERBERT B. EVANS TREASURER	JACK BLUMSTEIN ALVIN C. HUDGINS FRANK SCHIFFMAN

FREEDOM NATIONAL BANK OF NEW YORK
BANK IN PROCESS OF FORMATION

N. Y. AMSTERDAM NEWS, Sat., Sept. 21, 1963

See New Harlem Bank By January

(See Editorial on Page 10)

Organizers of the proposed Freedom National Bank for Harlem hope to open by January 1, Irving B. Altman and Dunbar S. McLaurin, two of the members of the group's organizing committee, told the Amsterdam News after receiving preliminary approval of the new bank from the U.S. Comptroller of the Currency.

Officials of the banking institution, which would be the first commercial institution sponsored by a predominately Negro group in the state, indicated that they were moving ahead with full steam as a result of the preliminary approval, considered the major hurdle.

The new bank, which has an initial capitalization of $1,500,000, is offering 60,000 shares at $25-a-share to the public, but already Mr. Altman indicated that hundreds of persons have applied for shares. Persons seeking to buy shares should write or call the organizing committee, which has temporary headquarters at 317 W. 125th St., or UN 5-2250. Preference is being given to Harlem residents.

Name Site

Mr. McLaurin indicated that the bank, which has an inter-racial organizing committee, hopes to occupy quarters at 275 W. 125th St., which have been just vacated by the Manufacturers Hanover Bank, which moved into larger quarters. The new group plans extensive alterations and remodeling to make the bank a first-class structure, McLaurin said.

Mr. Altman, a retired bank executive who spent 20 years as a vice president and cashier of the Merchants Bank of New York, and is expected to be the chief executive officer of the Freedom National Bank, said that the preliminary approval is the government's way of indicating satisfaction as to the need of such a bank and its endorsement of the sponsoring group. Formal chartering will come upon completion of the initial financing.

Mr. McLaurin noted that there is no present commercial bank in Harlem with its head office in the community, but only with branches in the area.

Draws Interest

Mr. Altman said that since the original announcement of the proposed bank, widespread interest has developed throughout the community, in many downtown businesses, and in various parts of the country. The new bank would be the first in the city to be organized from the ground up since 1929.

Following the initial financing, stockholders in the bank will meet to elect the board of directors who will in turn elect officers to get the bank off to a good start. They are presently working on recruiting staff members.

Among those on the organizing committee, in addition to McLaurin, who is chairman of the group, and Mr. Altman, are Jackie Robinson, former baseball star; Jack Blumstein, of Blumstein's Department Store; Frank Schiffman, of the Apollo Theatre. former Judge Samuel R. Pierce; Herbert B. Evans, of the Housing and Redevelopment Board; and Alvin C. Hudgins, rising young business executive.

FREEDOM NATIONAL BANK OF NEW YORK
BANK IN PROCESS OF FORMATION

N. Y. AMSTERDAM NEWS, Sat., Sept. 21, 1963

Faith In Harlem

It is heartening to note that while Harlem is the subject of criticism from many areas—both outside and within—there remain some groups which indicate by their actions that they have faith in the community and its people.

Only this week, the Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company—long an established branch in the community—opened its sparkling new offices at 125th Street and Eighth Avenue, a standing monument of glass, lights, steel and brick which brightens up the area and affirms the bank's positive belief in Harlem.

Another note of confidence in the community comes with the announcement of the proposed Freedom National Bank which was granted a national charter last week. This first commercial bank in the Northeast with Negro leadership is being organized by a group of whites and Negroes. It plans to locate on West 125th Street.

Last week's preliminary approval by the U.S. Controller of the Currency, which regulates federally chartered or national banks, marks the "go ahead" signal for the bank which expects to have initial capitalization of $1.5 million. This is a welcome addition to this community.

Both these banks, the one long established and the one just budding, are positive signs that the Harlem community is still one of growth, that there are people who believe in it, and that they are willing to invest in it and become a part of the spirit of this large area of New York City in which we live.

We congratulate both banks.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL,
Friday, September 13, 1963

Freedom National Bank Plans to Open by Jan. 1

By a* WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter

NEW YORK—Freedom National Bank, a proposed $1.5 million institution sponsored by a group of Negroes and whites, is expected to open by Jan. 1, according to Irving B. Altman, a retired banker who is one of the organizers.

He announced that target date after preliminary approval of the project by the U.S. Comptroller of the Currency. It was indicated that formal chartering of the bank will come upon completion of the initial financing.

Oversubscription of the offering of 60,000 shares at $25 each is assured, Mr. Altman said, but large subscriptions will be pared if necessary to insure as wide a distribution of the stock as possible among residents and business people of Harlem. The bank will occupy quarters on West 125th Street, in the heart of that predominantly Negro section of the city.

Mr. Altman is one of three white promoters of the enterprise; the others are Jack Blumstein, a department store proprietor; and Frank Schiffman, a theater operator, both in Harlem. Negroes in the sponsoring group include Jackie Robinson, a former baseball player and restaurant executive who is slated to be chairman; Dunbar S. McLaurin, an attorney and real estate man, the prospective president; Samuel R. Pierce, Jr., a lawyer and former judge; Herbert B. Evans, a member of the city's Housing and Redevelopment Board, and Alvin C. Hudgins, an executive of a small business investment company.

Mr. Altman was formerly a vice president and cashier of Merchants Bank of New York.

FREEDOM NATIONAL BANK OF NEW YORK

BANK IN PROCESS OF FORMATION

New York Journal-American
★ Thurs., Sept. 12, 1963

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JACKIE ROBINSON, ex-Brooklyn Dodger, now a public relations executive with the "Chock Full o' Nuts" firm, has gone into the banking business. A proposed bank to be known as Freedom National Bank of New York, at 275 W. 125th St. was granted a national charter by Controller James J. Saxon in Washington yesterday. Jackie is listed as one of the bank's "organizers."

ADVANCE
Staten Island, N. Y.
SEP 12 1963

Harlem Bank Wins Nod From U.S.

The federal government has given a group of whites and Negroes permission to organize a commercial bank in Harlem.

The Freedom National Bank reportedly would be the first commercial bank in the Northeast with Negro leadership.

Jackie Robinson, Negro one-time baseball star, is expected to be chairman of the board. Robinson now is vice president of Chock Full O' Nuts, a restaurant chain.

The organizers say they will "operate this bank without regard to color." The bank is billed as the first "community bank" in Harlem.

The organizers said:

"In this community of 400,000 people, not a single commercial bank has its main office."

Preliminary approval for the bank was given in Washington yesterday by James J. Saxon, comptroller of the currency. The organizers hope to open the bank in January on West 125th St. near 8th Ave.

DAILY NEWS, THURSDAY
SEPTEMBER 12, 1963

Robinson Bank Wins U.S. Okay

Washington, Sept. 11 (AP)—The proposed Freedom National Bank in New York City, which lists former baseball player Jackie Robinson as an organizer, was granted a national charter today by Controller of the Currency James J. Saxon.

The bank will be located at 275 W. 125th St. It will have initial capitalization of $1.5 million, including 60,000 shares at a par value of $10 per share.

THE NEW YORK COURIER
SEPT. 14, 1963

Freedom Bank Gets Federal OK

Preliminary approval for the granting of a charter to the National Freedom Bank was given this week by the Controller of Currency of the Treasury Department in Washington, D.C.

The approval constitutes 95% of the work necessary in getting a bank into operation.

Organizers behind the bank are Jackie Robinson, Judge Samuel R. Pierce, Jr., Herbert B. Evans, Dunbar McLaurin, Frank Schiffman, Jack Blumstein, Alvin C. Hudgins and Irving B. Altman.

JET [redacted]

BUSINESS

N. Y. Negroes, Whites Organize Freedom Nat'l Bank

A group of New York City Negroes and white business leaders received permission from the Federal government to organize the Freedom National Bank in Harlem with former baseball star Jackie Robinson as chairman of the board. Atty. Dunbar S. McLaurin is president and Irving B. Altman, a retired vice-president of the Merchants Bank of New York is executive vice-president. Organized with 60,000 shares at $25 par value, the venture is the first commercial bank in the Northeast under Negro leadership.

FREEDOM NATIONAL BANK OF NEW YORK
BANK IN PROCESS OF FORMATION
317 WEST 125th STREET, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY 5-2250

reprint...

The New York Times.

SUNDAY, JUNE 30, 1963.

NEGROES FORMING BANK IN HARLEM

Charter Would Be the First in State for Race—Jackie Robinson an Organizer

By **EDWARD COWAN**

A group of Negroes and whites has applied to the Federal Government for a charter for a new national bank in Harlem in the vicinity of 125th Street and Lenox Avenue.

The bank would be the first in New York State with Negro leadership.

There is one Negro-operated savings and loan association in Harlem, Carver Federal.

The application was filed Friday with the Controller of the Currency.

Among the organizers of the proposed Freedom National Bank are Jackie Robinson, the former baseball player; Samuel R. Pierce Jr., a Republican and former judge of General Sessions, and Herbert B. Evans, a Democrat and former City Councilman who is now a commissioner of the City Housing and Redevelopment Board.

Pierce on 'Action Panel'

Mr. Pierce, a lawyer was named by Mayor Wagner last week to be chairman of a three-man "action panel" to promote more jobs for Negroes in construction work.

The other organizers are Dunbar S. McLaurin, a lawyer with offices at 317 West 125th Street, the group's correspondent; Frank Schiffman, operator of a chain of Harlem theaters; Jack Blumstein, owner of a Harlem department store; Alvin C. Hudgins, a businessman in real estate and other lines, and Irving B. Altman, a retired vice president of the Merchants Bank of New York.

Year-End Opening Sought

Tentative plans call for Mr. Robinson to be chairman of the bank, Mr. McLaurin to be president and Mr. Altman to be chief executive officer.

The application proposed initial capitalization of $1,500,000, to be raised through the sale of 60,000 shares of stock at $25 each. Par value would be $10 a share.

The organizers hope to have the bank open before the end of the year. Depending on how soon they submit data to support the application, a decision by the Controller could take from one to two months.

Mr. McLaurin confirmed that the organizers anticipated that many Negroes would transfer their business from other banks to the proposed bank.

Two sites for the proposed Freedom National Bank are under consideration.

ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE:

DUNBAR S. McLAURIN
CHAIRMAN

JACKIE ROBINSON
CO-CHAIRMAN

SAMUEL R. PIERCE, JR.
COUNSEL

HERBERT B. EVANS
TREASURER

IRVING B. ALTMAN
CONSULTANT

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The New York Times.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 31, 1963.

PENSION SUPPORT FOR HOMES URGED

State and City Asked to Use Funds for Mortgaging

By ALEXANDER BURNHAM

The city and state were urged yesterday to commit their pension funds to a $2,000,000,000 "crash mortgage-lending program" for housing rehabilitation in Harlem and other areas of the city.

According to the proposal, heard by a state commission investigating low-rent public housing, such a "massive program would dissolve protests of unemployment in the construction trades."

Then, it was said, "every Negro, Puerto Rican or white in the state who could drive a nail, plaster a hole, thread a pipe, paint a room or do any type of construction work would be deluged with job offers."

The plan was submitted by Dunbar S. McLaurin, one of the sponsors of the recently proposed Freedom National Bank, which is now awaiting approval by the Federal Controller of the Currency. It would be the first bank in the state with Negro leadership. Mr. McLaurin is slated to be president.

"For years," Mr. McLaurin asserted, "financial institutions have collected the Negro's money in banks, insurance, businesses and pension funds. But they have invariably taken the Negros' and Puerto Rican's money and invested it in other communities.

"This has resulted in a chronic disease, sometimes fatal, known as 'money malnutrition.' These groups are now demanding that their own money, their own pension funds, be returned to them for their benefit."

Mr. McLaurin appealed to the city and state "to provide the moral leadership, as well as the financial leadership, to induce savings, commercial and industrial banks, insurance companies, industrial and corporate funds, and all other sources of investment to join in this crusade."

The proposal immediately got qualified support from Peter J. Brennan, president of the Building and Construction Trades Council of New York City.

Merit in Plan Seen

"We feel that Mr. McLaurin's plan has some merit," Mr. Brennan said, "if the city employes pension funds were to be used for the rebuilding and refurbishing of some of the present buildings in Harlem and other housing."

Mr. Brennan pointed out that the building and construction unions "still feel that new construction is the best way to provide better housing for a large number of people."

"We are going through some trying times with demands from minority groups for opportunities to work in the construction industry," Mr. Brennan said.

ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE:

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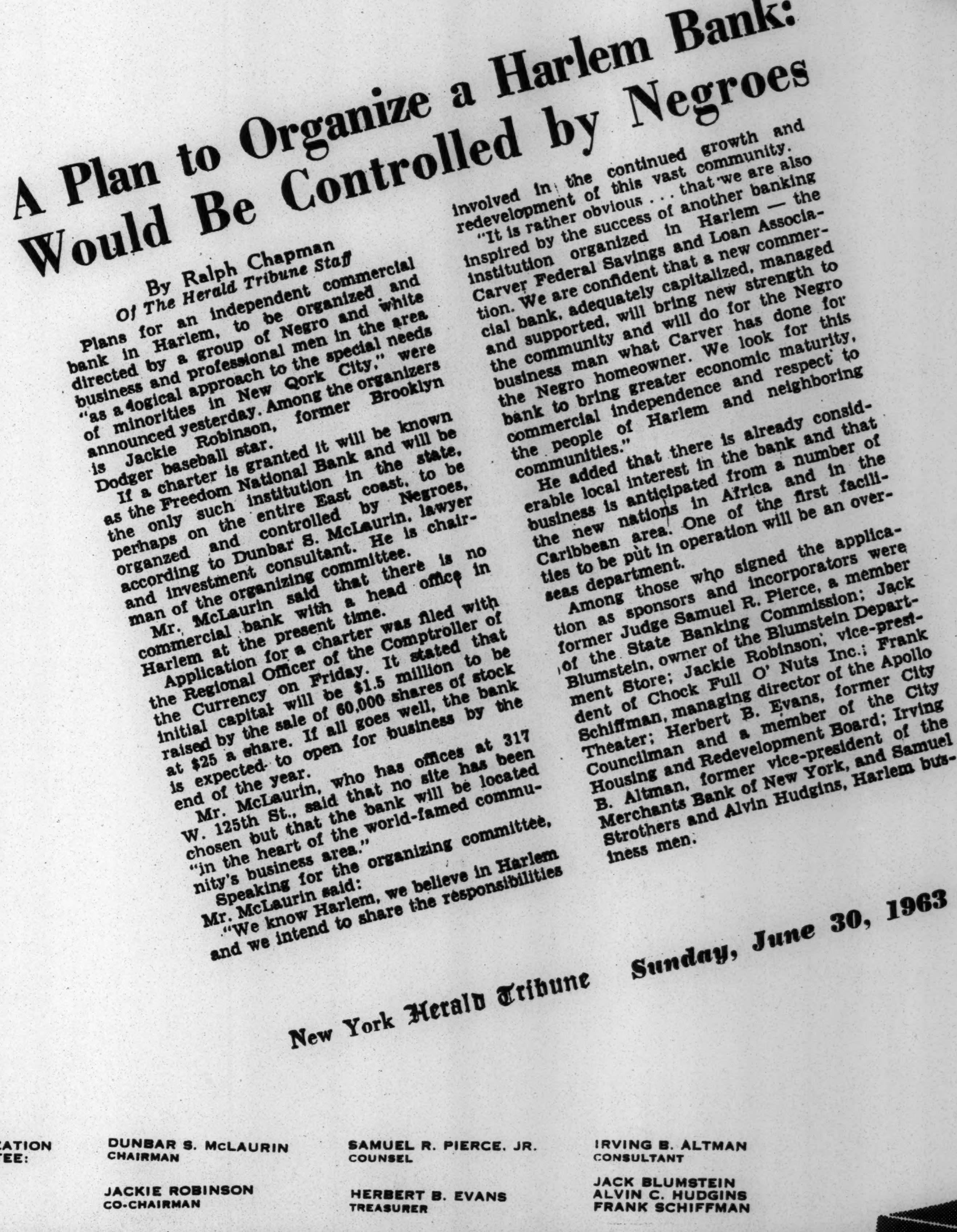

A Plan to Organize a Harlem Bank: Would Be Controlled by Negroes

By Ralph Chapman
Of The Herald Tribune Staff

Plans for an independent commercial bank in Harlem, to be organized and directed by a group of Negro and white business and professional men in the area "as a logical approach to the special needs of minorities in New Qork City," were announced yesterday. Among the organizers is Jackie Robinson, former Brooklyn Dodger baseball star.

If a charter is granted it will be known as the Freedom National Bank and will be the only such institution in the state, perhaps on the entire East coast, to be organzed and controlled by Negroes, according to Dunbar S. McLaurin, lawyer and investment consultant. He is chairman of the organizing committee.

Mr. McLaurin said that there is no commercial bank with a head office in Harlem at the present time.

Application for a charter was filed with the Regional Officer of the Comptroller of the Currency on Friday. It stated that initial capital will be $1.5 million to be raised by the sale of 60,000 shares of stock at $25 a share. If all goes well, the bank is expected to open for business by the end of the year.

Mr. McLaurin, who has offices at 317 W. 125th St., said that no site has been chosen but that the bank will be located "in the heart of the world-famed community's business area."

Speaking for the organizing committee, Mr. McLaurin said:

"We know Harlem, we believe in Harlem and we intend to share the responsibilities involved in the continued growth and redevelopment of this vast community.

"It is rather obvious . . . that we are also inspired by the success of another banking institution organized in Harlem — the Carver Federal Savings and Loan Association. We are confident that a new commercial bank, adequately capitalized, managed and supported, will bring new strength to the community and will do for the Negro business man what Carver has done for the Negro homeowner. We look for this bank to bring greater economic maturity, commercial independence and respect to the people of Harlem and neighboring communities."

He added that there is already considerable local interest in the bank and that business is anticipated from a number of the new nations in Africa and in the Caribbean area. One of the first facilities to be put in operation will be an overseas department.

Among those who signed the application as sponsors and incorporators were former Judge Samuel R. Pierce, a member of the State Banking Commission; Jack Blumstein, owner of the Blumstein Department Store; Jackie Robinson, vice-president of Chock Full O' Nuts Inc.; Frank Schiffman, managing director of the Apollo Theater; Herbert B. Evans, former City Councilman and a member of the City Housing and Redevelopment Board; Irving B. Altman, former vice-president of the Merchants Bank of New York, and Samuel Strothers and Alvin Hudgins, Harlem business men.

New York Herald Tribune Sunday, June 30, 1963

ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE:

DUNBAR S. McLAURIN
CHAIRMAN

JACKIE ROBINSON
CO-CHAIRMAN

SAMUEL R. PIERCE, JR.
COUNSEL

HERBERT B. EVANS
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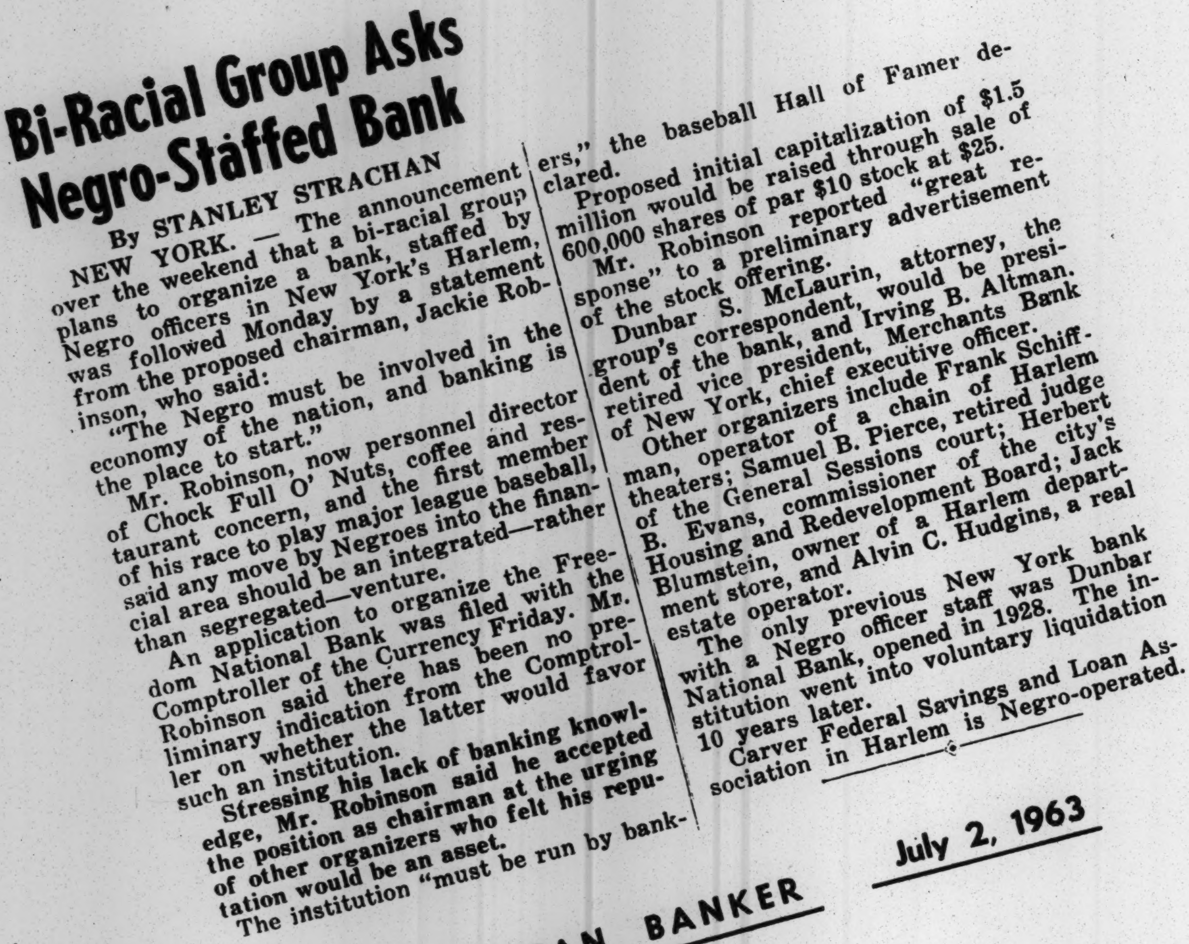

Bi-Racial Group Asks Negro-Staffed Bank

By STANLEY STRACHAN

NEW YORK. — The announcement over the weekend that a bi-racial group plans to organize a bank, staffed by Negro officers in New York's Harlem, was followed Monday by a statement from the proposed chairman, Jackie Robinson, who said:

"The Negro must be involved in the economy of the nation, and banking is the place to start."

Mr. Robinson, now personnel director of Chock Full O' Nuts, coffee and restaurant concern, and the first member of his race to play major league baseball, said any move by Negroes into the financial area should be an integrated—rather than segregated—venture.

An application to organize the Freedom National Bank was filed with the Comptroller of the Currency Friday. Mr. Robinson said there has been no preliminary indication from the Comptroller on whether the latter would favor such an institution.

Stressing his lack of banking knowledge, Mr. Robinson said he accepted the position as chairman at the urging of other organizers who felt his reputation would be an asset.

The institution "must be run by bankers," the baseball Hall of Famer declared.

Proposed initial capitalization of $1.5 million would be raised through sale of 600,000 shares of par $10 stock at $25.

Mr. Robinson reported "great response" to a preliminary advertisement of the stock offering.

Dunbar S. McLaurin, attorney, the group's correspondent, would be president of the bank, and Irving B. Altman, retired vice president, Merchants Bank of New York, chief executive officer.

Other organizers include Frank Schiffman, operator of a chain of Harlem theaters; Samuel B. Pierce, retired judge of the General Sessions court; Herbert B. Evans, commissioner of the city's Housing and Redevelopment Board; Jack Blumstein, owner of a Harlem department store, and Alvin C. Hudgins, a real estate operator.

The only previous New York bank with a Negro officer staff was Dunbar National Bank, opened in 1928. The institution went into voluntary liquidation 10 years later.

Carver Federal Savings and Loan Association in Harlem is Negro-operated.

AMERICAN BANKER

July 2, 1963

ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE:
DUNBAR S. McLAURIN
CHAIRMAN
JACKIE ROBINSON
CO-CHAIRMAN
SAMUEL R. PIERCE, JR.
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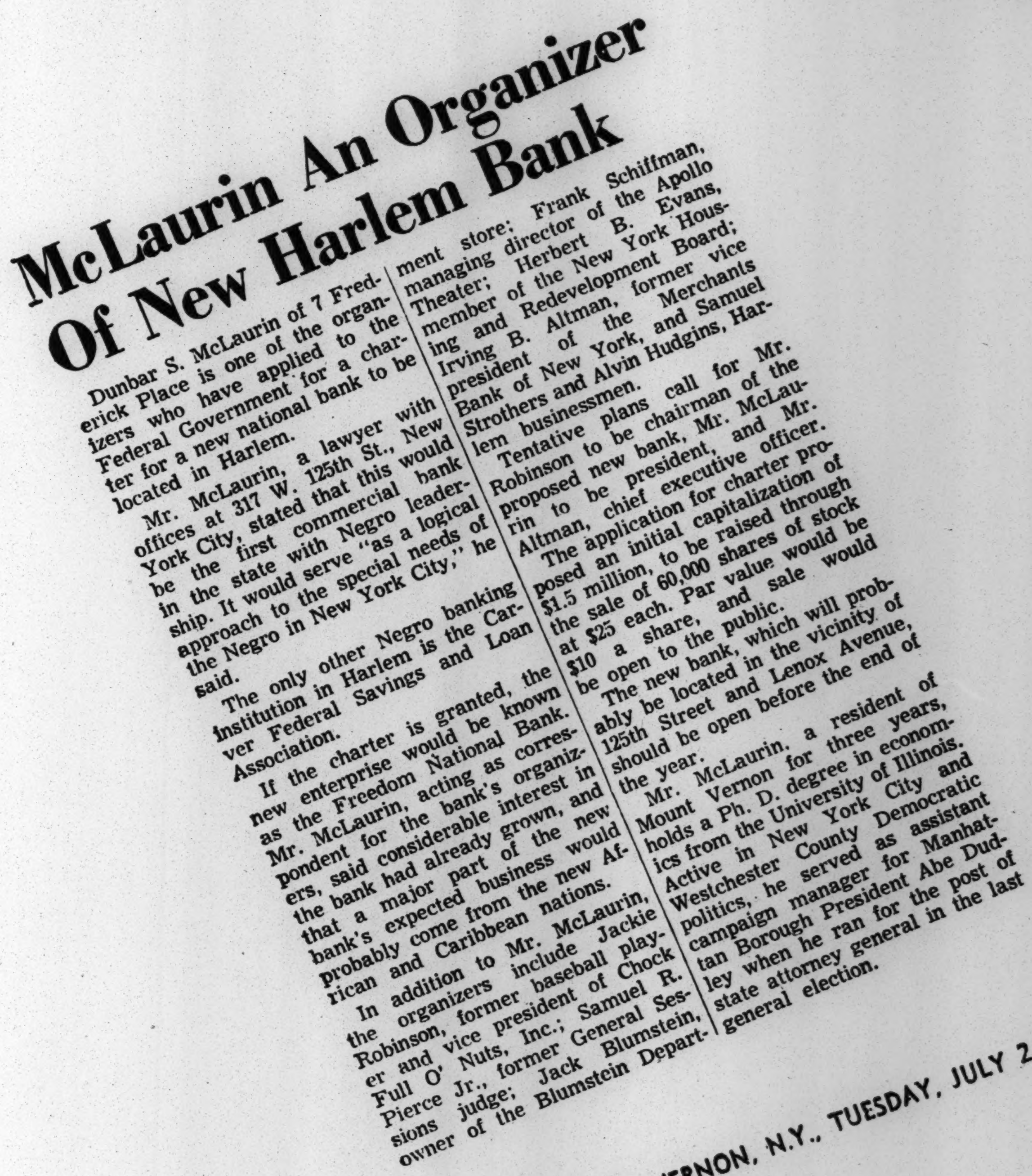

McLaurin An Organizer Of New Harlem Bank

Dunbar S. McLaurin of 7 Frederick Place is one of the organizers who have applied to the Federal Government for a charter for a new national bank to be located in Harlem.

Mr. McLaurin, a lawyer with offices at 317 W. 125th St., New York City, stated that this would be the first commercial bank in the state with Negro leadership. It would serve "as a logical approach to the special needs of the Negro in New York City," he said.

The only other Negro banking institution in Harlem is the Carver Federal Savings and Loan Association.

If the charter is granted, the new enterprise would be known as the Freedom National Bank. Mr. McLaurin, acting as correspondent for the bank's organizers, said considerable interest in the bank had already grown, and that a major part of the new bank's expected business would probably come from the new African and Caribbean nations.

In addition to Mr. McLaurin, the organizers include Jackie Robinson, former baseball player and vice president of Chock Full O' Nuts, Inc.; Samuel R. Pierce Jr., former General Sessions judge; Jack Blumstein, owner of the Blumstein Department store; Frank Schiffman, managing director of the Apollo Theater; Herbert B. Evans, member of the New York Housing and Redevelopment Board; Irving B. Altman, former vice president of the Merchants Bank of New York, and Samuel Strothers and Alvin Hudgins, Harlem businessmen.

Tentative plans call for Mr. Robinson to be chairman of the proposed new bank, Mr. McLaurin to be president, and Mr. Altman, chief executive officer.

The application for charter proposed an initial capitalization of $1.5 million, to be raised through the sale of 60,000 shares of stock at $25 each. Par value would be $10 a share, and sale would be open to the public.

The new bank, which will probably be located in the vicinity of 125th Street and Lenox Avenue, should be open before the end of the year.

Mr. McLaurin. a resident of Mount Vernon for three years, holds a Ph. D. degree in economics from the University of Illinois. Active in New York City and Westchester County Democratic politics, he served as assistant campaign manager for Manhattan Borough President Abe Dudley when he ran for the post of state attorney general in the last general election.

DAILY ARGUS, MOUNT VERNON, N.Y., TUESDAY, JULY 2, 1963

ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE:

DUNBAR S. McLAURIN
CHAIRMAN

JACKIE ROBINSON
CO-CHAIRMAN

SAMUEL R. PIERCE, JR.
COUNSEL

HERBERT B. EVANS
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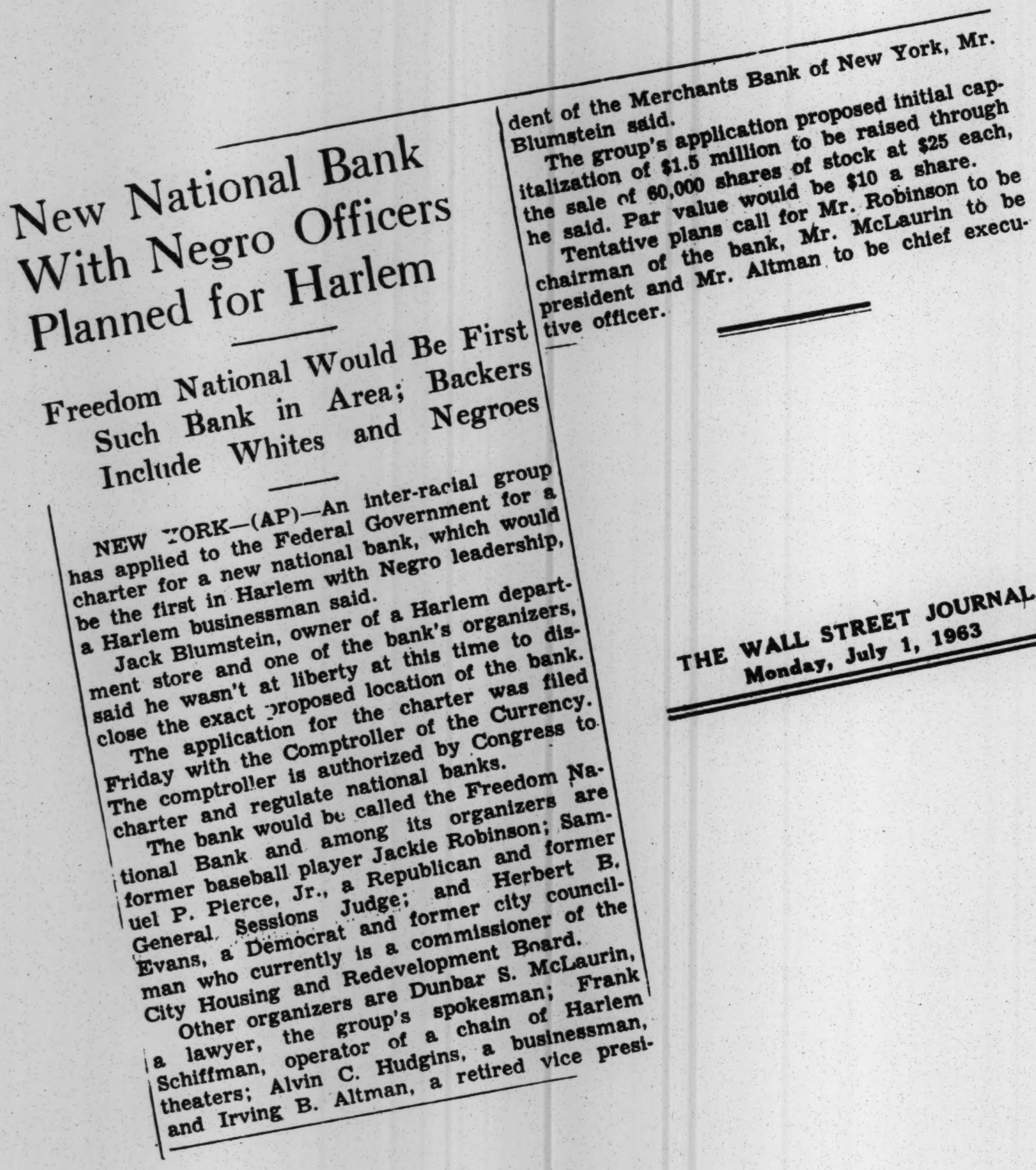

New National Bank With Negro Officers Planned for Harlem

Freedom National Would Be First Such Bank in Area; Backers Include Whites and Negroes

NEW YORK—(AP)—An inter-racial group has applied to the Federal Government for a charter for a new national bank, which would be the first in Harlem with Negro leadership, a Harlem businessman said.

Jack Blumstein, owner of a Harlem department store and one of the bank's organizers, said he wasn't at liberty at this time to disclose the exact proposed location of the bank.

The application for the charter was filed Friday with the Comptroller of the Currency. The comptroller is authorized by Congress to charter and regulate national banks.

The bank would be called the Freedom National Bank and among its organizers are former baseball player Jackie Robinson; Samuel P. Pierce, Jr., a Republican and former General Sessions Judge; and Herbert B. Evans, a Democrat and former city councilman who currently is a commissioner of the City Housing and Redevelopment Board.

Other organizers are Dunbar S. McLaurin, a lawyer, the group's spokesman; Frank Schiffman, operator of a chain of Harlem theaters; Alvin C. Hudgins, a businessman, and Irving B. Altman, a retired vice president of the Merchants Bank of New York, Mr. Blumstein said.

The group's application proposed initial capitalization of $1.5 million to be raised through the sale of 60,000 shares of stock at $25 each, he said. Par value would be $10 a share.

Tentative plans call for Mr. Robinson to be chairman of the bank, Mr. McLaurin to be president and Mr. Altman to be chief executive officer.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL,
Monday, July 1, 1963

ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE:

DUNBAR S. McLAURIN
CHAIRMAN

JACKIE ROBINSON
CO-CHAIRMAN

SAMUEL R. PIERCE, JR.
COUNSEL

HERBERT B. EVANS
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317 WEST 125th STREET, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK
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New York Journal-American, Sun., June 30, 1963 ★★★

ASK U.S. FOR CHARTER IN N.Y.

Negroes Form Bank

The Federal Government has been asked to approve a charter for the first national bank in New York State to be operated under Negro leadership, it was learned yesterday.

Organizers hope to open its doors this year in Harlem in the neighborhood of 125th st. and Lenox ave.

They anticipate that many Negroes would transfer accounts and business from other banks to the new, proposed one, according to Dunbar S. McLaurin, a lawyer, with offices at 317 W. 125th st.

Jackie Robinson, the first Negro to break the "color line" in major league baseball and who now is a vice president of Chock Full O' Nuts, would be chairman, under tentative plans.

Mr. McLaurin would be president, and Irving B. Altman, a retired vice president of the Merchants Bank of New York, would be chief executive officer.

A group of Negroes and whites filed the application with the Controller of the Currency, who could make a decision in from one to two months after additional data is supplied.

The bank would be known as the Freedom National Bank. It is proposed to have an initial capitalization of $1,500,000 which would be raised through sales of 60,000 shares of stock at $25 each. Par value per share would be $10.

Although there now is no Negro-operated bank in this state, there is a savings and loan association in Harlem, Carver Federal, operated under Negro leadership.

Plan First Negro Bank

A group of prominent whites and Negroes has applied for a federal charter for a new national bank in Harlem. The bank would be the first in the state with Negro leadership.

The bank would be in the area of Lenox Ave. and 125th St., and the organizers hope to open it before the end of the year.

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JET
Vol. XXIV No. 13
July 18, 1963

BUSINESS

Freedom National Bank Proposed For Harlem

Proposal of a new commercial bank—Freedom National—was announced by an independent group of Harlem business and professional leaders as a "logical approach to the special needs of minorities in New York City." The formal application for a charter stated that the initial capital would be $1,500,000. It is planned to issue 60,000 shares of stock to subscribers at $25 a share ($10 par value). Dunbar S. McLaurin, a lawyer and investment consultant, who is chairman of the bank's organizing committee, declared that "we know Harlem, we believe in Harlem and we intend to share the responsibilities involved in (its) continued growth and redevelopment." Among the other sponsors and incorporators who signed the application are former Judge Samuel R. Pierce, who is a member of the New York State Banking Commission; Jack Blumstein, head of 125th Street's largest department store; and Jackie Robinson, vice president of Chock Full O'Nuts, Inc.

ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE:

DUNBAR S. McLAURIN
CHAIRMAN

JACKIE ROBINSON
CO-CHAIRMAN

SAMUEL R. PIERCE, JR.
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FRANK SCHIFFMAN

IN PROCESS OF FORMATION

FREEDOM NATIONAL BANK OF NEW YORK
271-275 WEST 125TH STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027
Organization Office – Room 211 • RI 9-4446 – 4447

January 30, 1964

FEB 3 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Mr. Farmer:

You will be pleased to know that the Comptroller of the Currency of the U. S. Treasury has authorized us to proceed with organization of FREEDOM NATIONAL BANK OF NEW YORK. I am, therefore, calling upon you personally to send in your pledge to purchase shares of stock in this Bank as well as to join us in the effort to enlist widespread participation by others who live in or care about the Harlem community.

This Bank is being founded--in the spirit of the Freedom Movement--to demonstrate the determination of the people of our community to take the initiative in the creation, directorship and management of a first-class, commercial bank, headquartered in the heart of Harlem. In that same spirit, this initiative is to be asserted--not by discriminatory exclusion of other groups on the basis of race or color--but by vigorous response from within the involved communities to the opportunity to purchase the shares of stock now being offered.

You know, of course, how important it is that this word be spread as quickly as possible and how difficult it is for us to write everyone we wish to reach. For this reason, I am asking you to read carefully the enclosed folder describing the offering of 60,000 shares of FREEDOM NATIONAL BANK stock to the public and to pass this information on to your family, friends, and neighbors. Also, I urge you to make this offering known to the organizations you belong to. I hope you will call us for additional folders and subscription forms to be used for this purpose.

As one of the organizers, I vouch for their intention to make this Bank a genuine community institution that will belong in every way to the people it is to serve--not only in Harlem but in the other areas where banking services are inadequate. You are one of those upon whom all of us are depending for support of this eminently desirable enterprise.

Sincerely yours,

Herbert B. Evans
Treasurer

HBE:ry
enc.

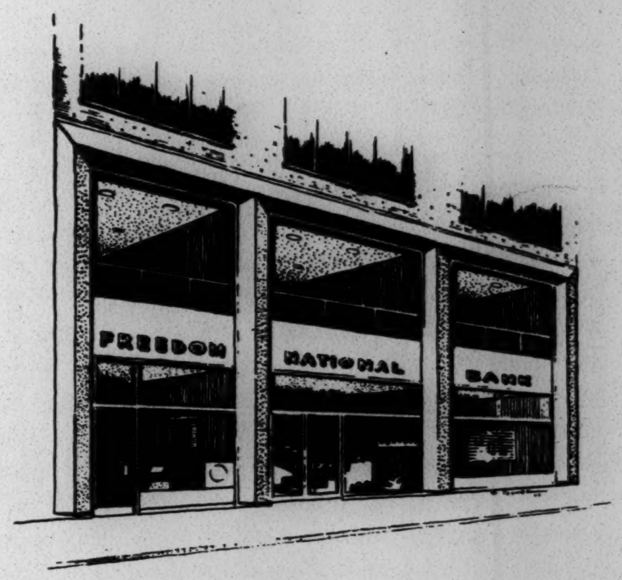
ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE:

Dunbar S. McLaurin
Jackie Robinson
Co-Chairmen

Herbert B. Evans
Treasurer
Irving B. Altman
Consultant

Alvin C. Hudgins
Secretary
Jack Blumstein
Organizer

Samuel R. Pierce, Jr.
Counsel
Frank Schiffman
Organizer


FREEDOM
NATIONAL
BANK

FREEDOM NATIONAL BANK OF NEW YORK

275 WEST 125TH STREET
Near Eighth Avenue
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

STOCK OFFERING

- Sixty thousand (60,000) shares of Capital Stock, par value $10.00 per share, at the price of $25.00 per share are now offered to provide $1,500,000.00 capital funds for the proposed FREEDOM NATIONAL BANK OF NEW YORK. The proceeds from each share will be allocated as follows: $10 to Capital, $10 to Surplus, and $5 to Undivided Profits. This offering follows approval received by the organizers from the Comptroller of the Currency of the United States Treasury Department to proceed with organization of the bank.
- It is the intention of the organizers of the bank to provide the widest possible distribution of the stock, but prospective stockholders and depositors residing or doing business in the Harlem community will receive priority in the allotment of shares. The organizers, as prospective directors and officers of the bank, have subscribed for a substantial number of shares to be purchased at the same price that is being offered to the general public. Neither the organizers, individually or collectively, nor anyone else will have a majority block of stock. It is expected that the organizers will purchase approximately 20% of the offering.
- All funds from the sale of stock will be mailed directly to the Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company to be held in a special account until such time as the entire $1,500,000.00 has been raised. If for any reason the full amount is not raised, the amounts on deposit will be returned to the subscribers. Upon organization of the bank, each subscriber will receive a certificate representing the total shares purchased.

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OTHER BANKING F

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Freedom National B
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FREEDOM NATION

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shares to be issued to any one

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ederal documentary stamp tax, etc.
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0.00.

F THE BANK

tional Bank of New York will be a
mercial bank offering a complete
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s; personal and special checking
ommercial, business installment,
personal and auto loans; interest
ngs accounts; and Christmas clubs.
ention of the organizers that this
take particular care and interest
he financial needs of the Harlem

KING FACILITIES IN THE AREA

ere are other commercial branch
ces in the Harlem trade area,
ional Bank will be the only com-
headquartered there. Moreover,
rea, there is only one commercial

banking facility for every 30,000 persons as compared with the Borough of Manhattan as a whole, which has one such facility for every 5,160 persons. Attention is also called to the number of savings banks servicing the area. There are only three savings banks to service the 300,000 residents in the trade area in which the Freedom National Bank will be located.

SITE AND PHYSICAL FACILITIES

- A building at 275 West 125th Street, near Eighth Avenue, has been selected by the organizers as the home of this community bank. Formerly occupied by a branch of Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company, the bank quarters are being remodelled at an estimated cost of $130,000.00 to provide a modern and attractive landmark of pride in the Harlem community. For efficient service and comfort to its clients, the bank will spend an additional $30,000.00 on operating equipment, furniture and fixtures. In keeping with accepted standards of comparable institutions, the outlay for these improvements will approximate ten per cent of the bank's capitalization.
- On behalf of the bank, the organizers have obtained an option on a lease to be consummated by the elected officers. The lease for the ground floor, including the basement, is to run for a term of twenty (20) years beginning at an annual rental of $21,000.00, subject to review at the end of the tenth and fifteenth years of operations. Under the same general terms and conditions, the second floor, to be used for office quarters, will begin with an annual rental of $7,000.00.
- The organizers hope to have the bank organized within the first quarter of 1964; expect renovations to be completed shortly thereafter, and to open for business on or about May 1, 1964.

SUPERVISION–DIRECTION–STAFFING

- Three Federal agencies will supervise Freedom National Bank of New York: the Comptroller of the Currency of the United States Treasury Department; the Federal Reserve Board; and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. The bank's deposits will be insured up to the maximum provided by the bank insurance laws.
- It is expected that the organizers will constitute the majority of the first Board of Directors of the bank. They are now in process of selecting officers and employees. The estimated budget allocation of salaries for these officers and employees, together with director's fees, for the first year's operations approximates $120,000.00.
- A firm of certified public accountants will be engaged to serve as independent auditors. Samuel R. Pierce, Jr., who is one of the bank's organizers, will serve as counsel for the bank.

PRO FORMA BALANCE SHEET

Freedom National Bank of New York, immediately following its organization and the payment of organizational expenses:

Assets		Liabilities	
Cash in Correspondent Banks	$1,470,000.00	Capital.....$	600,000.00
		Surplus.....$	600,000.00
		Undivided Profits.....$	270,000.00
Totals	$1,470,000.00		$1,470,000.00

THE ORGANIZERS • • •

The following organizers have received approval from the Comptroller of the Currency as being acceptable candidates for election to the first Board of Directors:

IRVING B. ALTMAN	Banker. Has a background of over thirty years experience covering all phases of modern banking. Served as Vice President and Cashier 1941-1960 with the Merchants Bank of New York.
JACK BLUMSTEIN	President of the Blumstein Department Store, Harlem's leading retail establishment. Active in various civic and philanthropic organizations.
HERBERT B. EVANS	Commissioner of Housing and Redevelopment Board of New York City. Former Assistant Counsel to the Governor; Parole Commissioner State of New York; Legal Counsel to National Urban League; and City Councilman. Very active in Harlem civic, cultural and community affairs.
ALVIN C. HUDGINS	Harlem businessman. Vice President of Hudgins & Associates Small Business Investment Corporation; President, Unity Investors, Inc.; Director, Mortgagee Investors, Inc.
DUNBAR S. McLAURIN	Attorney; Economic Consultant; Senior Economist, McLaurin and Pryor Associates; Director, Prudential Realty Managers, Inc., real estate managers.
SAMUEL R. PIERCE, JR.	Attorney. Partner in the law firm of Battle, Fowler, Stokes & Kheel. Former Judge of the Court of General Sessions. Member of the New York State Banking Board; active in many civic, professional and charitable organizations.
JACKIE ROBINSON	Vice President Chock Full O' Nuts, Inc.; Member of Baseball's Hall of Fame; Trustee Lenox Hill Hospital; President United Churchmen; Board Member N.A.A.C.P.; Board Member Y.M.C.A.
FRANK SCHIFFMAN	Operator of the nationally famous Apollo Theatre and other New York theatres; long association with Harlem civic and welfare activities.

I anticipate that I will use the following services of the new bank—

Savings Account ○

Personal Checking Account ☐ Approximate Average Balances $________________

Commercial Checking Account ☐ Approximate Average Balances $________________

Other ____________________________

____

Name ____

Company or Trade Style ____

Organization Committee
FREEDOM NATIONAL BANK OF NEW YORK

FREEDOM NATIONAL BANK OF NEW YORK
IN PROCESS OF FORMATION
271-275 WEST 125TH STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10027

I, ______________________________ wish to subscribe for
(Please Print)

__________ shares of the capital stock of the Freedom National Bank of New York and upon call of the Organization Committee agree to pay therefor the sum of ______________________________ dollars ($).

Date __________ Subscriber ______________________________

Address ______________________________

____

Sixty thousand (60,000) shares ($10 Par Value) are being offered to provide $1,500,000 to be allocated as follows:
CAPITAL $600,000 SURPLUS $600,000 UNDIVIDED PROFITS $300,000

Note: The Organization Committee reserves the right to limit the number of shares to be issued to any one subscriber.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE– $25.00 per share. Minimum pledge, four shares.

(Your $25. payment per share will be distributed as follows: $10. to Capital; $10. to Surplus and $5. to Undivided Profits.)

SUBSCRIPTION TABLE

10 shares.........	$ 250.
20 shares.........	$ 500.
40 shares.........	$ 1,000.
100 shares.........	$ 2,500.
400 shares.........	$10,000.
Etc.	

Do not send remittance with this pledge. You will be notified when payment is required.

(Over)

File:

FREEDOM NATIONAL BANK OF NEW YORK
BANK IN PROCESS OF FORMATION

271-275 WEST 125th STREET, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK
Organization Office — Room 211
RI 9-4446 — 4447

April 8, 1964

Mr. James Farmer, President
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Enclosed, you will find the material as promised. I trust that this will help to give you a picture of the situation, and should you have further questions, feel free to call us at the above number.

Again, please accept my personal thanks for lending an ear.

With sincere best wishes,

Gwen Nichols

Gwen Nichols
For the FREEDOM NATIONAL BANK.

THE FACTS ON FREEDOM NATIONAL BANK

The idea for the bank was first conceived and brought to the attention of the members of the Organizing Committee by Mr. McLaurin. From the beginning all of the Organizers invested time and money, the first step in setting up a bank, with rules and regulations that each member was expected to adhere to.

Within a short time Mr. McLaurin made known his intentions of wanting to be the president at a yearly salary of $20,000, a figure he arrived at without discussion.

The first cause of dissension was Mr. McLaurin's habit of operating as a "ONE MAN"S COMMITTEE", making decisions without consulting the other men. He made a total of $5,973.00 of unauthorized expenditures, $1889.00 to himself with checks signed only by him when the bank account was set up to have two signatures.

The committee paid Mr. McLaurin $100 per month for desk space in his office, and after several disruptive meetings where no business was transacted because of Mr. McLaurin's insistence that he be president, it was decided that office space would be taken in the bank building. We were able to secure more adequate space for $50 per month, with elevator service. The committee notified the Post Office of the change of address of the Organizing Committee of the Freedom National Bank. Mr. McLaurin then countered and demanded that all mail for the bank be sent to his office. He received and withheld mail meant for the bank until the committee filed papers with the General Post Office , after which time, mail with the bank;s name was sent to the present location.

It was finally decided to change Correspondents for the committee since Mr. McLaurin withheld all records, files, subscriptions and forms. The Comptroller was so notified.

Mr. McLaurin stated many times that he had no intention of cooperating in the organization of the bank and that if he was not president he would see that it never opened. To this end he sent untrue statements to the Negro press and sought to raise the race issue. He stated that the bank was being taken over by "WHITES"

The only white members had been brought in by Mr. McLaurin, namely, Mr. Frank Schiffman, owner of the Appollo Theatre, Mr. Jack Blumstein, owner of the Blumstein's Department Store and Mr. Irving B. Altman, a retired banker with over 35 years of banking experience, over 20 years as a vice-president of the Merchants Bank of New York, one of New York's oldest banks.

From the beginning, Freedom National Bank was to be a bi-racial bank (see reprint from the New York Times, Sept. 12,1963) and these three men joined the Organizing Committee at its inception. To this date, no new white members have been added, however, three Negro members joined the committee this year, with approval from the Comptroller of the Currency who first investigated them. It was after his difficulty with the committee that he continued to project this race issue in the press to such an extent that finally the papers refused his copy.

It was at this time that Mr. Lawson entered the picture. He first made a threatening telephone call to the office of the bank, saying that if we did not get rid of the white people the bank would never open, that he would have his people picket, etc. At this time Mr. McLaurin requested that the Urban League call a meeting with the Organizing Committee in an attempt to clarify the problems. At this meeting were present Mr. Allen of the Urban League who acted as chairman, Mr.Lawson, Reverend Hildebrand, Mr. England from CORE, Mr. Carter of the Courier, from the Organizers were Jackie Robinson, Commissioner Evans and Mr. Altman.

On thursday evening March 12, we were notified to attend a meeting at the Urban League or have the people from that committee attend our regular business meeting. The impression was given that Mr. Allen ahd called this meeting, he subsequently called and denied calling the meeting, saying that he was willing to meet at the convenience of the Organizers but not attend a private business meeting. Later that evening, Mr. McLaurin came to the office with several strange persons, proceeded to carry on a meeting and swore into membership on the Organizing

Committee these people. The proceedure is to submit the names of prospective members to the Comptroller of the Currency along with the personal and financial statements of those proposed. They are then investigated by the Treasury Dept. if their records are clear, we then are notified that the comptroller finds no reason why they cannot serve as an organizer, then they become members.

The organizers refused to participate in this meeting and declared it to be "unauthorized". During this meeting the men of Mr. McLaurin's group crowded about the door to the inner office making it impossible to see the outer office, meanwhile they had brought a locksmith and he was changing the lock while McLaurin kept the attention of all in the room. Mrs. Nichols who has handled all of the subscriptions for the committee was going down the hall at this time and called out to the Organizers.

Mr. McLaurin made two unauthorized entrances to the Organizing office after closing time. The first time he brought a locksmith who took off the moulding and removed the glass door. He evidently had a key made at this time because he again entered the office after hours and stole the records. He was caught by the maintenance man and arrested. The committee did not want the embarassment of having him jailed and so they agreed not to press charges if he would return the books. This he promised to do, but to this day, April 8,1964, he has not done so.

Mr. McLaurin has taken the background and permitted Mr. Lawson and Mr. England to come to the front. By this time Reverend Hildebrand and Mr. Allen had backed away from this involvement, after two unauthorized meetings of stockholders was held.

A press conference was called at which time Mr. Lawson stated that he had the backing of the "responsible civil rights organizations" and when asked if NAACP, CORE and the Urban League backed them,he answered in the affirmative.

Reverend Hildebrand stated that he warned Mr. England not to get involved, and Mr. William R. Hudgins had a two hour conference with Mr. England, at which time he explained the whole situation to Mr. England, and it was his believe that Mr. England since learning the facts, would move carefully in involving CORE, yet on

Tuesday, April 7, 1964, Mr. England attempted to arrange a press conference for Mr. McLaurin, at the Theresa Hotel, 8 p.m., with Mr. Altman, and the Messrs. Hudgins, Senior and Junior.

At the last unauthorized stockholders meeting called by these people along with a Mr. Edwards, they organized a shareholders investigative committee and sent a telegram to the Comptroller charging fraud because the stock was sold outside the Harlem community. In the reprint from the Times, 9/12/63, quote, "The Controller was told that the widest possible distribution of the stock would be sought, with priority given to Harlem residents and business men." So back there in the first days of organization, it was knownthat stock would be sold to those out of the community. No Negro has been refused stock. All requests, all mail, all telephone calls went through the office and was handled by Gwen Nichols. Due to Mr. McLaurin's activities, the Negro subscribers cancelled thousands of dollars of pledges.

In order to hold a block of stock for the Negro community, the organizers personally borrowed the money to pay for this block of stock to be held for distrubution at a later date, and to get on with the oepning of the bank by the target date. Each organizer is personally ~~xxp~~ responsible. Each organizer purchased stock in the bank, all except Mr. McLaurin, he has not bought one single share. Mr. Lawson does not have stock, none of the people harrassing the bank own stock. They have not exhibted enough faith in the project to spend $100. Yet these people sent a telegram [illegible] charging fraud... Mr. McLaurin has used the purchase of the shares to be held, to misinform the people, stating that the Irving Trust Company would own the bank and controll it. This is not true, the Irving Trust Company made a loan to individuals secured by individuals, The Irving Trust Company does not own one share of stock in the Freedom National Bank.

May we tell you how Mr. McLaurin came by this information ? He heard about a letter, he then called the Irving Trust Company and said he was Mr. William R. Hudgins and that he wanted a copy of the letter. They agreed to mail it to

Mr. Hudgins but Mr. McLaurin said he would send his messenger. Does this sound like an ethical man ? Is CORE going on record as upholding this man ?

All sorts of threats has been leveled at the two white businessmen on the committee. Threats to throw picket lines around their places of business if they don't get out. Of course Mr. Lawson has quietly told us that if we paid him ....he left the rest to our understanding.

Mr. McLaurin recently negoiated with T & R Enterprises of 275 Madison Avenue, New York City, to sell and deliver the bank to them for a considerable sum and the condition that he be made president. He negoiated with Mr. Robert Crespi and Mr. Emil Tucker, these people are of course white.

The Organizers ~~xxxx~~ in the past leaned over backwards to get on with Mr. McLaurin in an effort to accomplish their goal of getting the bank open and he has rpeatedly stated that he means to do everything in his power to prevent the bank from opening.

Enclosures:
1. Copy of telegram sent over Mr. England's signature
2. Copy of telegram sent over Rev. Hildebrand's signature
3. Copy of ~~letter-~~ telegram sent over Mr. Allen's signature
4. Reprint from the New York Times 9/12/63

Text of telegram sent to Hon. James J. Saxon
Comptroller of the Currency
Washington, D.C.

April 3, 1964

The Urban League's name was used without authorization in the telegram sent to you on March 23rd, from James Lawson and Marshall England, dealing with the FREEDOM NATIONAL BANK.

Neither the Urban League, or I, as its Executive Director, have at any time questioned the integrity of the Organizing Committee.

The Ad Hoc Committee which I chaired, formulated recommendations at the request of the Organizing Committee, completed its work when these recommendations were submitted on March 18th, and was disbanded.

/Signed/ Joseph Alexander Allen, Executive Director
Urban League of Greater New York

Text of telegram sent to Hon. James J. Saxon March 31, 1964
Comptroller of the Currency
Washington, D.C.

As president of the New York Branch of the NAACP, I wish to clearly dis-associate myself with the senders of the telegram dated March 23rd, regarding the new FREEDOM NATIONAL BANK. I regard the coming of the bank to our community, a giant step towards solving some of the economic problems, and the present organizers, to be of the highest integrity and community interest and business ability.

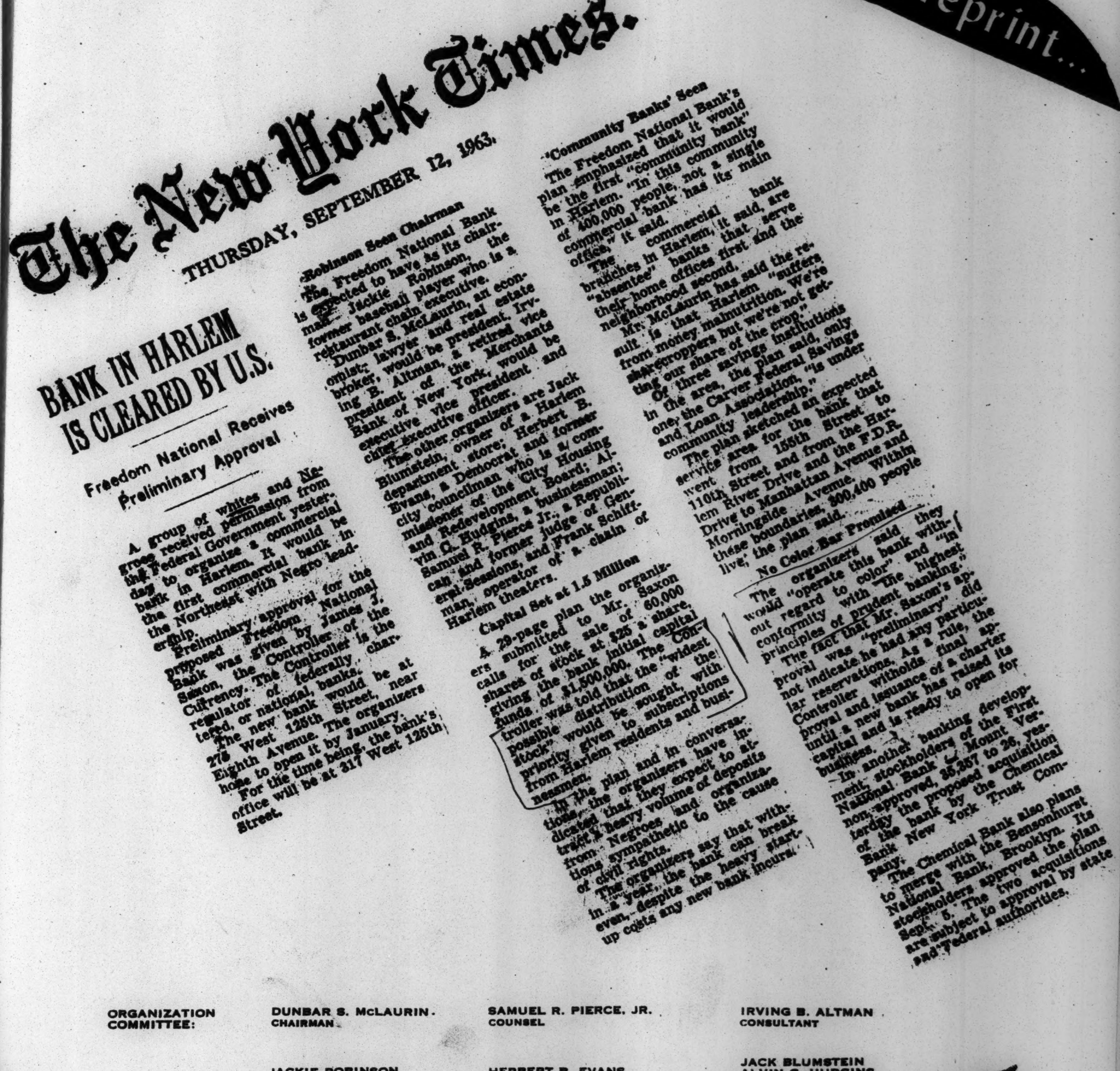
/Signed/ Rev. Richard Allen Hildebrand, President

New York Branch NAACP

FREEDOM NATIONAL BANK of NEW YORK
IN-PROCESS OF FORMATION

317 WEST 125th STREET, NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK UNiversity 5-2250

reprint...



The New York Times.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1963.

BANK IN HARLEM IS CLEARED BY U.S.

Freedom National Receives Preliminary Approval

A group of whites and Negroes received permission from the Federal Government yesterday to organize a commercial bank in Harlem. It would be the first commercial bank in the Northeast with Negro leadership.

Preliminary approval for the proposed Freedom National Bank was given by James J. Saxon, the Controller of the Currency. The Controller is the regulator of federally chartered, or national, banks.

The new bank would be at 275 West 125th Street, near Eighth Avenue. The organizers hope to open it by January.

For the time being, the bank's office will be at 317 West 125th Street.

Robinson Seen Chairman

The Freedom National Bank is expected to have as its chairman Jackie Robinson, the former baseball player who is a restaurant chain executive.

Dunbar S. McLaurin, an economist, lawyer and real estate broker, would be president. Irving B. Altman, a retired vice president of the Merchants Bank of New York, would be executive vice president and chief executive officer.

The other organizers are Jack Blumstein, owner of a Harlem department store; Herbert B. Evans, a Democrat and former city councilman who is a commissioner of the City Housing and Redevelopment Board; Alvin C. Hudgins, a businessman; Samuel R. Pierce Jr., a Republican and former judge of General Sessions, and Frank Schiffman, operator of a chain of Harlem theaters.

Capital Set at 1.5 Million

A 29-page plan the organizers submitted to Mr. Saxon calls for the sale of 60,000 shares of stock at $25 a share, giving the bank initial capital funds of $1,500,000. The Controller was told that the "widest possible distribution of the stock" would be sought, with priority given to subscriptions from Harlem residents and businessmen.

In the plan and in conversations, the organizers have indicated that they expect to attract a heavy volume of deposits from Negroes and organizations sympathetic to the cause of civil rights.

The organizers say that within a year, the bank can break even, despite the heavy start-up costs any new bank incurs.

'Community Banks' Seen

The Freedom National Bank's plan emphasized that it would be the first "community bank" in Harlem. "In this community of 400,000 people, not a single commercial bank has its main office," it said.

The commercial bank branches in Harlem, it said, are "absentee" banks that serve their home offices first and the neighborhood second.

Mr. McLaurin has said the result is that Harlem "suffers from money malnutrition. We're sharecroppers but we're not getting our share of the crop."

Of three savings institutions in the area, the plan said, only one, the Carver Federal Savings and Loan Association, "is under community leadership."

The plan sketched an expected service area for the bank that went from 155th Street to 110th Street and from the Harlem River Drive and the F.D.R. Drive to Manhattan Avenue and Morningside Avenue. Within these boundaries, 300,400 people live, the plan said.

No Color Bar Promised

The organizers said they would "operate this bank without regard to color" and "in conformity with the highest principles of prudent banking."

The fact that Mr. Saxon's approval was "preliminary" did not indicate he had any particular reservations. As a rule, the Controller witholds final approval and issuance of a charter until a new bank has raised its capital and is ready to open for business.

In another banking development, stockholders of the First National Bank of Mount Vernon approved, 35,357 to 26, yesterday the proposed acquisition of the bank by the Chemical Bank New York Trust Company.

The Chemical Bank also plans to merge with the Bensonhurst National Bank, Brooklyn. Its stockholders approved the plan Sept. 5. The two acquisitions are subject to approval by state and Federal authorities.

ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE:

DUNBAR S. McLAURIN
CHAIRMAN

SAMUEL R. PIERCE, JR.
COUNSEL

IRVING B. ALTMAN
CONSULTANT

JACKIE ROBINSON
CO-CHAIRMAN

HERBERT B. EVANS
TREASURER

JACK BLUMSTEIN
ALVIN C. HUDGINS
FRANK SCHIFFMAN
]

EXTRACT OF TELEGRAM SENT TO THE CONTROLLER OF CURRENCY MARCH 23, 1964

THE UNDERSIGNED OFFICERS OF THE COMMUNITY FREEDOM BANK INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE CONSISTING OF THE HEADS OF CORE, URBAN LEAGUE AND AFRICAN NATIONALISTS HAVING BEEN PERSONALLY PRESENT AT A SUBSCRIBERS MEETING WERE REQUESTED BY VOTE OF THE SUBSCRIBERS TO CERTIFY THE FOLLOWING TO YOU PENDING ACTION BY THEM.

FIRST: THAT A STOCK SUBSCRIBERS MEETING WAS HELD TODAY ATTENDED BY OVER 200 STOCK SUBSCRIBERS OF THE HARLEM COMMUNITY INCLUDING SOME 100 OF THOSE NAMES SUBMITTED TO YOU ON THE STOCK LIST OF THE INCORPORATORS THE BALANCE CONSISTING OF HARLEMITES WHO WERE EXCLUDED FROM THAT LIST.

SECONDLY: THAT AT THIS MEETING THESE SUBSCRIBERS REPRESENTING PRACTICALLY THE WHOLE HARLEM SUBSCRIBERS, BY VOTE DID CONSTITUTE THEMSELVES INTO A HARLEM SHAREHOLDERS AND SUBSCRIBERS PROTECTIVE COMMITTEE TO PROTECT THE PRIORITY RIGHTS OF THE HARLEM COMMUNITY TO THE STOCK AS PROMISED ON THE STOCK OFFERING BROCHURE.

THIRDLY: THAT BY VOTE WE OF THE AFORESAID COMMUNITY INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE WERE ASKED TO RECOMMEND TO YOU SPECIFIC NAMES OF ADDITIONAL PERSONS TO BE RECOGNIZED BY YOU TO BE ADDED TO THE ORGANIZING COMMITTEE IMMEDIATELY.

FOURTHLY: THAT THE SUBSCRIBERS PROTECTIVE COMMITTEE VOTED A RESOLUTION THAT THE ALLOCATION OF THIS STOCK ISSUE WAS TAINTED WITH FRAUD AND MISREPRESENTATION.

FIFTHLY, THAT THE NEWLY ENLARGED COMMITTEE SHOULD BE SPECIFICALLY AUTHORIZED AND CHARGED BY YOU TO PROCEED WITH A NEW OFFERING AND REALLOCATION OF SUCH STOCK AS HAS BEEN MISALLOCATED OUTSIDE THIS COMMUNITY IN VIOLATION OF THE REPRESENTATIONS OF PRIORITY GUARANTEED THE HARLEM COMMUNITY BY THE STOCK OFFERING BROCHURE.

COMMUNITY FREEDOM BANK
INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE

MARSHALL ENGLAND
UN 6-2500 Vice Chairman

JAMES S. LAWSON
DA 9-8954 Secretary

fund raising

August 5, 1965

Mr. Jack Yogman
Executive Vice President
Joseph E. Seagram & Sons
375 Park Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Yogman:

Thankyyou for the time you spent in conversation with me Monday morning. I appreciated the opportunity to discuss CORE's program with you and I hope that you, as well as Mr. Bronfman and your company will be motivated to contribute to our program.

I look forward to hearing from you soon. Please do not hesitate to call upon me if you have further questions.

Sincerely yours,

George A. Wiley
Associate National Director

GAW:nm

April 26, 1961

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

FREEDOM RIDE, 1961 - Participants

James Farmer, New York
National Director, Congress of Racial Equality; founder of CORE and first national chairman. Former Program Director, NAACP; union organizer; race relations secretary, Fellowship of Reconciliation; and student secretary, League for Industrial Democracy. Native of Texas.

Miss Julia Aaron, Louisiana
Student, Southern University of New Orleans, Member, New Orleans CORE; jailed-in recently on CORE project in New Orleans.

Mrs. W. G. (Frances) Bergman, Michigan
Retired school administrator; Member CORE, ACLU, WILPF. Participated in direct action projects in Kentucky and Michigan.

W. G. Bergman, PhD., Michigan
Retired school administrator; former teacher at University of Michigan and Wayne State University; former Education Director of UNRRA in Germany; member CORE and ACLU.

Albert Bigelow, Connecticut
Architect; captain of Golden Rule in Pacific atom test protest; Captain of three combat ships, U. S. Navy World War II; member CORE and NAACP.

Edward Blankenheim, Arizona
Carpenter, Member Tucson CORE (Students for Equality) and NAACP.

Rev. B. Elton Cox, High Point ~~North Carolina~~
Minister, Pilgrim Congregational Church, High Point, N. C.; former youth secretary, NAACP; member NAACP and AFSC.

Miss Genevieve Hughes, Maryland
Field Secretary, Congress of Racial Equality; formerly active in New York CORE; former employee, Dun & Bradstreet.

John R. Lewis, Tennessee
Student Body President, American Baptist Theological Seminary; student leader of Nashville protest movement; arrested five times for sit-in activity since February 1960.

John H. Moody, Jr., Washington, D. C.
Senior, Howard University; member, D. C. Area Nonviolent Action Group, and Philadelphia NAACP; participated in action projects in Virginia, Maryland and D. C.

James Peck, New York
CORElator editor; national officer, Congress of Racial Equality; participant in numerous civil rights and pacifist action projects including 1947 Journey of Reconciliation (predecessor to Freedom Ride).

Joseph Perkins, Jr., Kentucky
CORE Field Secretary; former member of Ann Arbor CORE; served 10 days in jail in Miami, Florida as a result of a CORE sit-in.

Charles Person, Georgia
Morehouse College, Atlanta; member, Atlanta Committee on Appeal for Human Rights; served 16 days in jail for sitting-in.

Rev. J. Metz Rollins, Jr., Tennessee
Minister, Field Director United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.; former leader of Tallahassee, Florida bus boycott; member, Nashville Christian Leadership Conference and NAACP.

Jerome M. Smith, Louisiana
Longshoreman; former student at Southern University in Baton Rouge; project chairman, New Orleans CORE; participated in sit-ins in Tennessee, Louisiana, Alabama and Kentucky. Recently jailed-in in New Orleans.

James McDonald, New York
Entertainer; member, New York CORE; active in volunteer capacity on many national CORE projects.

April 5, 1961

Freedom
ride

Mr. Charles R. Oldham
5227 Westminister Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri

Dear Charlie:

Things seem to be shaping up well for Freedom Ride. Applications are coming in at a good rate and I think we should have a fine crowd. Meetings are being set up along the route and other arrangements are progressing. Do you have anyone in St. Louis that wants to participate?

Do you happen to have Edgar Poindexter's correct address? We have him listed at 5709 Etzel, St. Louis 12. His mail has returned marked "unknown".

Enclosed is a copy of the Union Contract that finally got mimeographed.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Field Director

GRC/ckh
enc.

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF CORE RACIAL EQUALITY

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-0035

Carl Rachlin, Esq.
general counsel

ADVISORY COMMITTEE
Ralph Abernathy
James Baldwin
Roger N. Baldwin
Algernon D. Black
James B. Carey
Allan Knight Chalmers
Grenville Clark
Earl B. Dickerson
Eugene E. Frazier
Harold Gibbons
Roland B. Gittelsohn
Arthur J. Goldberg
Sidney Hollander
George M. Houser
E. Stanley Jones
Martin Luther King
Will Maslow
A. J. Muste
A. Philip Randolph
Ira DeA. Reid
Walter P. Reuther
Jackie Robinson
Arnold M. Rose
Lillian Smith
Gardner Taylor
Howard Thurman
Goodwin Watson
Jerry Wurf
Charles S. Zimmerman

OFFICERS
Charles R. Oldham
chairman
Henry Hodge
vice chairman
Anna Holden
secretary
Lula A. Farmer
treasurer
James Peck
CORElator editor

regional representatives
Gladys Harrington
Walter Hayes
William Larkins
Evelyn J. Rich
Frank Robinson
Sterling Stuckey
Earl L. Walter

STAFF
Thomas Gaither
Richard Haley
Genevieve Hughes
James T. McCain
Joseph P. Perkins, Jr.
field secretaries
Gordon R. Carey
field director
Marvin Rich
community relations director
James R. Robinson
membership director
James Farmer
national director

March 1, 1961

Mr. Charles R. Oldham
5227 Westminister Place
St. Louis 8, Missouri

Dear Charlie:

Enclosed is the union contract that we finally got typed up. Please sign and return it to us post haste. I will then forward it to the union for their signatures and to be mimeographed.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Field Director

GRC/jl
encl:1

Haven't heard any reaction to our "P M" ride - would appreciate comments —

MINISTERS WHO WILL ATTEND FREEDOM RIDE RALLY MAY 25th

Reverend J. Archie Hargraves
Church of the Nazarene

Rev. George Lawrence
Antioch Baptist Church - Brooklyn

Rev. Maxwell
Mother Zion AME (will try)

Rev. O. D. Dempsey
Abyssinian Baptist Church

Rev. Wilson
Convent Ave. Baptist Church (will try)

Rev. Eugene Callender
Church of The Master (will try)

Several ministers stated that they had read the telegram to their congregations last Sunday and expect some of their members to attend.

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	XX

$
S
E

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

1211 (4-55)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE-SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			CORE (Congress of Racial Equality)	5/18/61

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

REVEREND J ARCHIE HARGRAVES
130 BAINBRIDGE STREET — Nazarene HY3-5995 — Will attend
BROOKLYN 33, NEW YORK

HEROIC FREEDOM RIDERS XXX NOW RETURNING TO NEW YORK. WELCOME RALLY PLANNED FOR THURSDAY MAY 25 8:30 PM AT CONCORD BAPTIST CHURCH. JIM PECK AND OTHERS WILL TELL OF THEIR ORDEAL IN ALABAMA. PLEASE JOIN US AND ANNOUNCE MEETING YOUR CONGREGATION.

JAMES FARMER
NATIONAL DIRECTOR CORE

Send above telegram to:

REV. MILTON A GALAMISON
1494 PRESIDENT STREET
BROOKLYN 20, NEW YORK
ST9-7050 Siloam Presbyterian left message

REV. SANDY RAY
1281 PRESIDENT STREET
BROOKLYN 13, NEW YORK
UL5-7106 Cornerstone Baptist left message
spoke to Joe Williams

REV. GEORGE LAWRENCE
175 WILLOUGHBY STREET
BROOKLYN 1, NEW YORK
Antioch MA2-5754 Baptist will attend congregation notified

REV. B C ROBESON — Rev. Maxwell
155 WEST 136th STREET
NEW YORK 30, NEW YORK
Mother Zion AME AU6-0230

REV. O D DEMPSEY
583 PARK AVENUE
BROOKLYN 6, NEW YORK
Abyssinian — AU6-2626 Baptist Will attend

~~REV. JOHN W. SAUNDERS~~ Rev. Wilson
289 CONVENT AVENUE
NEW YORK 31, NEW YORK
Convent Ave. Baptist AU6-0222

REV. CHARLES L WARREN
49 EDGECOMBE AVENUE
NEW YORK 30, NEW YORK
St. Marks WA6-1575
announced to Congregation
He has another Commitment

REV. JOSHUA O. WILLIAMS
2190 SEVENTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
MO6-7900 Salem Methodist members attending Manhattan Rally

REV. JAMES H. ROBINSON
CHURCH OF THE MASTER
86 MORNINGSIDE AVENUE
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
MO6-7190
OR5-4080
Rev. Callender will try to attend

~~REV. GEORGE LAWRENCE~~
~~175 WILLOUGHBY STREET~~
~~BROOKLYN 1, NEW YORK~~

REV. HOWARD R. MOODY
JUDSON MEMORIAL CHURCH
55 WASHINGTON SQUARE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK
~~AL7-2456~~
OR7-0351
Several members will attend — He has meeting

DOMESTIC SERVICE
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram
TELEGRAM ☐
DAY LETTER ☒
NIGHT LETTER ☐

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S
E

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

1211 (4-55)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate
FULL RATE ☐
LETTER TELEGRAM ☐
SHORE-SHIP ☐

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			CORE (Congress of Racial Equality)	5/19/61

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

MRS EVELYN CUNNINGHAM
THE PITTSBURGH COURIER
15 WEST 125th STREET
NEW YORK CITY

HERIOC FREEDOM RIDERS NOW RETURNING TO NEW YORK. WELCOME RALLY PLANNED FOR THURSDAY MAY 25th 8:30 PM AT CONCORD BAPTIST CHURCH BROOKLYN. JIM PECK AND OTHERS WILL TELL OF THEIR ORDEAL IN ALABAMA. PLEASE JOIN US AND BRING YOUR FRIENDS.

JAMES FARMER
CORE NATIONAL DIRECTOR

SEND ABOVE DAY LETTER TO:

MR CHARLES L WARDEN
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION REAL ESTATE BROKERS
1168 FULTON STREET
BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

MR RICHARD GREENE
CARVER FEDERAL SAVINGS BANK
1273 FULTON STREET
BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

MR JAMES HICKS
NEW YORK AMSTERDAM NEWS
2340 EIGHTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

MR A PHILLIP RANDOLPH
MR WILLIAM BOWE
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS
217 WEST 125th STREET
NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

[illegible]

MRS ALMA JOHN
2190 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

MR & MRS OSSIE DAVIS
5 COOLEY PLACE
MT. VERNON, NEW YORK

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	XX

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1211 (4-55)

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE-SHIP	

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			CORE (Congress of Racial Equality)	5/19/61

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

MRS ENID C BAIRD — Lambda Kappa Mu
964 STERLING PLACE
BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

HERIOC FREEDOM RIDERS NOW RETURNING TO NEW YORK. WELCOME RALLY PLANNED FOR THURSDAY MAY 25th 8:30 PM AT CONCORD BAPTIST CHURCH Brooklyn JIM PECK AND OTHERS WILL TELL OF THEIR ORDEAL IN ALABAMA. PLEASE JOIN US AND BRING YOUR FRIENDS.

JAMES FARMER
CORE NATIONAL DIRECTOR

SEND ABOVE NIGHT LETTER TO:

MR ROBERT H. WYNN — Howard University Alumni
2190 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

MISS CLAUDIA McNEIL
244 E. 78th STREET
NEW YORK CITY

MISS DOROTHY HEIGHT Nat'l Council Negro Women
464 WEST 152nd STREET
NEW YORK CITY

MRS HELEN MAXWELL Phi Delta Kappa
92 McDONOUGH STREET
BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	X
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 (4-55)

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHORE SHIP	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			CORE (Congress of Racial Equality)	5/18/61

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

MR HARRY BELAFONTE
300 WEST END AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

PLAN WELCOME RALLY FOR FREEDOM RIDERS AT 8:30 PM MAY 25 AT GARDNER TAYLOR'S CHURCH BROOKLYN WOULD BE HONORED IF YOU WOULD APPEAR PLEASE REPLY

JAMES FARMER
NATIONAL DIRECTOR
CORE

cc/

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	☐
DAY LETTER	☐
NIGHT LETTER	☐

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S
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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 (4-55)

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	☐
LETTER TELEGRAM	☐
SHORE SHIP	☐

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
			CORE (Congress of Racial Equality)	5/19/61

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

MR & MRS ROBERT NEMEROFF
112 WAVERLY PLACE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

PLAN WELCOME RALLY FOR FREEDOM RIDERS AT 8:30 PM MAY 25 AT GARDNER TAYLOR'S CHURCH BROOKLYN. WOULD BE HONORED IF YOU WOULD APPEAR. PLEASE REPLY.

JAMES FARMER
NATIONAL DIRECTOR
CORE

cc/

Freedom Rides

Witnesses?
How many?
Fee?

CONGREGATION SOLEL

Office: 333 Park Avenue • Glencoe, Illinois • VErnon 5-3410

Arnold Jacob Wolf, Rabbi • Study phone, VErnon 5-2490

Henry Schwarzschild, Executive Director (Jackson '61)

July 18, 1961

Write Schwarzschild
Write Fertig confirm phone call

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Mr. Rowland Watts
ACLU
156 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Jim Farmer and dear Rowland:

May I engage your overburdened attention in the following Freedom Rider matter:

Ralph Fertig (4845 South Kenwood, Chicago 15, DRexel 3-7063) was in one of the first groups of Freedom Riders, the one that included i.a. Mrs. Wyckoff, Leslie Word, Felix Singer, Dick Gleason, etc. When the group passed through Selma, he was pulled off the bus in the classic situation of having asked a white woman whether he might sit down next to her, charged by the police with breach of the peace and assault (!) after the woman had in effect been suborned into charging that Fertig had been bothering her. He was then jailed in Selma, as the only Freedom Rider in town - in the middle of the night, a deputy sheriff opened the cell doors of other prisoners and invited them to take care of Fertig, which they promptly did by beating the hell out of him. Since the complaining witness was not going to be back in town until early August, they set his trial date for then, and he is now out of $1,500 bail. The trial is now set for August 3. The events described took place on June 2 and 3.

Fertig, incidentally, is white!

At Rev. Ralph Abernathy's suggestion, Fertig has retained a group of three Negro lawyers in Selma (Fred Gray, Solomon Seay, Jr., and one Conley). He was advised not to give his case any publicity or even to inform the F.B.I. of the treatment in jail. He does not know who is going to assume legal fees, appeal, or anything else. No one, in effect, knows of this case at all.

It seems to me that Fertig deserves some support, ~~both~~ legal, moral, and public. What is CORE willing and the ACLU able to do to help him, including sound counsel as to the indications or counterindications for public awareness of the matter?

There's no need to be in touch with me about this matter, but I do wish you would promptly get in touch with him - the trial date is not far off.

Cordially yours,

Henry Schwarzschild

Hugh Hurd
CH3-4867

FREEDOM RIDE

Copy: Rich
McCain

GOD OUR FATHER
CHRIST OUR REDEEMER
MAN OUR BROTHER

The African Methodist Episcopal Church
Commission of Social Action
Frederick C. James, Consultant - Director
215 West Bartlette Street
Sumter, South Carolina

OFFICE TELEPHONE
SPruce 3-7729

RESIDENCE TELEPHONE
SPruce 3-6329

February 27, 1962

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

The delay in our report on "Freedom Ride" was due to pressing preparations for The A.M.E. Bishops' And Connectional Councils which convened last week in Washington, D. C.

We feel that our efforts at wide A.M.E. publicity of the film met with marked success in that a showing was held on opening night following the Welcome Program at Metropolitan A.M.E. Church and another showing was held in The Pan American Room of The Statler-Hilton Hotel following the A.M.E. Connectional Educational Breakfast in The Presidential Room of the same hotel.

Mr. M. A. Lockhart, who attended the entire session made most significant contact and the prospect seems brighter every day.

I trust that in the very near future we shall be able to follow through on our conversation prior to the Cincinatti Meeting. True to our anticipation, especial concern was expressed in some quarters concerning assistance to our Social Action budget.

Our Sumter Office and the zealous activity of Frank Robinson are already beginning to bear the fruit of registration. There is more to come.

With best regards to Jim McCain and the entire staff, I remain

Yours In His Service,

F. C. James

F. C. James

FCJ;kl

P.S. I think the re-organization was brilliant and the list of de-segregated cities most rewarding.

What about the February 26th. Statement from The Supreme Court? FORWARD FOR FREEDOM!

File
Freedom Ride
CORE

MAR 26 1963

Mr. Farmer

LEO BERMAN
LAWYER
100 WEST MONROE STREET
CHICAGO 3

CEntral 6-9530

RESIDENCE
4507 NORTH MONTICELLO AVE.
INdependence 3-4574

March 25, 1963

C. O. R. E.
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

Re: Leora Berman vs. State of Mississippi

I have this day received a letter from the office of Young and Hall in Jackson, Miss., in response to a letter I had written them on March 14, 1963. In my letter I had asked as to the status of the appeal in the case of Leora Berman, my daughter, one of the Freedom Riders.

I had also inquired whether the prosecuting of this appeal, in addition to the others that have already been processed, and more to come, would in any way reflect on the precedent it is hoped to get by a favorable decision from the higher courts.

I suggested to Attorney Young that if the "deal" which the Mississippi authorities had offered for the paying of a $200.00 fine and the imposing of a four-month suspended sentence would be still available in Leora's case and would the acceptance in any way jeopardize the significance of the Freedom Riders in coming to Jackson, Miss., on their non-violent challenge to the vested interests.

Further, I suggested that if the processing of this appeal would not, in any way, enhance the chances for a favorable higher court decision, that from an economic standpoint, it might be less expensive for C.O.R.E. to pay this $200.00 and eliminate the costs and work of the attorneys. In this way, the $850.00, which was borrowed in Chicago, plus the balance up to $1,500.00 that was supplied through your own sources, could be returned at an early date. This being clearly understood only if such action would not endanger the basic principle for which these historical actions were conducted.

I have been asked by many of the persons from whom we borrowed money when they could expect to get their loan returned.

In the letter I received from Young & Hall, Carsie A. Hall states that the transcript in Leora's case has just been completed and the appeal to the Circuit Court is being perfected. He has been advised by the prosecuting attorney that the case can be dismissed upon a motion to the court and the payment of $200.00 fine plus court costs.

Before I take this up with Leora, who is now in Chicago, I would appreciate knowing your position and thinking on this question. My own inclination is that it would be financially cheaper to pay the $200.00 plus costs on the part of C.O.R.E. if, as I said, it does not jeopardize the basic principles. It would also relieve the attorneys from this much work out of the several hundred cases that we know are pending.

I would assume that the costs to the attorneys for their expenses, let alone fees, would readily exceed by far the $200.00 plus that it would take to have this case disposed of.

Please let me hear from you, and I shall conduct myself accordingly.

Very truly yours,

Leo Berman

LB/rb

kpfa
FM 94.1 MC
PACIFICA
LISTENER
SUPPORTED
RADIO
2207 SHATTUCK AVE.
BERKELEY 4, CALIF.
THORNWALL 8-6767

APR 8 1963

File

April 5, 1963

James Farmer Esq.,
care of CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

We are pleased to inform you that KPFA will present JAMES FARMER, FREEDOM RIDER, on April 28, Sunday -- at 7:15 p.m. The program is a recording of your address, made at the Northern California A.F.S.C. High School Conference, and the questions and answers which followed it.

Thank you for the opportunity to present this program to our audience.

KPFA is heard throughout most of northern California. If there are any groups or individuals whom you would like us to notify, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Elsa Knight Thompson
Elsa Knight Thompson
Director of Public Affairs

EKT/kg

Channel 13 WNDT

JUN 10 1963

MEMORANDUM

TO:

FROM:

DATE:

SUBJECT:

Dear Jim:

This is just a reminder to Marvin on all the details of the program. I will have an outline of your remarks on cue cards, but we will have time to re-write them if you want them done another way.

Best,

Ellie

PS -- It will be best if you and the other men on the program wear dark suits, but not black suits, and light blue shirts. A striped shirt will also be all right, but no white shirts -- they glare on television.

Channel 13 WNDT
EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING CORPORATION
1657 BROADWAY NEW YORK 19 LT. 1-6000

June 10, 1963

Mr. Marvin Rich
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

COPY

Dear Marvin:

Since I imagine you will be in charge of getting all the guests on the program to the studio, I thought I'd give you the details again in writing.

We meet promptly at 2:00 at Studio 55, on the northwest corner of Ninth Avenue and 55th Street. The actual taping will be done from 5:00 to 6:00 P.M. If you and/or Gordon would like to come to the taping, I'd suggest coming at 4:30. We can't let anyone in after the taping begins. Of course, if you want to be there for the whole thing, you're more than welcome.

As Jim probably told you, SNCC finally came through with flying colors. Bob Moses will stay in New York to be in the program.

I have arranged for pictures to be taken at the studio for our own publicity. However, if you would like to have Bob Adelman there for publicity of your own, so much the better. Bob called me today, and I told him to double-check with you.

We will be paying a $20.00 honorarium to each participant, but for legal reasons we must pay each person individually, even if they eventually turn the check over to CORE. We will send the checks to each person, care of CORE, and you will have to get their signatures.

Well, good luck to us all.

Best,

Ellie

Elinor Finkelstein

copy-

JUN 6 1963

Channel 13 WNDT
EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING CORPORATION
1657 BROADWAY NEW YORK 19 LT. 1-6000

June 5, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Jim:

Enclosed is a rough script outline I wrote for the FREEDOM RIDE program. Don't regard my words as an effort to put words in your mouth -- they are just to give us an indication of content. In several places, I've left spaces where I was unsure of the content.

You will note the timings on the left of the page. Since the timing is so tight, I wonder whether you might feel more comfortable using either a teleprompter, or large cue cards which we can set up for you? We can discuss this when we go over the content.

When you have had a chance to look this over, would you be kind enough to call me at the above number and let me know what you think of it?

We're looking forward very eagerly to doing the show. It is scheduled in New York on June 26 at 8:00, and June 28 at 10:30 P.M. We believe that it will be shown the same week in Boston.

Best regards,

Ellie

Elinor Finkelstein
Producer

June 5, 1963

FREEDOM RIDE

PRODUCER	Elinor F. Finkelstein
DIRECTOR	Robert Myhrum
PRODUCTION ASSISTANT	Glenn Jordan

TAPE	Wednesday, June 12, 1963

SET AND LIGHT --	12:30 - 2:30
ESU	2:00 - 2:30
FAX	2:30 - 4:30
TP	4:30 - 5:00
TAPE	5:00 - 6:00

AIR DATE	Wednesday, June 26, 8:00 - 8:45

PARTICIPANTS:

James Farmer
Jerome Smith
Oretha Castle
James Travis
William Douthard

MUSICIANS:

Jimmy McDonald
Gil Turner

FREEDOM RIDE

20:00	OPEN ON FREEDOM RIDE FILM	
1:00	DISSOLVE THROUGH TO MUSICIANS, "ONE MAN'S HAND."	
1:00	PULL BACK TO FARMER, INTRO TO SMITH	**FARMER:** The Freedom Rides which you've just seen took place in the summer of 1961. After hundreds were arrested in Jackson, Mississippi, a ruling came from the Interstate Commerce Commission forbidding segregation in interstate travel. In the following months, this ruling was tested all over the South. Everywhere, the tests were successful. In only one place was there violence. That was in McComb, Mississippi. Jerome Smith was there.
3:00	SMITH TALKS ABOUT McCOMB MISSISSIPPI.	
0:45	FARMER, INTRO TO NEW ORLEANS	**FARMER:** The Freedom Rides of 1961 were the first massive assault on segregation in the Deep South. Their success gave strength to the fight against segregation all over the nation. Even before they started, a struggle had been underway in New Orleans to desegregate all public facilities. After the Freedom Rides, New Orleans became a major battleground. It took two years to win that battle. Oretha Castle and Jerome Smith were there.
4:00	ORETHA CASTLE AND JEROME SMITH [redacted] NEW ORLEANS.. TALK ABOUT	

3:30	FARMER, FREEDOM HIGHWAYS, AND INTRO TO VOTER REGISTRATION	FARMER: In the summer of 1962, a year after the Freedom Rides, we began Freedom Highways. Along U.S. Route 1, from Florida to __________, restaurants were segregated. Direct action (describe) soon brought the barriers crashing down in 67 Howard Johnson's restaurants. Finally, in North Carolina, ____________________ ________________________________ ________________________________. By 1962, a dozen different ways had been found to challenge segregation. In the cities, demonstrations, picketing, economic boycotts, filling the jails, court cases and higher appeals -- all of these worked, at least some of the time. In the rural areas, where people are too spread out to use these means, voter registration has become the key. In (date), James Travis began to work on voter registration in ______________ County, ________.
3:00	TRAVIS TALKS ABOUT VOTER REGISTRATION	
0:45	FARMER, INTRO TO BIRMINGHAM	FARMER: Meanwhile, in the cities of the deepest south, local Negro citizens, under the leadership of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, were beginning to present a united front against the total southern segregation which excludes Negroes everywhere, from lunch counters to libraries. In mid-1962, Albany Georgia was the scene of a bitter struggle against this kind of discrimination. Albany, Georgia, was good for three months of headlines. But it was a failure. It was, however, a kind of preparation: a dress rehearsal for Birmingham. William Douthard is a Birmingham boy. He was there.

3:30	WILLIAM DOUTHARD SPEAKS ABOUT BIRMINGHAM.	
1:00	FARMER, SUMMATION.	FARMER: What happened in Birmingham will happen all over the deep south. The voter registration drives will continue and intensify. What happened at Ole Miss may happen again. But the major battles for full equality; the battles that will win the war -- will occur not in Birmingham, or in Jackson, but in New York, and Chicago, and Boston.
2:00	CLOSE. MUSICIANS SING FREEDOM SONG. SLOW CREDIT SLIDES AS CAMERA MOVES IN.	

1. FREEDOM RIDE

2. JAMES FARMER

3. JEROME SMITH

4. ORETHA CASTLE

5. JAMES TRAVIS

6. WILLIAM DOUTHARD

7. GIL TURNER

8. JIMMY McDONALD

9. Painting by
RAY KERCIU

10. LIGHTING DIRECTOR
Ferd Manning

PRODUCTION ASSISTANT
Glenn Jordan

11. SET DESIGNER
William Ritman

12. GRAPHICS DESIGNER
Elinor Bunin

12. DIRECTOR
Robert Myhrum

13. PRODUCER
Elinor F. Finkelstein

14. Film Courtesy of
CORE
Congress of Racial Equality

15. A Production of
CHANNEL 13/WNDT
EBC NEW YORK

freedom rides

OCT 17 1963

Pfeiffer College

Misenheimer, N. C. 28109

DIRECTOR OF RELIGIOUS LIFE

October 16, 1963

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Several months have passed since I mailed you a copy of the study of the Freedom Riders, which I concluded last spring. To date I have not heard directly from you except when I called you early in June when I was in New York.

Would you take the time to let me know the present situation with regard to CORE's approval so that I may know when the dissertation can be released for microfilming?

I know that the past weeks have been exceedingly busy weeks for you as you have been in North Carolina and other parts of the South. Yet in the midst of your extremely busy schedule I trust that you will find time to clarify this matter. It would seem that a note from you indicating that the dissertation may now be released for microfilming would certainly expedite this whole matter.

In addition, of course, I will need to have returned the copy of the dissertation which is now in your hands. This should be returned to me at my new address: Dr. Henry L. Gerner, Drawer X, Misenheimer, North Carolina. - Please insure for $500.00.

Best regards to you; and with my continued prayers for the rapid resolution of racial injustices, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Henry L. Gerner

Henry L. Gerner

HLG:gc

night letter sent Oct. 28, 1963

Manuscript enroute insured. Sorry for delay. Enjoyed reading it. We have no objection to publication of any or all of text. Hope the delay did not seriously hamper your work. Best wishes

J. F.

Farmer will bring in Monday am

JUL 22 1963

Pfeiffer College

Misenheimer, N. C.

DIRECTOR OF RELIGIOUS LIFE

July 16, 1963

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
c/o C.O.R.E.
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

It was good to talk to you by phone when I was in New York during the first part of June and to know that you had begun reading the dissertation which I have sent to you. As you may see from the letterhead, I have accepted the position of Director of Religious Life at Pfeiffer College.

I am looking forward to receiving, at your early convenience, your comments and the typescript which is in your hands at present. Possibly you have already mailed these to me, care of my former address (Albany, Calif.). If so, I am sure that the post office will forward this material to me here.

I know that on occasion you are in this area, and I look forward to greeting you in person or by phone on your next journey into the South.

Cordially yours,

Henry L. Gerner

Henry L. Gerner

HLG:rmw

MAY 6 1963

1039 Peralta Avenue
Albany, California
May 2, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am pleased to inform you that I have completed the study of the Freedom Riders, and that the dissertation has been accepted by the Pacific School of Religion in partial completion of the requirements for the Doctor of Theology degree.

I am mailing you a copy of the dissertation by registered mail, insured for $500. As you will remember, we agreed that I would not release any of the data obtained from the study until you had had an opportunity to read it, and give your approval. Therefore, I am asking that you read over the dissertation, and return it with your approval or with suggestions.

I believe that the study shows the Freedom Riders in a good light. As you will see, they report high interest in altruistic concerns, and very low interest in economic, or self-centered concerns. On the question of intolerance, the Freedom Riders as a group are about similar to other groups (where comparative data is available). Although the Negro subjects ~~appear to~~ score higher on the Dogmatism Scale (used as a measure of belief intolerance), than the Caucasian subjects, their scores are probably similar to other non-Freedom Rider Negroes.

May I suggest that some sections of the dissertation are quite technical, and you may wish to omit them, in your reading. In particular, Chapters III, IV, and V are concerned with the instruments and scales used. These are technical matters...a reading of the chapters will help you to understand what was involved in the measures I employed, though the "going is a little rough" from the standpoint of fast reading.

I will be happy to have your comments at your early convenience. The dissertation is now deposited with the Holbrook Library, but will not be made available to anyone until your approval come to me. The same is true of microfilming the dissertation...I shall wait from your return comments.

When you return the copy of the dissertation which I am sending you (I do need it back), please send it by registered mail, and insure it for $500. That is a realistic figure...the time-cost to replace the copy would be $500, at least.

May I express my personal thanks to you for your assistance in setting up this study, and to CORE and its many workers for the help they have provided? I have appreciated it very much.

Best wishes to you and CORE in FREEDOM MARCH!

Cordially yours,
Henry L. Gerner
Henry L. Gerner

P.S. I shall be sending a summary of the findings to the Freedom Riders who responded, as soon as your approval-suggestions are received.

Hg.

Freedom Rides

December 19, 1963

Mr. Albert F. Gordon
238 East 6th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Al:

I'm sorry that I did not reply to your September letter. At this point I am not able to even locate it. As you know, I have been out of the office a great deal.

If you would still like to have me speak at your school, I would be more than happy to do so when my schedule permits. I believe that some date late in the spring would be satisfactory. You can follow up on this by contacting my secretary, Miss Glenda Lubelsky, who should be able to confirm a date.

Results of Gerner's study of the Freedom Riders has not been published. Only a few weeks ago I sent the manuscript back to him with my approval. The study was voluminous but I scanned it and found no objections. In general, the study indicated that the Freedom Riders were not unlike most of the rest of society. There was an indication that the white Freedom Riders were more militant in other aspects than were their Negro counterparts. For example, the white persons tended to be more interested in labor, politics and pacifism. I hope that we will receive shortly an abbreviated summation of the study. We will probably be supplied with a number of copies and would be most happy to give you one of them.

Again let me apologize for the long delay in answering. Please follow through with Miss Lubelsky on the speaking date.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:lp

Answer
some date in
Spring

Farmer

NOV 26 1963

238 East 6th Street
New York 3, New York
November 24, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
C.O.R.E.
New York

Dear Jim:

I refer to my letter of 22 September, to which I have received neither reply nor even acknowledgment.

I certainly understand that you are busy and therefore probably unable to speak at my school. I would like to request again, however, the results of Henry Gerner's study of the Freedom Riders. I filled out the questionnaire only under the condition that I would be informed as to the results, and after I learned that the study was sanctioned by you.

I hope to hear from you soon.

With my best regards for the Thanksgiving holiday,

Fraternally,

Albert F. Gordon

File

SEP 23 1963

238 East 6th Street
New York 3, New York
September 22, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
C.O.R.E
New York

Dear Jim:

Ever since my return from Parchman I've been extremely curious to see how a detached observer, armed with scholarly techniques, would evaluate the graduates of the Freedom Ride. Accordingly, I filled out with pleasure the questionnaire that Henry Gerner sent me in 1961. I was pleased to note that the results would be given me, upon request. I have since been in touch with Mr. Gerner, and he sent me the letter, which I am enclosing. I would very much appreciate hearing from you regarding the findings of the study. The few Parchman graduates I am still in contact with share my eagerness to review his work.

Perhaps you'll recall that I recently returned from a four month trip to Africa - North and East. To say that the visit was illuminating would be an understatement. I suspect that a similar stay for some of our Muslim friends would be equally edifying, not only to appreciate the richness and variety of African cultures, but to be impressed that American Negroes are just that - Americans who are also Negroes.

I'm back in school again, and hope to stay in Stuyvesant High School for the indefinite future. As you know, the kids here are recruited from all over New York, and must pass a rigorous entrance examination. Consequently the average intelligence is quite high. I'm quite pleased to note that their interest in civil rights is keen and many express solid respect for the militant organizations, like CORE, which have been in the vanguard of the civil rights movement. I know many would be delighted to see in the flesh a leader of your reputation. If you could find time in what must be a hectic schedule, to address an assembly, once during the month of November, I think the effects on these receptive minds would be marvellous. Just give the word, and I'll discuss the details with your secretary.

My heart is with you as I follow all your activities.

Fraternally,

AR

Albert F. Gordon

Pfeiffer College

Misenheimer, N. C. 28109

DIRECTOR OF RELIGIOUS LIFE

August 13, 1963

Albert F. Gordon
238 E. 6 St.
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Gordon:

Your card of August 5 was forwarded to me at Pfeiffer College.

I must apologize since I have not been able to send you the results of the Freedom Ride study. The study has been written up in complete, full form. It is now in the hands of the National Office of CORE and as soon as a release is obtained from them, a summary of the full study will be mailed to you and to the other Freedom Riders who responded to my questionnaires.

Thank you for your understanding and patience.

Sincerely,

Henry L. Gerner

Henry L. Gerner

HLG:rw

cc: Mr. James Farmer

file
Freedom Rides

April 15, 1965

Mr. Robert Martinson
School of Criminology
University of California
Berkeley, California

Dear Mr. Martinson:

I am sorry for the delay in replying to your previous letter requesting the names of the Freedom Riders.

The enclosed copy of a letter written by Marvin Rich was mailed to you on April 8th. I trust that by now you have received it.

If there is any way in which we can be of further help, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

BERKELEY • DAVIS • IRVINE • LOS ANGELES • RIVERSIDE • SAN DIEGO • SAN FRANCISCO   SANTA BARBARA • SANTA CRUZ

SCHOOL OF CRIMINOLOGY   BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

APR 13 1965

April 9, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director of CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I enclose a questionaire which I would like to use in following up the Freedom Riders of 1961. I sent a letter to your attention some time ago asking if CORE would cooperate with this project by providing me with the present names and addresses of the Freedom Riders. I also suggested if CORE would like to add items to the attached schedule, I would consider this.

I have read the recent CORE booklet on methods of non-violent direct action, especially the little chapter on what to expect when incarcerated. I find it interesting but inadequate in many ways since it is not based on systematic information collected from the new political prisoners.

As more thousands of demonstrators are imprisoned for civil rights activities, I feel the need to secure systematic and reliable information becomes evermore pressing. I think this small study would make an appreciable contribution in this direction.

I am requesting that CORE formally cooperate in this effort by sending me the present names and addresses of all Freedom Riders. I will do everything else necessary in this project. I am hopeful that you can give this your immediate attention.

Sincerely,

Robert Martinson

enclosure

A STUDY OF THE FREEDOM RIDERS
(Parchman - 1961)

To: All the Freedom Riders

From: Robert Martinson, research sociologist, University of California

We were all volunteers who went to prison for civil rights. We were all at Parchman.

This is a study to help in understanding the experience of being in maximum security. This research wants to find out how prison affects the person and the group, how people cope with the problems of prison.

Since 1961 thousands more have gone to jails and prisons for civil rights. This study should help in understanding and preparing for the experience.

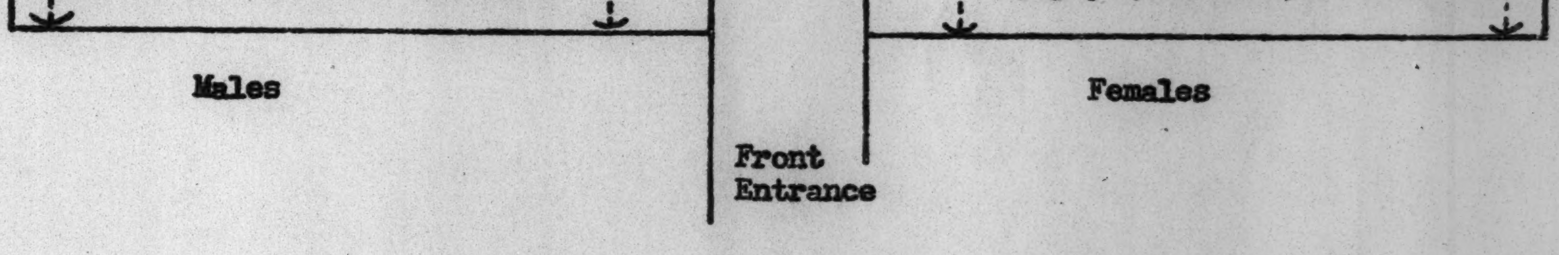
Would you like a summary of the results of this study?

(Please check one) ( ) Yes ( ) No

By carefully answering this questionaire, you will be making an important contribution. Mail the completed questionaire directly to me in the envelope provided. All answers will remain anonymous; no names will be used.

Part I. The Maximum Security Unit

Please put a check mark in the cell in MSU where you spent most of your time.



1. Did you ever change cells in MSU? No ___ Yes ___. If YES, explain how you came to change cells.

2. Can you remember your cell partner's name? (check one only)

   First name only ___; First and last name ___; Can't remember ___

3. Describe everything you can remember about the physical appearance of your cell partner, that is, color of hair, eyes, height, weight, etc.

4. In addition to the things listed below, what was in your cell?

   Things in all cells

   double-decker steel bunk
   mattresses, pillows, and bedding
   toothbrush, toothpowder
   toilet paper
   prison trunks (men) or skirt (women)
   toilet
   washbasin
   Bible

   List any other items, things you smuggled in, received in the mail, or made. (For example, I had my glasses and my partner and I made chess pieces from chewed-up bread paste.) Put down everything, even a button or piece of string.

   List of additional objects or things: ________________________

5. How many days were you in MSU? ____ (days) (Note: Don't count Jackson)

6. While in Parchman, did you spend time in a unit besides MSU? No __ Yes __
   If YES, how many days? ____ (days)

7. Were you ever put in the "hole" (a dark, closed cell)? No ___ Yes ___
   If YES, how many hours in this dark cell? ____ (hours) Describe the experience:

8. Had you ever been incarcerated before the Freedom Rides? No ___ Yes ___
If YES, how long? ____________. Please describe the circumstances:

9. Assuming you slept eight hours and spent three hours during mealtimes, estimate how you typically spent the remaining thirteen hours during the first week and the last week you were in MSU.

	How you spent an average day in MSU	
Activity in MSU	First Week in MSU	Last Week in MSU
caring for self (washing, etc.)	___ hour(s)	___ hour(s)
reading	___	___
talking quietly	___	___
playing games	___	___
day dreaming	___	___
exercising	___	___
sleeping (or dozing)	___	___
arguing or debating	___	___
praying	___	___
other (list)		
____________________	___	___
____________________	___	___
Total hours/ day	13	13

10. List whatever cooperative activities you and your cell partner utilized to pass the time.

11. Describe the worst thing you remember about being in MSU. How did you feel about it? What did you do or say?

12. Describe the best thing you remember about being in MSU. How did you feel about it? What did you do or say?

13. About how much of the time did you spend day dreaming during an average day in MSU? (circle one)

1/5 2/5 3/5 4/5 more than 4/5

14. Cross out the subjects below you didn't day dream about and add any others.

food
cigarettes
husband (or wife)
boyfriend (or girlfriend)
children
your parents
when you were a child
the guards
getting out
OTHERS (list)

____
____
____

15. Pick the two most important (or most insistent) day dreams from the above list and describe them in detail.

16. What did being in MSU do to your usual sexual feelings, thoughts and acts? Be as detailed as possible. Do not leave out unpleasant things or little things you may think unimportant.

17. Rank the following activities according to how pleasant they were to you The most pleasant gets a one, the next most pleasant a two, the least pleasant a ten.

Rank	Activity in MSU
____	talking to your cell partner
____	reading the Bible
____	playing a game
____	mealtimes
____	taking a shower
____	day dreaming
____	singing and/or listening to songs
____	writing or reading a letter
____	discussing and/or deciding something
____	talking to cell neighbors

1 most pleasant
10 least pleasant

NOTE: the activities are arranged at random by pulling them out of a hat.

Why did you find your number one choice so pleasant?

Why was your number ten choice so unpleasant?

Health Below are a list of common complaints sometimes reported by inmates. Please circle whether you had each complaint frequently, often, sometimes, or never while you were in MSU.

Complaint	frequently	often	sometimes	never
a. lost your appetite	1	2	3	4
b. couldn't sleep at night	1	2	3	4
c. had difficulty breathing	1	2	3	4
d. felt abandoned by CORE	1	2	3	4
e. trembling or twitching of body	1	2	3	4
f. couldn't move your bowels	1	2	3	4
g. wanted to bail out	1	2	3	4
h. felt nervous	1	2	3	4
i. "saw" or "heard" things (hallucinations)	1	2	3	4
j. shouted angrily at another Rider	1	2	3	4
k. woke up from a nightmare	1	2	3	4
l. felt strange sensations in your body	1	2	3	4
m. wept to get relief	1	2	3	4
n. feared "losing your mind"	1	2	3	4
o. rapid or irregular heartbeat	1	2	3	4
p. stopped "talking" to cell partner	1	2	3	4
q. wet the bed because of tension	1	2	3	4
r. felt resentment against the other race	1	2	3	4
ADDITIONAL COMPLAINTS? (please list)				
s. ____________________	1	2	3	4
t. ____________________	1	2	3	4
u. ____________________	1	2	3	4

Circle the letter in front of any complaint above which you never experienced in any degree prior to your time in MSU, that is, any complaint which was entirely new to you.

Daily Schedule Fill in what you did during an average day in MSU.

- - - - - - - - Morning Security check - - - - - -

A/

- - - - - - - - Breakfast - - - - - - - - -

B/

- - - - - - - - Lunch - - - - - - - - - -

C/

- - - - - - - - Dinner (Supper) - - - - - - - -

D/

- - - - - - - - Sleep (when cell block got quiet) - - - -

E/

Questions about daily schedule

Please circle the part of the day (A,B,C,D or E):	Part of the Day				
- which was most pleasant for you	A	B	C	D	E
when time went the slowest	A	B	C	D	E
when you day dreamed the most	A	B	C	D	E
when your side of the cell block sang the most	A	B	C	D	E
when you talked to your cell partner the most	A	B	C	D	E
when you felt the "lowest"	A	B	C	D	E
when your side of the block was noisiest	A	B	C	D	E
when you played games the most	A	B	C	D	E
When you personally argued the most	A	B	C	D	E
when you stayed in your bunk the most	A	B	C	D	E

Part II. Personal

In order to get a clear picture of the Freedom Riders and their backgrounds, please complete the following questions.

20. At the time of the Freedom Rides (1961) were you (please check):

( ) single; ( ) married; ( ) separated or divorced; ( ) widow or widower.

21. Check last grade completed at time of Freedom Rides:

( ) 8th grade, high school of less
( ) 10th grade, high school
( ) graduated, high school
( ) Freshman year, college
( ) Sophomore year, college
( ) Junior year, college
( ) Senior year, college
( ) Graduate student
( ) Graduate degree
Please indicate what degree _____

22. Check which: ( ) Negro; ( ) Caucasian; ( ) Other _______________.

23. If student at that time, circle parents' income for previous year in thousands:

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 or more

24. If housewife, employed or not a student at that time circle your family income for previous year in thousands:

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 or more

25. Check your age at the time of your Freedom Ride:

( ) 18 years old or less
( ) 19 years old
( ) 20 to 24
( ) 25 to 29
( ) 30 to 34
( ) 35 to 39
( ) 40 to 44
( ) 45 to 49
( ) 50 to 54
( ) 55 to 59
( ) 60 years & older

26. Which of the following is closest to describing your use of non-violent direct-action in the Freedom Ride?

( ) It was an expression of my commitment to non-violence as a way of life which I seek to follow in all my actions.

( ) It was an expression of my belief that it was an approach (technique, tactic) which would produce favorable results. I am not committed to non-violence as a way of life.

Part III. Post-Release

27. At the present time are you (please check):

( ) single; ( ) married; ( ) separated or divorced; ( ) widow or widower.

28. Indicate by means of an "x" on the line below, the importance of civil rights activities in your life since your release from Parchman.

____

very important	moderately important	slightly important	not important at all

29. If you are now a student, circle parents' income for 1964 in thousands:

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 or more

30. If you are a housewife, employed or not a student, check family income for 1964 in thousands:

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 or more

31. Present education completed (please check one)

( ) high school graduate or less
( ) some college
( ) college graduate
( ) graduate student
( ) graduate degree
Please indicate what degree _________.

32. Have you been arrested in connection with civil rights activities since your release from Parchman? No ___ Yes ___. If YES, describe in detail:

33. Describe all contacts with police in last three years (excluding minor traffic tickets unconnected with civil rights):

34. Have you had any personal difficulties (job, family, friends, etc.,) because of your arrest in Mississippi? No ___ Yes ___. If YES, describe in detail:

35. Do you think being imprisoned in maximum security did you any personal harm or damage? No __ Yes __. If YES, describe the damage or harm:

Please check how long it lasted:
( ) a few weeks; ( ) a few months; ( ) about a year;
( ) more than a year; ( ) 'till the present time.

Questions:

Please vote yes or no on the following questions. If you mostly agree, vote YES, if you mostly disagree vote NO.

Yes	No	
___	___	non violence only applies outside, not in prison
___	___	a group hunger strike is a good tactic in prison
___	___	it's impossible to remember what prison is like after you leave it
___	___	prison can turn law-abiding people into criminals
___	___	prisoners are right when they say: "never talk to a guard"
___	___	democratic methods are not workable in prison, even for non-criminals
___	___	prison destroys closeness among inmates
___	___	the Freedom Rides didn't really accomplish too much
___	___	most prisoners can be rehabilitated if they will cooperate
___	___	the Freedom Riders were given adequate preparation for going to prison
___	___	maximum security doesn't really harm anyone in the long run

THE END - THANK YOU VERY MUCH

Copy Rachlin - draft reply

file - Freedom Rides

April 28, 1965

APR 29 1965

MEMORANDUM

FROM: Jack Greenberg

TO: James Farmer
Louis Lusky
Marian Wright
Carsie Hall
Jack Young
R. Jess Brown

Now that we have won the first batch of Mississippi Freedom Rider cases in the United States Supreme Court we can look forward to collecting some of the bond money that was put up in those cases. The collection and distribution of the money, however, presents a number of problems concerning which we ought to agree.

1. Local counsel in Mississippi must see to it that the bond money in each case, costs, and all other monies in connection with the litigation, are returned to and retained by local counsel. I make this point because on occasion, in the past, Mississippi has returned bond money to defendants themselves, which has presented a difficult job of recovery.

2. We will then have to agree upon some formula for distribution. This should take into account the fact that there may have been some losses; that some persons or organizations who posted bond money did so by means of a contribution, loan, trust agreement, or other arrangement with one or more civil rights organizations; and that some persons put up money either for themselves or for specified individuals.

3. The mandate will not come down for at least 25 days, or perhaps even longer than that if Mississippi petitions for rehearing. I do not know when the mandate will reach the trial court. But we must make some decisions very promptly.

I look forward to hearing from you.

we've asked Alvin Bronstein to handle it for Core - has been in touch w Jack Young. Rachlin spoke with Bronstein again on Fri

JUN 3 1965

file - Freedom Ride

file

NET

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION

10 COLUMBUS CIRCLE • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10019 • JU 6-0055

May 28, 1965

Mr. Marvin Rich
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rich:

Enclosed please find three copies of the standard NET film use contract to cover our use of 31-16mm feet of the CORE film "Freedom Ride". Please sign all three copies and return them to us. We will then return a signed copy to you for your files. The program "New Mood" of the HISTORY OF THE NEGRO PEOPLE series, is a very fine record and tribute of the period from 1954 to 1964 and we feel that your generous permission to use sequences from your film has made a small but important contribution to this program.

Thank you again for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Perry Miller

(Miss) Perry Miller
Film Coordinator

PM:ak

FURNISH CFN TELEGRAM RECEIVED BY TELEPHONE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH CO. $ S E

CONFIRMATION OF MESSAGE FILED BY PHONE

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MR JACK YOUNG

115½ NORTH FARRISH ST

10 OCT 21 516PEDT

36 PD FR

CO7-6270

JACKSON MISS

THIS IS TO AUTHORIZE THE RELEASE OF BOND MONEY RECEIVED FROM THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI REGARDING FREEDOM RIDERS CASES TO NAACP LEGAL AND DEFENSE FUND TO BE HELD BY THEM PENDING AGREEMENT REGARDING DISTRIBUTION TO CONTRIBUTORS

JAMES FARMER
NATIONAL DIRECTOR
CONGRESS OF RACIAL
EQUALITY

CFN FURN

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 PARK ROW NYC

OCT 25 1966

ROSALIND B. BECTON R

Freedom Riders

November 18, 1965

Rabbi David Polish
1200 Lee Street,
Evanston, Illinois

Dear Rabbi Polish,

The money which you loaned CORE in order that we might post appeal bonds for the Freedom Riders is to be returned by the State of Mississippi. According to our records you put up $25.00. The state of Mississippi has extracted some charge for each of the Riders, and it is not yet entirely clear exactly how much this will be.

We would like to ask you to consider allowing CORE to cancel its obligation to you for the amount of the bond which is owed to you so that we may apply it to the continuation of the work of which the Freedom Rides was such an essential beginning. Since the Freedom Rides, as you know, CORE has become a major national civil rights organisation carrying on program through its approximately 150 chapters as well as its staff in the south and elsewhere, The past summer several hundred CORE workers were in Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and northern Florida. Increasingly we have worked on voter registration and political education, as well as community organization. ~~(The enclosed article describes one of our more successful community organization projects of this past summer.)~~

We presently maintain a staff, most of whom are in the field, of over 70 people at a monthly operating budget of $42.000. For example, $1300. provides a year's support for one task force worker who subsists on $25 a week. The rental, maintenance, and upkeep of a car, absolutely necessary for work in rural southern communities, comes to approximately $200. a month. The full maintenance support of field secretary, who supervises work in a larger area is $725. a month.

In a project during the last three weeks of August, a special gift of $1,660. resulted in the registration of 11,443 Negroes in Lousisiana.

Your participation in the Freedom Rides meant much to CORE and the entire civil rights movement in 1961, and we hope that you will be able to aid CORE at this time by allowing us to retain your bond money.

Sincerely yours,

JF/si

James Farmer
National Director

P.S. If an outright gift is not possible, you might consider a continuation of the loan for the CORE Bail Fund or for general use. Of course should you require the return of the money, we will send it to you, less the Mississippi fees, as soon as it is released to us.

Alan -
shouldn't this
be omitted?
- see last line of
¶ 1 of new letter

— Check with George - please
call me re this letter

Mrs Farmer Freedom Riders

135 Seymour Av. SE
Minneapolis, Minn. 55414
January 31, 1966

Dear Sir:

James Farmer has recently written me to ask whether I might not want to contribute the $1,000 I posted for bond in my Freedom Rider case to CORE.

This money does not belong to me, but to the Southern Conference Educational Fund of New Orleans, ~~Fix~~ La. SCEF borrowed the money to post my bond.

Please have the money forwarded immediately to the Southern Conference Educational Fund. I understand they have recently moved their offices to Louisville, Ky., but I do not have their address. Their address in New Orleans was 822 Perdido St., New Orleans, La. 70112. Perhaps your office knows the new address.

Sincerely,
Peter Ackerberg
Peter Ackerberg

P.S. The money can be sent to SCEF in care of Mr. James Dombrowski, a SCEF staff membe

CORE
~~NxR~~ 38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

A-1-51

Make Gerner file

Church of the Good Shepherd
(Episcopal)
NINTH AND HEARST, BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA

GRANT H. MUSE, JR
Vicar

TELEPHONE
TH 3-0722

Mr. James Farmer
C.O.R.E.
38 Park Row
N.Y. 38 N.Y.

Dear Jim,

Please excuse the hastily scribbled note. I've been remiss in writing about Henry Gerner who has contacted you already about his project dealing with Freedom Riders. I have reason to believe that Gerner is trustworthy and that no harm to C.O.R.E., the Freedom Riders or the Civil Rights movement will result from cooperation in his study. I think its possible that some worthwhile facts may be learned. Please consider this my recommendation.

Best regards and good luck; you have my prayers,

Grant

file

FREEDOM RIDE

HALFWAY REPORT (Washington, D.C.-Sumter, S.C.)

Seating on both local and express buses as far south as Sumter has become largely integrated but terminal facilities and rest stops have not--even in Virginia's larger cities where the "white" and "colored" signs have been removed.

This is the main conclusion reached by testers on the first half of the Freedom Ride. The integration of seating is a sharp contrast to the situation prevailing at the time of the 1947 Journey of Reconciliation when the CORE testers were virtually the only passengers to ride non-jimcrow. The same rigid segregatio which prevailed in seating at that time now prevails at the terminal facilities and rest stops.

It is disheartening that in a city such as Richmond, which is not far from the nation's capital and where the "white" and "colored" signs have been removed, Negroes stick to the formerly separate and ~~tremendously~~ grossly unequal colored waiting rooms and restaurants. This is true both in the Greyhound and Trailways terminals.

The first "white" and "colored" signs encountered by the Freedom Ride testers were only 50 miles south of Washington--stop the rest room doors at the Greyhound ~~rest~~ stop in Fredericksburg. Charles Person went into the "white" rest room and Jim Peck went into the "colored" rest room without incident.

In Farmville, center of Prince Edward county, where school closing has left the children schoolless for the past two years, the "white" and "colored" signs were painted over but still visible. The Freedom Ride testers were served without incident.

While there were no color signs in the Lynchburg

more

Trailways terminal, there was a divider in the middle of the counter making ~~them~~ persons on one side virtually invisible from those on the other.

Danville, Virginia was the first place where the testers met with refusal of service. At the "colored" counter, Ed Blankenheim sat for 10 minutes until his bus was ready for departure. Genevieve Hughes and Jim Peck, aboard a later bus, were at first refused service at that same counter but they--and Walter Bergman--finally got their refreshments following a brief discussion with the manager.

Greensboro, though reputed for its liberal ism ~~attitude~~, was the first city where the color signs started to become the rule. First greeting to the arriving bus passengers are large signs all around the building with arrows pointing to the "colored waiting room." On the other hand, the "colored" lunch stand, which is no bigger than a good-sized closet and equally gloomy, had been shut down permanently a few weeks before the Freedom Riders' arrival. A Negro in the "colored" waiting room told one of the testers he was amazed recently when upon going to the "colored" lunch stand, he was advised to walk around to the formerly "white" restaurant.

In Salisbury the color signs were on every facility. However, two Negro women, after watching the COKE testers, sat down to eat at the "white" counter.

Charlotte was the scene of the trip's first arrest--and the birth of a new "in," the shoe-in. Charles Person climbed onto the shoeshine chair and, after being refused service, remained seated until a cop with handcuffs arrived. Person~~s~~ then left, since no shoe-in policy had yet been planned by the group.

more

It was then hastily decided that Joe Perkins should get into the shoeshine chair and remain until arrested. What was to be the trip's first arrest came within minutes. Attorney Thomas Wyche won an acqittal on the basis of the Boynton decision against segregation in terminals.

Violence against the Freedom Riders erupted for the first time in Rock Hill, where the press had headlined their arrival and where hoodlums recently have attacked lunch counter pickets. In fact several of the hoodlums waiting at the Greyhound station were recognized as the same individuals who had led ~~the~~ mob violence in the past. As the Freedom Riders arrived, some 20 of these ruffians were on hand. When John Lewis approached the entrance of the "white" waiting room, he was assaulted by two of them. Three started slugging Albert Bigelow who was next in line. Both Lewis and Bigelow maintained nonviolent attitudes. Genevieve Hughes was pushed to the ground. At that point, the police who had been standing-by but taking their time in perform~~ing~~ance of ~~their~~ duti~~es~~y, arrived. The police captain asked ~~[illegible]~~ Lewis and Bigelow whether they wanted to press charges against any of their assailants. They declined. Thereupon, the Freedom Riders entered the "white" waiting room unmolested. The eating facilities were closed.

When the Trailways group arrived at that terminal a few hours later, some of the hoodlums were waiting in cars. However, they did not attack but only drove after the Freedom Riders a few blocks toward Friendship Junior College. The Trailways terminal building was completely locked-up and its eating facilities had been closed since the Friendship students had conducted sit-ins there.

more

When the Freedom Riders left next day, the Trailways "white" waiting room was open and a test team sat there unmolested. The same was true at the Greyhound station. The hoodlums did not stage a repeat performance.

The Trailways group left Rock Hill about lunch time. At what was supposed to be the lunch stop in Chester, "closed" signs had been hastily put on the doors.

The lunch stop turned out to be Winnsboro, which we discovered to be as ultra-segregationist as Mississippi. Here occurred the Freedom Ride's first arrest of lunch counter sit-inners. It all happened like a film which is being reeled too fast. Henry Thomas and Jim Peck entered the "white" side and sat at the counter. The woman who owns the restaurant dashed back and called the police. Within two minutes a police officer who was a stereotype of the role stepped over and told Thomas: "Come with me, boy!" Peck stepped over to ask about his team mate and cite the Supreme Court decision and was promptly arrested also. They were driven away in a police car before the bus had left the station. Aboard the bus there was no outspoken reaction. Thomas and Peck were jailed for several hours before they were told what the charges were against them. The officer who booked them was over-anxious to fill this in but the cop who drove ~~us~~ kept insisting: "Don't write anything down before we take it up with the captain." The charge against Thomas turned out to be "trespass" and that against Peck, "interfering with arrest." However, after less than a day in jail, both were released and the charges dropped. Thomas was let out late at night with a number of segregationis prowlers ~~roving~~ roaming the streets. He finally made his way to the home of a minister who drove him

more

to Columbia. A car from Sumter picked up Peck at the jail in the early morning. At Sumter, both the Greyhound and Trailways groups tested the "white" waiting room without incident.

file ↓

cases pending not incl
Lula has cards

FREEDOM RIDERS

Julia Aaron	4008 Somerville, Parkway, New Orleans, La.
John F. Ashford	2849 Warren Boulevard
Carroll Barber	Race Relations Department, American Missionary Association Division, Fisk University Office Nashville, Tenn.
Albert Barouh (Deceased)	85551 Cashio, Los Angeles, Calif.
Charles H. Booth	132 E. 73rd Place, Los Angeles, Calif.
Gloria L. Bouknight	61 Bluaire Road, East Rockaway, L.I., N.Y.
Paul Breines	201 N. Mills, St., Madison, Wis.
Arthur Brooks, Jr.	1517 S. Arlington Ave., Los Angeles 19, Calif.
Catherine Burks Brooks	914 Rose St., Jackson, Miss.
Elmer L. Brown, 857 Bisson Ave	857 Bisson Ave., Akron 7, Ohio
Patricia Bryant	706 Baldwin St., Elmira, N.Y.
Dan Burkholder	1736 Pacheco St., San Francisco 16, Calif.
Charles Butler	78 Hanover St., Charleston, S.C.
Joseph Carter	c/o Mrs. A. B. Carter, 98 Liberty Ave., Brooklyn 12, N.Y.
Allen Cason	827 Bethune Dr., Orlando, Fla.
Doris Castle	324 W. 84th St., Apt. 111, N.Y.
Frank Caston	179 Briking Court, Jackson, Miss.
Price Chatham	81 Front Street, East Rockaway, L.I., N.Y.
Lucretia Collins	YWCA, 210 East 77th St., N.Y.C.
Stokely Carmichael	1810 Amethyst St., Bronx 62, N.Y.
Ray Cooper	3301 E. Spruce St., Seattle 22, Wash.
Edmon Dalbert, Jr.	c/o Mrs. Ida L. Parker, 825½ W. 41st Dr. Los Angeles, Calif.
James E. Darrow	419 20th St., West Palm Beach, Fla.
James Davis, Jr.	816 W. Sumter St., Florence, S.C.
Paul Deitrich	2928 Porter St., N.W., Washington, D.C.

James Dennis	760½ East 51 St., Los Angeles 11, Calif.
Dion T. Diamond	1610 Jefferson St., Nashville, Tenn.
John Dolan	2511 Hilleglass Ave., Berkeley, Calif.
David B. Fankhauser	Box 203 Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.
Mary K. Freelon	Melvin Rd., Telford, Pennsylvania
Glenda Gaither	c/o Mrs. Jones, 922 Oak St., Orangeburg, S.C.
Donna Garde	165 W. 82nd St., N.Y.C., N.Y.
Lionel Goldbart	130 West End Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Paul S. Green	730 Fort Washington Ave., N.Y.C., N.Y.
Reginald M. Green	Kingsley Hall, Room 214, Virginia Union, Richmond, Va.
Stephen Green	Purchase Lane, Rye New York
Joel Greenberg	7103 Boxford Rd., Baltimore 15, Md.
Del Greenblatt	Department of History, University of Birmingham, Birmingham, England
Stephen Greenstein	132 West End Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Gwendolyn Greene	5038 Eighth St., N.E., Washington 17, D.C.
Richard Griswold	4420 Bedford Ave., Brooklyn 29, N.Y.
Mary L. Hamilton	403 W. 21st Street, Apt. 3W, NYC 11, N.Y.
Gordon L. Harris	147 Summit Dr., Rochester, N.Y.
A. Roy Huddleson	650 Greenwich, San Francisco, Calf
Franklin Hunt	339 Crittendon St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
Larry Hunter	181 Westview Pl., S.W., Atlanta, Ga.
Margaret Oakley Ihra	c/o Castro, 137 W. 12 St., NYC, N.Y.
Louise Jean Inghram	3700 Carmona Ave., Los Angeles, 16, Calif.
Gwendolyn Jenkins	123 Madison Webster Groves 19, Missouri

Robert L. Jenkins	2527 Grover St., St. Louis 12, Mo.
Edward B. Johnson	c/o Mrs. Ernest H. Johnson, 519 Trumper St., Houston 20, Tex.
Percy Lee Johnson	1320 Alamo St., Jackson, Miss.
James Wilson Jones	1039 Larkspur, Jackson, Miss.
Edward Kale	522 W. Main St., Grangeville, Idaho
Mrs. Barbara H. Kay	143 Belmont St., Englewood, N.J.
Marian Kendall	582 Mitchell Ave., San Leandro, Calif.
Margaret Ann Kerr	1929 Grove St., Berkeley, Calif.
Rev. Bernard Lafayette, Jr.	1142 Biloxi, Jackson, Miss.
Candida Lall	110 Madron, Larkspur, Calif.
Mark Lane	211 E. 116th St., N.Y.C., N.Y.
Rev. James M. Lawson, Jr.	3708 Clare St., Nashville, Tenn.
Frederick Leonard	501 W. 45th St., Chattanooga, Tenn.
Margaret Leonard	120 Lafayette Dr., N.E., Atlanta, Ga.
Eugene Levine	810½ S. Washington, Stillwater, Okla. or 10 Old Nyack Turnpike, Nanuet, N.Y.
John Lewis	American Baptist Seminary, Nashville, Tenn.
Morton G. Linder	2101 Milvia St., Berkeley 4, Calif.
John Lowry	3500 Tryon Ave., Bronx, N.Y.
William Mahoney	1116 Girard St., N.W. Washington, D.C.
James McDonough	30 Kittiwake Lane, Babylon L.I., N.Y.
Rita Carter Martinson	1313 Grove St., Berkeley, Calif
William Mitchell	794 Fraser St., S.E., Atlanta, Ga.
John Moody, Jr.	5930 Catherine St., Philadelphia, Pa.
Samuel T. Nash	4958 S. Vincennes, Chicago 15, Ill.
Frank Nelson	No address
Robert Lewis Owens	511 E. 6th, Los Angeles, Calif.
Rev. Matthew Petway	528 McKinney St., Montgomery, Ala.
Kredelle Petway	528 McKinnie (ey?) St., Montgomery Ala.

Michael Powell	12643 Passo Olivos, Saratoga, Calif.
Joseph M. Pratt	311 Judah St., San Francisco, Calif.
Catherine J. Prensky	148 W. Gilman St., Madison, Wis.
Cordell Hull Reagon	716 26th Ave., N., Nashville, Tenn.
Joy Meryl Ragon	716 26th Ave., N., Nashville, Tenn.
Isaac Reynolds	5049 Vermont St., Detroit, Mich.
Leon Rice	8147 S. Langley, Chicago 19, Ill.
Janis Rogers	13968 Van Nuys Blvd., Pacoima Calif
Sally Rawley	16 W. 68 St., N.Y.C., N.Y.
Kenneth M. Shilman	382 Clive Ave., Oceanside, N.Y.
Pauline Simms	No Address
Etta Simpson	808 N. 5th St., Nashville, Tenn.
Felix J. Singer	3303 N. Southport, Chicago 14, Ill.
Morton Slater	6601 Broadway, N.Y. 71, N.Y.
Jerome Smith	3107 Orleans St., New Orleans, La.
Mary Jean Smith	2520 Jefferson St., Nashville 8, Tenn.
Patricia Smith	No Address
Daniel M. Stevens	505 Yale St., Saginaw, Mich.
Percy E. Sutton	135 W.125 St., NYC, N.Y.
Willard H. Svanoe	1261 Madison Ave, N.Y.C.28, N.Y.
Zuron L. Teale	23050 Acton, Berkeley, Calif.
Alice Thompson	No Address
Daniel Thompson	116 Thompson St., Cafe Figaro c/o Lou Collins or c/o Roman Tymchyshyn, NYC, N.Y.
Richard Thorne	1862 Fairview St., Berkeley, Calif.
Jan Triggs	21 Orchard Place, New Rochelle, N.Y.
Lawrence Triss, Jr.	c/o Oretha Castle, 917 N. Tonte St., New Orleans, L
Joan Trumpower	54 V. St., N.W., Washington, D.C.

Vance O'Neal	119 E. Roosevelt St., Jackson, Miss.
Rev. Cordy T. Vivian	924 Fortwood St., Chattanooga, Tenn.
James R. Wahlstrom	710 W. Milton St., Madison, Wis.
Matthew Walker, Jr.	1705 Windover Dr., Nashville, Tenn.
Rev. James Warren	1737 N. 26th St., Philadelphia 21, Pa.
Leo Washington	1231 Cook St., New Orleans, La.
Ralph Washington	660 Plateau Dr., St. Louis, Mo.
Alexander Weiss	1926 Fell St., San Francisco, Calif.
Rev. Robert Wesby	19 Northeast Ave., Aurora, Ill.
Melvin L. White	Box 1511, F.H. 1210, 3711th B.M.T.S., Lackland AFB, Tex.
Rev. Douglas A. Williams	238 East 76th St., Los Angeles 3, Calif.
R. Alan Williams	2235 Webster St., San Francisco, Calif.
Leslie.Wardren Blvd., Chicago 12, I.	3016 W. Warren Blvd., Chicago 12, Ill.
Tanya Wren	3439 Beswick St., Los Angeles, Calif.
Ellen Ziskind	313 W. 105 St., NYC, N.Y.
Mrs. Tommie Eldredge Brashear	c/o Mrs. Mamie Brashear, 212 Rosier St., New Iberia, La.
Patricia Dale Baskerville	1901 E. 13th St., Tucson, Ariz.
Robert Bass	1116 Larkspur St., Jackson, Miss.
Charles Biggers	1033 13th Street, Boulder, Colo.
Travis O. Britt	c/o Mrs. M. Davenport, 392 Alabama Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.
Albert Dunn	921 E. Hattie St., Ft. Worth, Tex.
Mary M. Harrison	113 Lincolnshire Drive, San Antonio, Tex.
Lowell Woods, Jr.	6243 S. Langley, Basement Rear, Chicago 37, Ill.
Jesse J. Harris	31 Yonge St. S.E., Atlanta, Ga.
Philip Jay Heavey III	469 Bloomingdale Rd., Staten Island, N.Y. or c/o Catholic Worker, 175 Chrystie St., NYC, NY
Leon Horne	6439 Eberhart Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Andrew Horn, Jr.	8 Ross Court, Jackson, Miss.
Frank Johnson	115 E. 33, Apt. 1, Tucson, Ariz.
Claude Albert Liggins	200 Boston St., Lake Charles, La.
Fredrich Muntean	304 Fourth Avenue, Sharon, Pa.
Frank Nelson	2816 Gen. Taylor, New Orleans, La.
M.C. Wells	1220 Warren St., Jackson, Miss.
Frances Wilson	920 29th Ave., S., Nashville, Tenn.
George Raymond, Jr.	c/o Raymond, 2322 Delachase St., New Orleans, La. or 838 Lutz St., Canton, Miss.
Reena Rand	3841 E. 48th St., Cleveland 28, Ohio
Judye Morene Scroggins	818 Clankee Rd., Middletown, Ohio
Ruby Doris Smith	794 Fraser St.S.E., Atlanta, Ga.
Peter Ackerberg	c/o York Gazette & Daily, 31 E. King St., York,Pa.
Clare O'Connor	2800 N. Oxford St., St. Paul, Minn.
James O'Connor	170-2 W. 89th St., N.Y., N.Y.
Alpha Palmer	2924 Bailey Ave., Jackson, Miss.
Max Gregory Pavesic	7203 5th Ave., Los Angeles, Calif.
Lestra A. Peterson	5751 Grove St., Oakland, Calif.
West D. Philips	1125½ Trinity St., Jackson, Miss.
Philip Posner	2312 25th St., Santa Monica, Calif.
Michael Prichard	1708 Anza St., San Francisco 18, Calif.
Zev Aelony	1518 8th St., S.E. Minneapolis, Minn.
Glenda Jackson	No Address
Richard Haley	2209 Dryades St., New Orleans, La.
Gordon,Albert (Albert Gordon)	238 E. 6th St., NYC 10003
James L. Bevel	American Baptist Seminary, Nashville, Tenn.
Eugene Uphoff	1521 Seventh St., S.E., Minneapolis 4, Minn;
Elizabeth Adler	1005 E. 55, Chicago, Ill.
Alexander Anderson	1220 Phillips St. Nashville, Tenn.

I.F. publications

AUG 9 1963

10/10

GENERAL ARTISTS CORPORATION
NEW YORK · CHICAGO · BEVERLY HILLS · LONDON
640 FIFTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 19, N.Y. · TELEPHONE CIRCLE 7-7543

TR4-3700

August 8, 1963

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Thanks very much for your note.

I shall indeed, as you suggest, call your secretary early in September to set up a date.

Best wishes,

Bob Mills

Robert P. Mills

RPM/fro

August , 1963

Mr. Robert P. Mills
General Artists Corporation
640 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Mills:

I do, indeed, know your name as that of James Baldwin's agent, and I was delighted to receive your letter.

I am very interested in your suggestion that I write a book and have been toying with the idea for some time.

I would very much like to get together with you and suggest that you give my secretary, Miss Glenda Lubelsky, a call early in September so that we can set a date.

I look foward to seeing you then.

Yours sincerely,

James Farmer,
National Director

JF: as

Aug 5

~~JUL 19 1963~~

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GENERAL ARTISTS CORPORATION

NEW YORK · CHICAGO · BEVERLY HILLS · LONDON

640 FIFTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 19, N.Y. · TELEPHONE CIRCLE 7-7543

August 2, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

My name is probably not familiar to you, but Marv Rich can tell you something about me, I think, pertinent to what I'm about to say.

I have felt for some months now that you could write a book which would have considerable importance today. And as a private citizen, I'd like very much to see you write it.

In this case, what I'd like as a private citizen touches on what I'd like as a literary agent, and I am writing you in both capacities.

As an agent, I have discussed the possibility of your writing a book with an editor or two, and one editor in particular is not only especially enthusiastic, but also has some specific ideas about what he thinks the book might be.

I know that this is a fearsomely busy time for you, but I would like to suggest if the idea of a book has any interest for you, that sometime next month, maybe, we might discuss the possibilities.

If you already have a book in mind, and an agent in mind, permit me to say as a citizen only that I hope you will get to it.

Sincerely,

Bob Mills

Robert P. Mills

RPM/fro

Farmer's Book

February 27, 1964

Mr. Robert P. Mills
McIntosh, McKee & Dodds, Inc.
30 East 60th Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Mills:

Before leaving town for a two week tour of speaking engagements, Mr. Farmer asked me to write and thank you for your letter. His life is becoming increasingly hectic, but we have managed to set aside some time in early April for him to get to work on the book.

Mr. Farmer will keep you up to date on how things progress.

Sincerely yours,

G[illegible]belsky
Secretary to
James Farmer

GL:LP

McINTOSH, McKEE & DODDS, INC.
LITERARY REPRESENTATIVES
30 EAST 60th STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

MAVIS McINTOSH
ELIZABETH McKEE
JOHN DODDS

Telephone: PLaza 9-2225
Cable Address: KEEBATCH

FEB 20 1964

Feb 19

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I enclose a note from Jim Silberman--a note which expresses my own sentiments, and curiousity.

I'd be very glad for some word as to how things are going.

Best wishes,

Bob Mills
Robert P. Mills

RANDOM HOUSE, INC.
457 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
TELEPHONE PLAZA 1-2600

JAMES H. SILBERMAN
EDITOR

FEB 20 1964

February 14, 1964

Dear Bob:

It's been some time since our lunch with James Farmer and I'm, of course, eager to know how progress goes on the book we talked about. As I remember our discussion, Mr. Farmer hoped to get some time in December to go away and work on an outline. I hope he was able to take the time, but if he wasn't, I can't say I'm surprised considering the pace of the civil rights struggle. What I do want to ask you, and through you, him, is whether he has any idea what his schedule for the spring is going to be, and whether he can plan once again to set some time aside. I very much hope so because I do feel the book is needed now more than ever.

Do let me know.

Best,

Jim

Mr. Robert Mills
McIntosh, McKee and Dodds
30 East 60th Street
New York 22, New York

JHS:jle

JF public

RANDOM HOUSE, INC.
457 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
TELEPHONE PLAZA 1-2600

JAMES H. SILBERMAN
EDITOR

May 14, 1964

MAY 18 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I know Bob Mills has been in touch with you fairly recently but I do want to write you myself and say I'm still very eager to have that book from you. It seems to me that your writing it becomes more and more important. Bob told me that you plan to set time aside before too long. This note is simply to ask whether we might talk once again sometime soon.

Yours sincerely,

James H. Silberman

Mr. James Farmer
38 Park Row
New York, New York

JHS:jle

cc: Terry Cohen

file
Farmer's
Book

TELEPHONE PLAZA 1-2600

News from

RANDOM HOUSE, INC. 457 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

From: Publicity Department

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Nobember 9, 1964

James Farmer - Core Director - Writing Book For Random House

The man who has come to be the living symbol of the more militant nonviolent civil rights movement, James Farmer, is writing a new book, FREEDOM - WHEN?, to be published soon by Random House. Jacob Cohen will write the introduction for this work which will have as its subject civil rights and nonviolence.

As well as providing an effective answer both to those who have criticized him as irresponsible in going too far with his demonstrations and to those who consider him too timid in his attempts to bring about equality of the races, Farmer also discusses the critical questions of the continued feasibility of mass demonstrations; the future of the white man in the black revolt; and the danger of communist, Maoist, and black nationalist influence in the movement. A brief portion of FREEDOM - WHEN? is devoted to a consideration of the "civil rights personalities," including such people as Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, and Malcolm X.

These are but a few of the people and problems considered in James Farmer's new book. Certain to disturb those who are anxious for the end of the movement, the book also provides an orientation course in the inner life of the politics of the Negro revolt. The author wounds some reputations, but he feels that this is unavoidable in a movement which must continually appraise and reappraise the mighty.

File - Farmer's Book

RANDOM HOUSE, INC.
501 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
TELEPHONE PLAZA 1-2600

NOV 12 1964

Jim Peck

November 10, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
23 Park Row
New York City

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I'm pleased to let you know that I will be handling publicity contact for FREEDOM - WHEN? at Random House.

As a preliminary step I have prepared a press release which has been sent to the major news media (radio, television, newspapers, and magazines) in the country. I've checked with Jacob Cohen and I think that between us we've covered every major publication, but if you have any names of small papers that you think will be worthwhile, just let me know.

I've enclosed a couple of copies of the release for your information.

Yours sincerely,

Amy O'Leary

Amy O'Leary
Publicity Assistant

TELEPHONE PLAZA 1-2600

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file – Farmer's Book

February 10, 1965

Mr. James H. Silberman
Editor
Random House, Inc.
457 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Silberman:

When I returned to the office on Monday I found your letters of January 21st and February 1st with enclosed blurbs. They look fine.

I was delighted to learn that you have received more than 5,000 advance orders. Our public relations department will, of course, push the book also.

I look forward to talking with you as soon as it can be arranged; perhaps the week after next. Please call my secretary, Nancy Mutarelli, and she will arrange an appointment.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:nm

RANDOM HOUSE, INC.
457 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
TELEPHONE PLAZA 1-2600

JAMES H. SILBERMAN
EDITOR

January 21, 1965

blurbs

lk fine
dees 4 record
adv orders;

Dear Mr. Farmer: our pub dept w of crs push the bk -

I think you'll be interested to see our advertising for your book which appeared in a recent Publishers' Weekly. As you may know, this is the magazine read within the book trade by booksellers and librarians.

lk fwd to talking w you as sn as [illegible] can.

As you probably know from Jerry, I've seen two sections of your book--the one on Plaquemine the other on the Harlem riots. I think they're first rate. Naturally, I very much look forward to seeing the rest of the book.

Maybe wk after next call Sey

I hope your African trip turned out well.

Cordially,

Jim Silberman

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

JHS:jle

Ack

P. 11
of [illegible]

RANDOM HOUSE, INC.
457 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
TELEPHONE PLAZA 1-2600

JAMES H. SILBERMAN
EDITOR

February 1, 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I think you'll be interested to see our catalogue description of your book. I would very much like to hear how it strikes you since it may well serve as the basis for descriptions of the book that other departments of Random House will be doing.

I think you'll also be interested to know that as of February 1st, we have 5,669 orders for your book--a figure which seems to me a good one at this point. As you perhaps know, these are orders set by our salesmen well before publication.

I very much look forward to seeing you when you are back.

Cordially,

James H. Silberman

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Nancy — Mr. Farmer's books

MAR 9 1965

THE BOOK INDUSTRY JOURNAL

Publishers' Weekly

PUBLISHED BY R. R. BOWKER CO. · 1180 AVENUE OF THE AMERICAS · NEW YORK 36 · N.Y. · LT 1-8800

February 26, 1965

Dear Publisher:

We are now preparing to compile the INDEX TO FORTHCOMING BOOKS for PW's April 26th Summer Announcement Number. This index will cover all books (adult and juvenile trade, technical, elementary, high school and college texts, paperbacks, and imports) scheduled for publication May 1 through September 30, 1965.

To insure representation in this invaluable publication, simply submit a list of all titles you plan to issue in the specified period. For our purposes, all that is needed is the author (last name first, please), title, publication date, and price. ALL LISTINGS ARE FREE.

Deadline for this material is March 22. If you do not plan to issue any books in this period, please let us know so that we may avoid further notification.

Please address your replies to me, and if you have any questions, feel free to contact me. Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Doris F. Innis

Doris Funnye Innis
Index Editor

file
JF public

Call → Thurs April 29

RANDOM HOUSE, INC.
501 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
TELEPHONE PLAZA 1-2600

APR 16 1965

April 13, 1965

Dear Miss Mutarelli:

Many thanks for your letter of March 30, which Mrs. O'Leary has passed on to me since the publicity for James Farmer's book has been passed on to me. Mr. Farmer's book is scheduled for publication in August rather than September, and I thought you ought to know this since you mentioned that your lecture bureau is planning to schedule appearances around publication date.

Enclosed is a copy of the early press release we did about the book in November, for you to pass on to the lecture bureau. If they could use reprints of the release, would you find out from them and let me know? We'd be happy to make these available--changing the release date, of course--in any quantity they specify.

The day of publication in August has not yet been set, so this is all the new information I can give you at this time. We are, I think, still waiting for delivery of the manuscript.

What are the possibilities of meeting with Mr. Farmer? I know he is a busy man, but this is a rather important book, and there are points of strategy in its publication that I want most carefully to consider and have his advice on.

With all best wishes.

Faithfully yours,
For RANDOM HOUSE, Inc.,

E. M. Gervasi

Eugene Gervasi
Publicity Manager

Miss Nancy Mutarelli
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

EMG:mk
Incl.

Sent copy to Harry Walker 4/16

TELEPHONE PLAZA 1-2600

News from

RANDOM HOUSE, INC. 457 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

From: Publicity Department

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Nobember 9, 1964

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Donald S. Klopfer

file - JF public

May 12, 1965

MAY 13 1965

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

May I take this opportunity to thank you for coming to our Sales Conference and talking to our men. You were kind to do this, but I think it paid off. To the man they were stimulated and pleased with your talk, and I am sure they will do a better job selling your book because of it.

Thanks!

Sincerely,

Donald S. Klopfer

dsk;mb

JF
public

MAY 20 1965

RANDOM HOUSE, INC.
457 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
TELEPHONE PLAZA 1-2600

C. A. WIMPFHEIMER
VICE-PRESIDENT & SECRETARY

May 19, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Pardon the delay in writing you of my appreciation for your appearance at our sales conference last week. You greatly enhanced Jim's presentation of your book, which I hope eventually will reflect in its sales.

Again, thanks for taking time to visit us.

Cordially,

Toney Wimpfheimer

CAW:ls

J.F.'s Book

June 8, 1965

Mr. James Silberman
Random House
457 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Silberman:

Here is another photograph for possible use in Mr. Farmer's book.

Please notice this is a photo made by Ann Meuer who should be credited accordingly. We would also appreciate having this photo back if possible.

Sincerely yours,

Babette Code
Administration Department

file J.F.'s book

February 15, 1965

TO: James Farmer

FROM: Marvin Rich

Here is the material from Norton about the proposed book on Africa. If you feel you have enough material, then we should talk to Mr. Jacobson. I think the articles for "Esquire" and "Playboy" should be considered as well. Have you been working with Jerry on this as yet?

/b

F/U 2/10

January 8, 1965

Mr. Peter Jacobsohn
W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.
55 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10003

Dear Mr. Jacobson:

As I told you over the phone yesterday, I am somewhat dubious whether James Farmer will have enough material for a book. However, I will talk to him over the telephone today and make sure that he records as many of his impressions about his trip as possible. We will meet with you upon his return.

Very truly yours,

Marvin Rich, Director
Community Relations

/b

1/5/65

W · W · NORTON & COMPANY · INC · *Publishers* · NEW YORK · 10003

55 FIFTH AVENUE
CABLES · SEAGULL · NEW YORK
ALGONQUIN 5-9210

check
Jerry Cohen

January 4, 1965

Mr. Marvin Rich
C O R E
38 Park Row
New York City, NY

Dear Mr. Rich

I just talked to Mr. Val Coleman, who told me to write you. (Incidentally, I believe we must have talked to each other many years ago when I was at The New Leader.)

I suggested to Mr. Coleman that we would be very much interested in having a book by James Farmer on his current trip to Africa. I understand from Mr. Coleman that Mr. Farmer is taking a tape recorder along and that the rough basis of a book would probably be there after his return. Mr. Coleman was enthusiastic about the idea, and we, of course, would be too if it turned out to be as interesting as I believe it could be. The question arises ~~that~~ whether you or I should write Mr. Farmer about this.

I wonder if you could give me a call to let me know your reaction.

Yours sincerely

Peter Jacobsohn

Peter Jacobsohn

PJ:geb

JF's
book

July 7, 1965

Mr. James Silberman
Random House
457 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Silberman:

Mr. Coleman asked me to send you the enclosed photographs for possible use in Mr. Farmer's book. We would appreciate it if you could return them to us, as they are the only copies we have.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

JF public

Send someone
down who c—
make a decis-

JUL 15 1965

RANDOM HOUSE, INC.
457 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
TELEPHONE PLAZA 1-2600

JAMES H. SILBERMAN
EXECUTIVE EDITOR

July 13, 1965

Nancy
talk to me
Val

Dear Val:

Thanks, of course, for the new pictures of Farmer which I'm sorry to say still don't seem right to me. What I'd like is a portrait which shows the strength of Mr. Farmer's face--one which had the power we talked about on the phone. Is there any chance you could send me twenty or thirty to choose from so we could at least get close to what I'm looking for?

Let me hear.

Cordially,

Jim / jle

Mr. Val Coleman
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

JHS:jle
Dictated by Mr. Silberman, but signed in his absence.

JF book

July 27, 1965

Mr. Tom Gervasi
Random House
457 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Tom:

Here as promised is a list of Mr. Farmer's speaking engagements during the time he has set aside to help in the promotion of the book. He will, of course, be talking primarily about other civil rights matters at these engagements, but I think local and collegiate newspaper advertising and the availability of FREEDOM...WHEN? in bookstores in these cities makes a lot of sense.

I wish you would give me a ring soonest so that we can g get the holiday mailing insert finished.

Warmest regards,

Val Coleman
Public Relations Director

VC:nm

Farmer's book

July 30, 1965

Mr. Tom Gervasi
Random House
457 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Gervasi:

I trust that you have received the photograph of Mr. Farmer that I mailed yesterday. I am sorry that I did not have time to get the following list of CORE chapters to you at the same time.

September	CORE Chapter
16 - Baldwin, N.Y.	Long Island CORE 80 South Franklin Street Hempstead, New York
23 - Maryknoll, N.Y.	New Rochelle CORE 506 North Avenue New Rochelle, New York
30 - Boston, Mass.	Boston CORE 373 Blushill Avenue Roxbury, Massachusetts
October	
14 - Colorado	Greeley CORE Wesley Foundation 1634 Ninth Avenue Greeley, Colorado
15 - UCLA	Joyce Hayaski UCLA CORE 630 Pier Avenue Santa Monica, California
	Los Angeles CORE 1115 West Venice Blvd. Los Angeles 15, California

19 - Boston	
28 - Albion, Michigan	Battle Creek CORE 263 N. Wood Street Battle Creek, Michigan
	Grand Rapids CORE 525 Morris Avenue, S.E. Grand Rapids, Michigan
November 2 - Olean, New York	Rochester CORE Box 9555 Midtown Station Rochester, New York
9 9 - Columbus, Ohio	Columbus CORE 1335 E. 18th Avenue Columbus, Ohio
16 - Binghamton, New York	William S. Moore CORE 110 Susquehanna Street Binghamton, New York 13901
17 - Oswego, New York	Syracuse CORE 326 Tallman Street Syracuse, New York

The speaking engagements that I have omitted from this list either are in areas in which there is no CORE chapter or are repetitions of an address already given.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

P.S. Two new dates are: May 13 - Evansville, Indiana
October 8th - Washington & Jefferson College, Washington, Penna.

Farmer's Book

August 6, 1965

Mr. James Silberman
Rand House
457 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Silberman:

This is the dedication for Mr. Farmer's book, which I gave to someone in your office over the telephone yesterday:

TO

My father, one generation from bondage.
Did he understand?

And my daughters, Tami and Abbey.
Will they understand?

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

file JF's book

CORE
SCHOLARSHIP,
EDUCATION
AND DEFENSE
FUND, INC.
150 NASSAU STREET, ROOM 1312
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10038
TELEPHONE 964-8210

August 25, 1965

Miss Nancy Mutarelli
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Nancy:

Recently you asked about the contract with Random House. I dug through my files and found only a photocopy. However, the section relevant to payment reads as follows:

(a) All sums earned up to, and including, One Thousand Dollars ($1,000.00) shall accrue to the account of CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund, Inc.

(b) All sums earned in excess of One Thousand Dollars ($1,000.00) up to, and including, Two Thousand Dollars ($2,000.00) shall be paid to the Author.

(c) All sums earned in excess of Two Thousand Dollars ($2,000.00) shall be paid in equal shares to the Author, and to CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund, Inc.

Hope this is what you want.

Cordially,

Marv

MR:hm

cc: Mr. Alan Gartner

Contributions are deductible for income tax purposes

■ *president;* Andrew E. Norman ■ *vice presidents;* William S. Ellis, Nannette Sachs ■ *secretary;* Ezra Levin ■ *treasurer;* Shelley Appleton ■ *executive director;* Marvin Rich ■ *executive secretary;* Martha Anne Singer ■ *BOARD OF DIRECTORS;* Adele Addison ■ John P. Allison ■ James Baldwin ■ Katrina McCormick Barnes ■ Dr. Kenneth B. Clark ■ Charlotte Devree ■ John Henry Faulk ■ The Rev. Frederick James ■ Clarence B. Jones ■ Henry Morgenthau, III ■ Dr. William Stuart Nelson ■ Elaine Slater ■ Norman Thomas ■ Rowland Watts ■ Pearl L. Willen

AUG 27 1965

file
JF book

August 25, 1965

Miss Nancy Nutarelli
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Nancy:

Recently you asked about the contract with Random House. I dug through my files and found only a photocopy. However, the section relevant to payment reads as follows:

(a) All sums earned up to, and including, One Thousand Dollars ($1,000.00) shall accrue to the account of CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund, Inc.

(b) All sums earned in excess of One Thousand Dollars ($1,000.00) up to, and including, Two Thousand Dollars ($2,000.00) shall be paid to the Author.

(c) All sums earned in excess of Two Thousand Dollars ($2,000.00) shall be paid in equal shares to the Author, and to CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund, Inc.

Hope this is what you want.

Cordially,

Marv

MR:hm

cc: Mr. Alan Gartner ✓

RANDOM HOUSE, INC.

AGREEMENT made this 6th day of August, 1964, between RANDOM HOUSE, INC., of 457 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. (hereinafter referred to as the Publisher) and

Congress of Racial Equality, Inc.

~~who is a citizen of~~

whose address is 38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10038

(hereinafter referred to as the Author and designated by the masculine singular pronoun)

WHEREAS the parties are desirous respectively of publishing and having published a certain work of non-fiction provisionally entitled

WORK ON CIVIL RIGHTS by James Farmer

which title may be changed only by mutual consent,

Freedom - When?

NOW, THEREFORE, in consideration of the promises hereinafter set forth, they mutually agree as follows:

Publication Rights

1. The Author hereby grants to the Publisher, during the term of copyright including renewals and extensions thereof:

a. Exclusive right in the English language, in the United States of America, the Philippine Republic, and Canada, and ~~and non-exclusive right~~ in all other countries ~~except the British Commonwealth as presently constituted at the date of this agreement (with the exception of Canada) but including the Republic of South Africa, the Irish Republic, Burma, Iraq and Jordan~~, to:

i. Print, publish and sell the work in book form;

ii. License publication of the work (in complete, condensed or abridged versions) by book clubs, including subsidiaries or affiliates of the Publisher;

iii. License publication of a reprint edition by another publisher with the consent of the Author. The Author shall be deemed to have given such consent if within twenty (20) days after the forwarding of written request therefor he fails to notify the Publisher in writing of his refusal to consent.

iv. License publication of the work (in complete, condensed or abridged versions) or selections therefrom in anthologies and other publications, in mail-order and schoolbook editions, as premiums, and through microfilm and Xerox or other forms of copying;

v. License periodical publication in magazines, newspapers and digests to the extent that any such right is relinquished by the publisher of the same prior to book publication;

vi. License, subject to the approval of the Author, the adaptation of the work for filmstrips, printed cartoon versions and mechanical sound reproduction;

vii. Use or license others to use, including the Publisher's affiliate Random House Enterprises, Inc., subject to the approval of the Author, the name and likeness of the Author, the work and the title of the work, in whole or in part, or any adaptation thereof as the basis for trademark or trade name for other products or for any other commercial use in connection with such other products.

viii. License without charge publication of the work in Braille or in other forms, for the physically handicapped;

ix. Publish or permit others to publish or broadcast (but not dramatize) by radio or television, without charge, such selections from the work, for publicity purposes, as may benefit its sale;

b. Exclusive right to license in the English language throughout the British Commonwealth, the Republic of South Africa, the Irish Republic, Burma, Iraq and Jordan, the rights granted hereinabove in subdivision a., revocable at the instance of the Author with respect to any part of this territory as to which no license or option has been given within eighteen (18) months after first publication in the United States.

c. Exclusive right to license in all foreign languages and countries, the rights granted hereinabove in subdivision a., revocable at the instance of the Author with respect to each language or country as to which no license or option has been given within three (3) years after first publication in the United States.

Style, Price and Date of Publication

2. Within one year after the Author has delivered the manuscript in conformity with Paragraph 4, the Publisher shall publish the work at its own expense and in such style and manner and under such imprint and at such price as it deems suitable. No changes in the manuscript shall be made without the consent of the Author. However, in no event shall the Publisher be obligated to publish a work which in its opinion violates the right of privacy of any person or contains libelous, obscene or other unlawful matter. The Publisher shall not be responsible for delays caused by any circumstance beyond its control.

Copyright

3. The Publisher shall copyright the work in the name of the Author, or in its own name if the Author so elects, in the United States in compliance with the Universal Copyright Convention, and apply for renewals of such copyright. If copyright is effected in the name of the Publisher, it shall assign such copyright upon request of the Author. If the Publisher deems it appropriate, it shall arrange for the sale of the work in Canada simultaneously with the first sale in the United States. If the Publisher adds illustrations or other material, and if copyright is effected in the Author's name, he agrees, upon request, to assign the copyright of such material. If the Author retains the right to periodical or foreign publication before publication by the Publisher, he shall notify the Publisher promptly of any arrangement for such publication or postponement thereof; and in the event of

a. Periodical publication, if the copyright shall be in the name of any person other than the Author, he shall promptly deliver to the Publisher a legally recordable assignment of such copyright or a quitclaim from the publisher to the rights granted herein.

b. Publication outside the United States, he shall furnish to the Publisher promptly after such publication three copies of the published work and the date of publication, and he shall notify the foreign publisher of this agreement.

Delivery of Satisfactory Copy

4. The Author agrees to deliver *two* complete copies (original and clean carbon) of the work in the English language of approximately 50,000 words in length, in content and form satisfactory to the Publisher and ready to set in type, not later than the 1st day of November, 1964. If the Author fails to deliver such copies within ninety (90) days after that date the Publisher may terminate this

agreement by giving written notice and thereupon shall be entitled to repayment of all amounts which may have been advanced hereunder. The Author further agrees to supply promptly and suitable for reproduction all photographs, illustrations, drawings, charts, indexes, and other material necessary to the completion of his manuscript, and if he fails to do so the Publisher shall have the right to supply them and charge the cost against any sums accruing to the Author. The complete manuscript shall include the following additional items: Introduction by Jacob Cohen.

Permission for Copyrighted Material

5. If the Author incorporates in the work any copyrighted material, he shall procure at his expense written authorization to reprint it.

Proofreading and Author's Corrections

6. The Author agrees to read, revise, correct and return promptly all proof sheets of the work and to pay in cash or, at the option of the Publisher, to have charged against him, the cost of alterations, in type or in plates, required by the Author, other than those due to printer's errors, in excess of One Hundred Dollars ($100.00), provided a statement of these charges is sent to the Author within thirty (30) days of the receipt of the printer's bills and the corrected proofs are presented on request for his inspection.

Author's Warranties and Indemnities

7. The Author warrants ~~that he is~~ is James Farmer and Jacob Cohen, the sole author of the work, that he is the sole owner of all the rights granted herein and has full power to enter into this agreement; that the work is original and is not in the public domain; that it does not violate the right of privacy of any person; that it is not libelous or obscene; that it does not infringe upon the statutory or common-law copyright of anyone; and that any recipe, formula or instruction contained in the work is not injurious to the user.

In the event of any claim, action or proceeding based upon an alleged violation of any of the foregoing warranties, (a) the Publisher shall have the right, at the expense of the Author, to defend the same through counsel of its own choosing, and (b) the Author shall hold harmless the Publisher and any seller of the work against any damages finally sustained in any such action or proceeding or by way of settlement, provided, however, that no settlement shall be effected without the prior written consent of the Author.

If any such claim, action or proceeding is instituted, the Publisher shall promptly notify the Author and may withhold payments due him under this or any other agreement between the Author and the Publisher.

These warranties and indemnities shall survive the termination of this agreement. ✓

Conflicting Publication

8. The Author agrees that during the term of this agreement he will not, without the written permission of the Publisher, publish or permit to be published any material in book or pamphlet form, based on material in the work.

Advance Payments

9. The Publisher shall pay ~~to~~ for the Author as an advance against and on account of all moneys accruing to him under this agreement, the sum of One Thousand dollars ($1,000.00), payable to the CORE Scholarship, Education & Defense Fund, Inc., 38 Park Row, New York, N.Y. as follows:

$500.00 on signing hereof;
$500.00 on the 15th day of September, 1964.

Any such advance, to the extent unearned, shall not be repayable, provided that the Author is not in default under this agreement.

Royalty Payments

10. The Publisher shall pay to the Author a royalty on the retail price of every copy sold, less returns (except as hereinafter set forth):

a. Ten per cent (10%) up to and including 5,000 copies; Twelve and a half per cent (12½%) in excess of 5,000 copies up to and including 10,000 copies; and Fifteen per cent (15%) in excess of 10,000 copies. Copies covered by any other subdivision of this Paragraph, except subdivision b., shall not be included in such computation.

b. Where the discount in the United States is forty-eight per cent (48%) or more of the retail price, the rate shall be that stipulated in subdivision a. of this Paragraph less one-half of the difference between forty-four per cent (44%) and the discount granted. In no event, however, shall the royalty be less than one-half of the royalty stipulated in subdivision a. of this Paragraph.

c. Two-thirds (⅔) of the rate stipulated in subdivision a. of this Paragraph on semi-annual sales aggregating fewer than 400 copies if such copies are sold from a second or subsequent printing.

Modern Library Vintage Books

d. Five per cent (5%) for an edition in the Modern Library (regular size or giant size) or in Vintage Books; ~~and~~ two cents (2¢) per copy for an edition in the Modern Library College series., and Seven and a half per cent (7½%) for other soft cover editions.

Premiums and Subscriptions

e. Five per cent (5%) of the amount received for copies sold by the Publisher's Premium or Subscription Books Wholesale Department and any special premium or subscription edition licensed by that Department.

Mail Order Sales

f. Five per cent (5%) of the amount received for copies sold directly to the consumer through the medium of mail-order or coupon advertising, or radio or television advertising.

Export and Special Sales

g. For copies either bound or in sheets sold for export or to State Reading Circles or for school adoption, or at a special discount over fifty per cent (50%) of the retail price, or for the use of the plates by any governmental agency for its own special edition, ten per cent (10%) of the amount received on the original trade edition and five per cent (5%) of the amount received on any cheaper edition or on copies sold at a special discount of sixty per cent (60%) or more of the retail price.

Receipts from Other Income

h. Fifty per cent (50%) of the amount received from the disposition of licenses granted pursuant to Paragraph 1, subdivision a., ii to vi inclusive. The Author's portion from book club licensing, less any unearned advances, shall be paid to him within two weeks after the receipt thereof by the Publisher. If the Publisher makes rebates to booksellers on copies remaining unsold in their hands due to the publication of a reprint edition, to enable booksellers to retail such copies at the price of the reprint edition, the royalties on such copies shall be the same as for such reprint edition.

If any license granted shall include material of others also subject to royalty, the amount payable to the Author is inclusive of the royalty of the other authors.

i. Fifty per cent (50%) of the amount received from the disposition of licenses granted pursuant to Paragraph 1, subdivision a., vii, provided that all expenses in connection therewith shall be borne by the Publisher and its affiliate.

Publication Outside U. S.

j. Eighty per cent (80%) of the amount received from the disposition of licenses granted pursuant to Paragraph 1, subdivision b.

k. Seventy-five per cent (75%) of the amount received from the disposition of licenses granted pursuant to Paragraph 1, subdivision c.

"No Royalty" Copies

l. No royalty shall be paid on copies sold below or at cost including royalty or furnished gratis to the Author, or for review, advertising, sample or like purposes.

Publisher as Agent for Author

11. The Author appoints the Publisher, within the territory set forth in Paragraph 1, as his exclusive agent to dispose of the following rights, subject to the Author's consent, and the Publisher shall receive a commission of ten per cent (10%) of the amount received;

Periodical publication prior to book publication, and performance rights including dramatic, musical, radio, television, motion picture and allied rights.

In the event of the disposition of the motion picture or television rights, the Publisher may grant to the purchaser the privilege to publish excerpts and summaries of the work in the aggregate not to exceed 7,500 words, for advertising and exploiting such rights, provided, however, that such grant shall require the purchaser to take all steps which may be necessary to protect the copyright of the work.

The Author agrees to notify the Publisher promptly of the disposition of any right which the Author has retained for himself.

Reports and Payments

12. The Publisher shall render semi-annual statements of account to the first day of April and the first day of October, and shall mail such statements during the July and the January following, together with checks in payment of the amounts due thereon. Should the Publisher report on a different fiscal year, the dates referred to in this paragraph shall be adjusted accordingly.

Should the Author receive an overpayment of royalty arising from copies reported sold but subsequently returned, the Publisher may deduct such overpayment from any further sums due the Author.

Upon his written request, the Author may examine or cause to be examined through certified public accountants the books of account of the Publisher in so far as they relate to the sale or licensing of the work.

Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in this or any prior agreement between the parties, the Author shall in no event be entitled to receive under all agreements with the Publisher more than $
during any one calendar year. If in any one calendar year the total of the sums accruing to the Author under this and all other agreements with the Publisher shall exceed such amount, he shall be entitled to receive the excess amount in any succeeding calendar year in which the sums accruing to him under this and all other agreements with the Publisher do not exceed the maximum herein stated, provided that the total amount to which the Author may be entitled under this and all other agreements with the Publisher in any succeeding year shall not exceed the maximum herein stated.

Option on Next Work

~~xxx13. The Author agrees to submit to the Publisher his next book-length work before submitting the same to any other publisher. The Publisher shall be entitled to a period of six weeks after the submission of the completed manuscript, which period shall not commence to run prior to one month after the publication of the work covered by this agreement, within which to notify the Author of its decision. If within that time the Publisher shall notify the Author of its desire to publish the manuscript, it shall thereupon negotiate with him with respect to the terms of such publication. If within thirty (30) days thereafter the parties are unable in good faith to arrive at a mutually satisfactory agreement for such publication, the Author shall be free to submit his manuscript elsewhere, provided, however, that he shall not enter into a contract for the publication of such manuscript with any other publisher upon terms less favorable than those offered by the Publisher~~

Copies to Author

14. On publication the Publisher shall give ten (10) free copies to the Author, who may purchase further copies for personal use at a discount of forty per cent (40%) from the retail price.

Withdrawal from Publication

15. If the Publisher fails to keep the work in print and the Author makes written demand to reprint it, the Publisher shall, within sixty (60) days after the receipt of such demand, notify the Author in writing as to whether it intends to comply. If the Publisher notifies the Author that it intends to comply, it shall reprint the work within six (6) months from the date of receipt of the Author's demand unless prevented from doing so by circumstances beyond its control. If the Publisher fails to notify the Author within said sixty (60) days that it intends to comply, or within six months after receipt of such demand from the Author, declines or neglects to reprint the work, then this agreement shall terminate and all rights granted hereunder shall revert to the Author, subject to licenses theretofore granted provided the Author is not indebted to the Publisher for any sum owing to it under this agreement. After such reversion, the Publisher shall continue to participate to the extent set forth in this agreement in moneys received from any license previously granted by it. Upon termination, the Author shall have the right for thirty (30) days thereafter to purchase the plates, if any, at one-fourth of the manufacturing cost (including composition) and any remaining copies or sheets at one-half of the manufacturing cost, exclusive of overhead, in default of which the Publisher may dispose of the same as it sees fit, subject to the royalty provisions of Paragraph 10. If the work is under contract for publication or on sale in a reprint edition, it shall be considered to be in print. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary herein contained, if the Publisher shall determine that there is not sufficient sale for the work to enable it to continue its publication and sale profitably, the Publisher may dispose of the copies remaining on hand as it deems best, subject to the royalty provisions of Paragraph 10.

Author's Property

16. Except for loss or damage due to its own negligence, the Publisher shall not be responsible for loss of or damage to any property of the Author.

Return of Manuscript

17. In the absence of written request from the Author for their return, the Publisher, after publication of the work, may dispose of the original manuscript and proofs.

Suits for Infringement of Copyright

18. If the copyright of the work is infringed, and if the parties proceed jointly, the expenses and recoveries, if any, shall be shared equally and if they do not proceed jointly, either party shall have the right to prosecute such action, and such party shall bear the expenses thereof, and any recoveries shall belong to such party; and if such party shall not hold the record title of the copyright, the other party shall permit the action to be brought in his or its name.

Bankruptcy and Liquidation

19. If (a) a petition in bankruptcy is filed by the Publisher, or (b) a petition in bankruptcy is filed against the Publisher and such petition is finally sustained, or (c) a petition for arrangement is filed by the Publisher or a petition for reorganization is filed by or against the Publisher, and an order is entered directing the liquidation of the Publisher as in bankruptcy, or (d) the Publisher makes an assignment for the benefit of creditors, or (e) the Publisher liquidates its business for any cause whatever, the Author may terminate

this agreement by written notice and thereupon all rights granted by him hereunder shall revert to him. Upon such termination, the Author, at his option, may purchase the plates and remaining copies and sheets as provided in Paragraph 15. In the event that he fails to exercise such option within sixty (60) days after the happening of any one of the events hereinabove referred to, the Trustee, Receiver, or Assignee may melt the plates and sell the copies and sheets remaining on hand, subject to the royalty provisions of Paragraph 10.

Sums Due and Owing

20. Any sums due and owing from the Author to the Publisher, whether or not arising out of this agreement, may be deducted from any sum due or to become due from the Publisher to the Author pursuant to this agreement. For the purposes of this Paragraph a non-repayable unearned advance made to the Author pursuant to another agreement shall not be construed as being a sum due and owing, unless the Author is in default under such other agreement.

Law Applicable

21. This agreement shall be interpreted according to the law of the State of New York.

Assignment

22. This agreement shall be binding upon the heirs, executors, administrators or assigns of the Author, and upon the successors and assigns of the Publisher, but no assignment shall be binding on either of the parties without the written consent of the other.

Modification

23. This agreement constitutes the complete understanding of the parties. No modification or waiver of any provision shall be valid unless in writing and signed by both parties.

24. (a) All sums earned up to, and including, One Thousand Dollars ($1,000.00) shall accrue to the account of CORE Scholarship, Education & Defense Fund, Inc.

(b) All sums earned in excess of One Thousand Dollars ($1,000.00) up to, and including, Two Thousand Dollars ($2,000.00) shall be paid to the Author.

(c) All sums earned in excess of Two Thousand Dollars ($2,000.00) shall be paid in equal shares to the Author, and to CORE Scholarship, Education & Defense Fund, Inc.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the parties have duly executed this agreement the day and year first above written.

RANDOM HOUSE, INC.

In the presence of

James H. Silberman .... By ....
The Publisher

In the presence of

Marion Riel .... Jacob Cohen
James Farmer ....
witness sign here
The Author

AGREEMENT

between

RANDOM HOUSE, INC.

and

for the Publication of

Dated

file

November 1, 1965

MEMORANDUM

TO: James Farmer, George Wiley, Alan Gartmer

FROM: Jimmy McDonald

RE: James Farmers Book

To insure the maximum publicity might I suggest the following:

1. That we immediately set up interviews with radio & TV stations

2. That copies of the book be given to "key" people and ask them to do a review - or make some kind of statement on the book.

3. Check with some of the book clubs and see if they might be interested in using the book. Specifically Basic Book, Mr. Irving Kristal

4. Perhaps we might think of getting some of our friends on leading Newspapers to run the book after it has been published (New York POST)

5. Work out a schedule with Jim and see that Books are in the towns that he will be visiting durning the opening days of the book.

6. Small Book parties where Mr. Farmer would appear and autograph copies of the book.

a

7. Perhaps we migh want to have an Authors party. This would be mainly for additional publicity. In order for any of the above to be successful it will be necessary for us to put together a calander and stick to it. It might also be a good idea if some of the above suggestions could be discussed with the Community Relations Committee.

file

JF public

BERTHA KLAUSNER INTERNATIONAL LITERARY AGENCY, INC.
130 EAST 40th STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10016
MUrray Hill 5-2642 MUrray Hill 3-9580

NOV 22 1965 Alan

November 20, 1965

Miss Nancy Stedman
Administrative Department
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Miss Stedman:

I want to thank you for responding to my letter expressing interest in a book by Mr. James Farmer.

I am pleased to note that Random House will publish a book in February.

Perhaps it would be best if you could telephone me and we could discuss our publishing plans with you. Then if there is interest, I shall be happy to meet with Mr. Farmer and to pursue the matter further.

Do you think I should call or you?

Thanking you.

Sincerely,

Bertha Klausner

Bertha Klausner

wants rights for autobiography x
" to meet with you

return Dec 20th

Farmer's book

RANDOM HOUSE, INC.
457 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
TELEPHONE PLAZA 1-2600

November 24, 1965

Jean Ennis
DIRECTOR OF PUBLICITY

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am happy to enclose one of our author questionnaires, in the event you have not yet received one. I'll be very grateful if you can complete it and return it to me at your first opportunity.

We look forward to working with you in publicity. We'll be in touch with you before long about specific publicity plans.

With good wishes.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Ennis

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Sent Dec 6

457 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y. TELEPHONE PLaza 1·2600

RANDOM HOUSE BOOKS · THE MODERN LIBRARY · LANDMARK BOOKS
LEGACY BOOKS · ALLABOUT BOOKS · THE AMERICAN COLLEGE DICTIONARY

To the Author:

It is impossible to devise a biographical questionnaire that will suit the temperament and inclination of every author -- and that will, at the same time satisfy our requirements for information. To some, certain of our questions may seem superfluous, and for others, we may have been too conservative. We have tried to strike a golden mean, and we have asked no question without a purpose relating to the working value of the answer. We should like to explain the uses we have for the information we're requesting -- and then we should like to assure you that if, in your own case, any of these uses seems invalid or distasteful we accept and respect your verdict without further question. We want to promote and publicize your book with dignity and discretion, but we also want to give it the best that is in us. You may be sure we'll do just that, even if you decide to answer none of the questions! But the more information we have about you and your writing, the more expansive our efforts often can be.

All of the questions relate to the following needs:

1. Fundamental statistics for our files. We will use this information in answering questions about you from legitimate sources.

2. For compiling a biography to be released to reviewers, and to others who have a desire or need for information about you, including your readers.

3. For use in publicity stories emanating from our office; to suggest interviews, and to supplement such interviews.

In addition to the questions, you will find space to write a 200-word biography of yourself in your own words. This "About the Author" will be used in both the back of the book and the jacket.

Thank you for your courtesy and consideration.

Publicity Department

articles about CORE

December 6, 1965

Mr. John Johnson
Johnson Publications
1820 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60612

Dear Mr. Johnson:

This is a belated note to express my great appreciation, and that of CORE, for the excellent spread that Ebony Magazine gave us in October. I have been on a two month lecture tour and thus have not been able to do this sooner. The article was very good and very helpful to CORE. It presented just the kind of image that we want to have presented. On my lecture tour where I have spoken on twenty or thirty college campuses, many persons have referred very favorably to the Ebony piece. Our CORE chapters have also been pleased.

I understand from my fund raising director, Alan Gartner, that he has worked out an arrangement with your office whereby you are using CORE's list to promote Ebony subscriptions and we will be using a similar number of names from your list to promote my forthcoming book and other things. I am very pleased to know this.

By the way, my book, Freedom. When?, will be published February 18th by Random House. I am suggesting to them that they take out an ad in Ebony. In the meantime, as I indicated to you in Chicago, Playboy is serializing the book, or at least part of it, in January and February.

With warm personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:ns

JF Book

FORTUNE *Time & Life Building, Rockefeller Center, New York, New York 10020*

Editorial Department

February 9, 1966

FEB 10 1966

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I've delayed writing to you, or calling you, about the review of your book in the Times because it has taken me until now to find out what the situation was. I decided, partly on the basis of your experience with my book, but even more on the advice of a number of friends who know the Times Book Review editor, that a direct approach would mean an automatic no. As a result, I tried to get the assignment via the back door, working through t~~he~~wo friends who work for the Times. I have just now been able to determine the following facts: I cannot do the review myself; the book will receive a lengthy review by a serious and thoughtful, if not necessarily friendly, critic; the review was assigned quite some time ago and so should be appearing fairly soon.

I would have called you, but thought that you had enough on your hands at the moment with the situation in Mt. Vernon and that a letter might be better. I'm sorry I couldn't get the assignment myself; I did get the impression from my friends that the decision to give the book a major review -- though not the selection of the reviewer -- may have been stimulated by my attempt to get the assignment. Book reviewing -- or rather, editing book review sections -- is a mystique all on its own; it operates by rules that have no connection whatsoever with anything else which goes on in journalism.

With warmest regards.

As ever,

Charles Silberman

Charles E. Silberman
Board of Editors

CES:bw

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Judson 6-1212

file - ~~publications~~

JF public
"Freedom When"

5-12-65
Murray Fishman
Playboy
MI 2-1000
X 214

Would like to sell
"Freedom When" w/in 2 weeks
for Oct. deadline

FRONT FLAP COPY

price $4.95

code FW

R. H.

FREEDOM--WHEN?

by James Farmer

The civil rights movement has no more dramatic, authoritative leader than James Farmer. His face and his eloquence are known to millions of Americans. For more than two decades, Mr. Farmer has been at the center of the civil rights battle, and in FREEDOM--WHEN?, his first book, he tells of those tumultuous years and asks the crucial questions which face the civil rights revolution now:

- Direct action--picketing, boycotts, demonstrations, sit-ins--no longer seem so central to our effort. But can we drop direct action altogether?
- What does "integration" mean today and how satisfactorily does the term define our goals?
- How shall we enter politics and use politicians well and yet resist being used for ill?
- Can a CORE rooted in the ghetto avoid the allure of black nationalism?
- What remains useful in the philosophy of non-violence?
- What friends do we need and what friends do we have?
- What role do the various civil rights organizations play in the fight for freedom?
- How can we contribute to the solutions of problems looming "beyond civil rights"--such as poverty, unemployment, and the various lacks in training and motivations of black Americans--which refuse to wait until discrimination and segregation are finally eliminated?
- What dangers do we face from communist and other subversions?

Continued on back flap

10/4 pub date

__________ Picture Credit

__________ Design Credit

BACK FLAP COPY -- FREEDOM--WHEN? by James Farmer

Continued from front flap

FREEDOM--WHEN? is a crucial statement in the civil rights debate. It confronts those outside the Movement who wish for an early end to racial unrest. And it airs the debate within the movement between civil rights leaders--the clash of the ideas of Roy Wilkins, Bayard Rustin and the late Malcolm X.

Here then is the evidence that James Farmer is not only the foremost spokesman for the new Negro mood in America but also a man and a national leader of first importance.

James Farmer has been, since 1961, National Director of CORE and before that Program Director of NAACP. He was born on January 12, 1920 in Marshall, Texas and grew up there and in Mississippi and Georgia. He studied theology at Howard University but refused ordination, "I didn't see how I could honestly preach the Gospel of Christ in a church that practised discrimination." He was one of the founders of CORE in 1942.

Mr. Farmer now lives in New York City with his wife and two young daughters.

Credit____

Random House, Inc.
457 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York
Publishers of The American College Dictionary
and The Modern Library
Printed in U.S.A.

JF
pers

FEB 14 1966

CITY OF NEW YORK
OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
NEW YORK 7, N.Y.

February 11, 1966

Mr. James Farmer
National Director of
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

Dear Jim:

Thanks so much for the copy of your new book, "Freedom - When?", which I look forward to reading at the first opportunity.

I am deeply appreciative also of your kind words, which I shall certainly do my best to justify.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

John

John V. Lindsay
Mayor

JVL:bg

JF book

RANDOM HOUSE, INC.
457 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y.
TELEPHONE PLAZA 1-2600

JAMES H. SILBERMAN
EXECUTIVE EDITOR

February 16, 1966

FEB 17 1966

Dear Jim:

I think you'll be glad to see this advance copy of the review from next Sunday's Book Week. As you know, Book Week appears in the New York Herald Tribune, the Washington Post, and the Chicago Sun Times.

Best,
Jim

Mr. James Farmer
Congress on Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

JHS:mrm
Encl.

Goldwater

September 18, 1964

Miss Irene Kawin
1545 East Sixtieth Street
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Dear Miss Kawin:

I am responding to your July 24th letter sent in answer to our financial appeal. I am, of course, sorry that you feel that CORE is, in effect, helping to put Senator Goldwater in the White House. I would like to point out a few facts. During the last month, we have registered some 8,000 voters in northern and southern cities. These voters will, without exception, cast their votes for President Johnson. CORE has distributed huge posters throughout the nation urging people to register and vote to defeat Goldwater. With the single exception of the demonstration at the Democratic National Convention, which was, I must point out, siggularly effective and successful, CORE has put nearly all its efforts in recent months into voter registration, political education and community projects.

I would also like to point out that CORE leaders spoke out against the July riots in New York City and elsewhere as strongly as was possible. Mr. Farmer himself spent 3 nights on the streets of Harlem urging people to be calm and to return to their homes. We have been congratulated by the police in a number of instances for our conduct during the riots. Our chapters in Rochester, Philadelphia and other places worked most bravely and under most difficult circumstances to try to bring reason where there was none.

If you consider that our record of the past few months is a pro-Goldwater one, then I must simply say that I am sorry. We are proud of our record and feel that we are doing all within our power not only to defeat Goldwater but also to make the American dream of democracy a reality.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the National Director

GRC/em

JUL 27 1964

IRENE KAWIN
1545 EAST SIXTIETH STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637

July 24, 1964.

Mr. James Farmer,
Director of CORE,
New York City.

Dear Mr. Farmer:—

I received the enclosed appeal just after I had decided that you are a leading campaigner for Barry Goldwater. I had watched the Police in New York and Brooklyn struggling to defend themselves and decent citizens against mobs of vicious, snarling savages. Then I heard you criticize only Police brutality. How can Police deal with such beings except by meeting brutality with brute force?

Your incitement to riot is subtle—"I am for

IRENE KAWIN
1345 EAST SIXTIETH STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637

non-violence; but your rage is justified". This is like Barry's "I'm hoping the Civil Rights issue will be kept out of the campaign".

The shrewd extremists who managed the coup in the Cow Palace will—with your aid—see that it is the sole issue, expecting it to win more votes than it loses.

They will try to sweep under the rug the integrated issues—important to negroes and to backlash voters; medicare, Social Security, anti Poverty programs, control of nuclear weapons, etc.

Every riot brings Barry thousands of votes.

IRENE KAWIN
1345 EAST SIXTIETH STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60637

Every sit-down or roll-in-the-dust demonstration, interfering with the right of citizens to pursue their legitimate activities, promote the objectives of Barry and his fascists.

Everyone I know who believes in Civil Rights feels that they are seriously menaced by such leadership as has been in evidence recently.

Sincerely,
Irene Kawin

June 15, 1964

As leaders of organizations having nationwide responsibility, we wish to express a profound interest and concern about the porposed HARYOU-ACT Project. Without passing judgment on the parties involved in the present controversy, we wish to address ourselves to the important principle involved.

The Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited (HARYOU) program is designed to increase the chances of contructive lives for the bulk of the youth of Central Harlem. It is also a part of the larger anti-poverty program and must be given the opportunity, resources and conditions for success.

The HARYOU program plan seeks to deal with a most important and a difficult aspect of the total civil rights struggle. It addresses itself to the complex problem of preparing Negro youth for that equality of opportunity which must be a reality in their lifetime.

Our concern in this matter stems from the recognition of the fact that the success or failure of the HARYOU program plan may well set a pattern for what happens in the Harlems throughout America.

If this and similar programs are to be successful and are to be taken seriously, they must be free to select their staffs and must be operated in terms of the needs of the community and its youth. Professional considerations must be given priority over any personal or political interests. Successful attempts to dominate or control these programs in terms of the political needs of any individual or group of individuals would reduce their effectiveness and make them a cruel mockery of the urgent needs of our youth.

President Johnson's drive against poverty and the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development programs are crucial attempts to strengthen the foundations of American Democracy. Responsible political power -- the prestige of high elected officials -- must be used to protect the professional integrity of these programs and thereby assure their chances of success.

Signed By:

James Farmer	Roy Wilkins
A. Philip Randolph	Whitney Young

Fairleigh Dickinson University

RUTHERFORD TEANECK MADISON

TEANECK CAMPUS
Teaneck, New Jersey
Area Code 201
836-6300

$100.00
enc

APR 24 1964

Honorariums

April 22, 1964

Miss E. Lebelsky
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Miss Lebelsky:

Please accept this donation of $100 as honorarium for Mr. Tourner's appearance. The balance of $200 will be forwarded after Mr. James Farmer's lecture.

Thank you very much for your assistance in arranging for a speaker and I fully understand Mr. Farmer's cancellation.

Sincerely,

Howard L. Conklin

Howard L. Conklin
Chairman
Arts & Letters

HLC/bw

file
Honoraria

Em. 160.00

Goddard College
Plainfield, Vermont
June 16, 1964

Mr. Jmames Farmer
Director of CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

JUN 17 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer:

The Goddard College community and the local community thoroughly enjoyed your visit over a week ago. I think that the seminar on the Triple Revolution was especially good for we were able to discuss in depth some of the real problems the United States is now facing. Your speech was one of the most dynamic ones either I or many other have heard. We appreciate your coming and stimulating us both formally and informally.

I am emclosing a check for 160 dollars. If your expenses were more than 60 dollars, please do not hesitate to write me the correct amount I still might owe you. I did not wait for youraccount of your expenses, because I wanted to fihish up my books before leaving school.

You had excellent news coverage in three of the local newspapers and your appearance on television was also a success. Thank you again for giving up such a wonderful and meaningful experience.

Sincerely,

Suzanne Stone

Suzanne Stone
Chairman,
Public Affairs Council

Honoraria

Metropolitan Broadcasting

205 EAST 67TH STREET, NEW YORK 21, NEW YORK, LEHIGH 5-1000 A DIVISION OF METROMEDIA, INC.

September 2, 1964

SEP 3 1964

50.00

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

When you were originally contacted and invited to participate in our UNDER DISCUSSION panel, I'm not sure if we mentioned that it's traditional on the program to present the participants with an honorarium.

This is a token of our gratitude and expression of our thanks to you for participating in the discussion and providing our audience with your insight on the subject.

Thank you once again.

Sincerely,

Jerry Levin
Producer
UNDER DISCUSSION

kp
encl.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1964 SEP 25 AM 11 31

SF-1201 (4-60)

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file = Honorariums

CT XEA009 PD WILBERFORCE OHIO 24 914A EST

MISS GLENDA LUBELSKY, CONGRESS ~~OF RACIAL QXXX~~ RACIAL EQUALITY
38 PARK ROW NYK

CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE WILL PRESENT AN HONORARIUM OF $250 AS A TRIBUTE TO MR FARMER AND THE WORK OF CORE FOR HIS APPEARANCE AT OUR INSTITUTION ON OCT 26 AT 8 PM

FRANK W HALE CENTRAL STATE COLLEGE

(19).

file

Honorariums

The Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art

COOPER SQUARE, NEW YORK 3, N. Y. ALGONQUIN 4-6300

SCHOOL OF ENGINEERING
SCHOOL OF ART AND ARCHITECTURE
ADULT EDUCATION DIVISION
MUSEUM FOR THE ARTS OF DECORATION

DIVISION OF ADULT EDUCATION
Johnson E. Fairchild, Director

October 20,1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director,
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Thank you for the fine talk you presented in the Great Hall of The Cooper Union on Monday evening October nineteenth.

You and your topic — Desegregation, The Unfinished Civil War — attracted an audience of one thousand to the Great Hall. I am certain they benefitted from the excellent content of your presentation. It was a fine contribution to our Forum series — Great Issues of 1964.

Enclosed is our honorarium for the evening.

It was a personal pleasure to meet and talk with you again.

Very sincerely yours,

Johnson Fairchild

Johnson E. Fairchild
Director, Adult Education

100.00

Honorarium

Enclosure

OCT 21 1964

Referred to M. Rich 11/24/64

Honoraria -

Honorarium + Expense 325.00

Dartmouth College
Box 7
Hanover, N.H. 03755

NOV 12 1964

file - Honorariums

Let There Be Light

THE FORD HALL FORUM
INCORPORATED
America's Oldest Forum of Public Expression
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Dr. J. Walter Schirmer
Prof. Arthur M. Schlesinger
Prof. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.
Mrs. Paul T. Smith
Mr. Julian D. Steele
Mrs. Adolph Ullman
Mr. Irving Usen

November 30, 1964

DEC 1 1964

100.00

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

We were delighted to have you with us again at the Ford Hall Forum. I am sure you could see for yourself how much our audience enjoyed your talk. You gave us the kind of evening that is particularly worth while during these troubled times, and we want to thank you for finding the time to accept our invitation.

Sincerely yours,

Louis P Smith

Louis P. Smith

Enc.
L
P
S
/
L

The Ford Hall Forum is an educational institution and contributions to the Forum are deductible for Federal Income Tax purposes

file
Honorariums

[illegible]
300.00

December 11, 1964

DEC 14 1964

Mr. James Farmer,
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Enclosed is a $300.00 check for honorarium and expenses for your most rewarding visit and lecture with the JCCA and Liberal Forum of St. Louis.

You stimulated a lot of thinking and it was rewarding for all of us to meet you. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Mort Goodman, Director
Adult Services

MG:smb
Enc.

Jewish Community Centers Association
Carlyn H. Wohl bldg.
11001 Schuetz rd.
St. Louis / Missouri 63141

December 18, 1964

Mr. Stanley C. Gabor
Assistant to the Dean
New York University
1 Washington Square Norhh
New York, New York 10003

Dear Mr. Gabor:

Since Mr. Farmer's schedule these past few weeks has been even more hectic than usual and he has been out of thwn most of the time, he asked me to reply to your letter of December 1st.

We did receive a check for $250 from New York University, and since the agreed upon honorarium from Univessity Heights was to be $150 that means that both honoraria were included in the same check.

Both Mr. and Mrs Farmer have asked me to extend to you their best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Staff Associate

NM:lt

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
Division of General Education and Extension Services
1 Washington Square North, New York, N.Y., 10003

DEC 2 1964

December 1, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Jim:

I have been waiting for your honorarium in order to send along with it a thank-you note for your participation in "Campaign '64." I was told, however, that your check for $100.00 was included in one that also covered a speaking engagement of yours at University Heights. If this is not so, please let me know.

Dr. Robinson and I appreciate your being with us last November 2. Your talk was a fitting conclusion to a most successful series. It was also very pleasant to have dinner with you and to renew our friendship.

Please give my best regards to Lula.

Sincerely,

Stanley

Stanley C. Gabor
Assistant to the Dean

cc: Dr. Thomas P. Robinson

Uni Heights $250 - if 50 probly incl.

Form O.C. No. 1 **GOLDSMITH BROS.** Stationers, 77 Nassau St., N.Y. 8, N.Y.

Honoraria

Inter-Office Correspondence

USE THIS FORM FOR ALL OFFICE CORRESPONDENCE—WRITE ON ONE SIDE OF PAPER ONLY

Date 1-6-65

To Nancy From

Subject:

Harry Walker Inc.
100 Boylston street
Boston, Massachusetts 02116

260.00 Loudonville, N.Y.
12/2-

PUT IN WRITING WRITTEN MESSAGES SAVE TIME AND AVOID ERRORS.

Form O.C. No. 1 **GOLDSMITH BROS.** Stationers, 77 Nassau St., N.Y. 8, N.Y.

Inter-Office Correspondence

USE THIS FORM FOR ALL OFFICE CORRESPONDENCE—WRITE ON ONE SIDE OF PAPER ONLY

Date 1-12-65

To ______ From ______

Subject:

Honorarium — 25.00

for James Farmer

From: the Athenians Inc.
Nathaniel J. Farmer, Pres.
Washington, D.C

PUT IN WRITING WRITTEN MESSAGES SAVE TIME AND AVOID ERRORS.

From the Desk of—
JOHN McCLUNG

Honoraria

1,325.23

1/12/65

JAN 15 19[illegible]

Dear Miss Mutarelli

The enclosed check is for Mr Farmer's expenses during his trip to LA, plus $1,000 honorarium for his speaking at our dinner.

Thank you,

Sincerely
John McClung
Finance Director

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
of Southern California
323 West 5th St. • Los Angeles 13 • MA 6-5156

~~cf~~ Honoraria

March 1, 1965

Miss Noreen Nolan
Corresponding Secretary
Student Council
Adelphi University

Dear Miss Nolan:

Mr. Farmer has asked me to thank you for sending the check for $500 and for $25. He very much enjoyed having the opportunity to speak with the students and faculty at Adelphi.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

NM/mt

Rec'd
cc

FEB 24 1965

~~Bkkeeping~~
~~Attn: Mrs. Williams~~

STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION
ADELPHI UNIVERSITY
Garden City, New York
PIONEER 7-2200, EXTENSION 85

February 20, 1965

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

The check for five hundred dollars ($500) received by you from Adelphi University, is to be considered a contribution to CORE in the name of James Farmer. The remaining check for twenty five dollars ($25) received by you is to cover the traveling expences of Mr. Farmer's trip to Adelphi University on February 24, 1965.

Thank you for your attention on this matter.

Very truly yours,
Noreen Nolan
Noreen Nolan
Corresponding Secretary
Student Council
Adelphi University.

1896

file — honoraria

900.00

APR 2 1965

April 1, 1965

Miss Nancy [illegible]
c/o Mr. James Farmer

Enclosed is a check for Kansas City and Naperville on March 16 and 18, and as soon as the Alfred, New York check comes in, I will send same to you.

Please wire Mrs. Reynolds in [illegible] about Mr. Farmer's arrival plane for April 3. At the same time, I would appreciate your notifying Fort Collins and Riverside as to his arrival plane.

Harry Walker

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Honoraria

For your Information
James Farmer

BP
BRAND and PURITZ
PHONE HARRISON 1-7053 * 313-23 W. 8TH ST
Kansas City. Mo. 64105

April 2, 1965

2,150.00

APR 29 1965

Harry Walker, Inc.
100 Boylston Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02116

Dear Mr. Walker:

The Men's Club of Beth Shalom Synagogue is celebrating its twentieth anniversary this year. We can truthfully say that our last program which featured Mr. James Farmer, the National Director of CORE, was the most outstanding program during these past twenty years.

He captivated his audience and was absolutely breathtaking in his delivery. We can sincerely and honestly recommend him to almost any organization.

Thank you for arranging this program.

Very sincerely,

Carl Puritz

Carl Puritz
Program Chairman for the
Beth Shalom Men's Club

CP:is

Copies sent to J. Farmer, C. Coleman
Original copy - Bookkeeping

Alfred, New York	3/25 —	500.00
Bellingham, Wash	4/3 —	650.00
Riverside, Calif.	4/6 —	500.00
Fort Collins, Colo.	4/7 —	500.00

Honoraria

April 5, 1965

Mr. Richard B. Hughes
St. Edward's University
Austin, Texas 78704

Dear Mr. Hughes:

Thank you for your letter of March 31st. Our bookkeeping department did receive on March 19th your check for $358.35, for which I want to thank you on behalf of Mr. Farmer.

I am sorry that we willnot be able to give you a refund. I learned that the contribution San Antonio CORE made was an arrangement worked out between the CORE chapter and St, Mary's. I hope you will excuse the confusion!

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

St. Edward's University

AUSTIN, TEXAS 78704

March 31, 1965

CONDUCTED BY THE BROTHERS OF HOLY CROSS

APR 3 1965

Miss Nancy Mutarelli
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

date 3/19

Dear Miss Mutarelli:

Our treasurer tells me he has mailed you a check for $358.35 on the basis of your previous letter.

We appreciate your letting us know of the contribution of CORE in San Antonio. If the arrangements are such as to allow us a refund, we will be grateful and put the money to good use. In any case, we appreciate Mr. Farmer's contribution to our campus and your competent management of arrangements.

Very truly yours,

Richard B Hughes

Richard B. Hughes

RBH:jm

file
Honoraria

April 5, 1965

Mr. Richard Fulton
200 West 57th Street
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Fulton:

Finally, here are Mr. Farmer's expenses for the Wake Forest date.

Air fare:	$64.68
taxi to and from airport	10.00
	$74.68

Sorry for the long delay!

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

honoraria

April 5, 1965

Mr. Richard Hiller
Chairman of the Dean's
Committee on Convocation
Brown University
Providence, Rhode Island 02912

Dear Mr. Hiller:

I am sorry for the long delay in responding to your letter to Mr. Farmer of March 18th. Mr. Farmer has been out of the office almost constantly during the past weeks and I have been waiting to check with him about his expenses for March 11th.

Air fare	$$31.29
taxi to and from airport	6.50
TOTAL	$37779

Am I correct in my understanding that there was to be an honorarium of $100? If so, we would appreciate your making out the check to CORE if possible, as Mr. Farmer does not accept a personal fee for speaking engagements.

I want to thank you on behalf of Mr. Farmer for the hospitality shown him while at Brown.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

BROWN UNIVERSITY
Bicentennial 1764-1964
PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND 02912

March 18, 1965

MAR 23 1965

Mr. James Farmer
c/o Rhode Island CORE
71 Pleasant Street
Providence, Rhode Island

Dear Mr. Farmer:

On behalf of the Dean's Committee on Convocation, we would like to thank you for a most informative and thought provoking address. We fully appreciate the sacrifices you made in taking time from your busy schedule to visit Brown. We only regret that your stay was not longer, however, we are well aware of your more pressing committments.

Enclosed you will find two articles that appeared in the Brown Daily Hearald of March 5.

If you could please forward to us a list of your expenses we will promptly reimburse you.

Once again, we thank you, and hope that in the future your visit will be repeated.

Sincerely yours,

Richard Hiller

Richard Hiller
Chairman of the Dean's
Committee on Convocation

RH:cb

$100

University Hall, 1770, A National Landmark

file —
Honoraria

Nancy

for Farmer's file

Temple Isaiah 10345 W. PICO BOULEVARD, LOS ANGELES 64, CALIF., CR 6-3187, BR 2-5191, VE 9-5640

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
James L. Deutsch

April 5, 1965

500.00
Honorarium

APR 13 1965

CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

It was a treat and a pleasure having Mr. James Farmer address our Forum on April 4, 1965. He is a magnificent speaker and we found him most inspiring.

In lieu of his personal fee, he has requested that we contribute the sum of $500 to CORE. We are, therefore, enclosing our check in that amount.

Sincerely,

James L. Deutsch
Executive Director

JLD/lf
Enclosure

JUdson 2-4099

RICHARD FULTON INC.
200 West 57th Street
New York 19, N. Y.

file
Honoraria

474.68

APR 8 1965

April 7, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Jim:

Enclosed please find a check in the amount of $474.68 for your speaking engagement at Wake Forest.

Fee $500.00 (minus 20% agency commission) plus $74.68 expenses as per your bill of April 5th.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Richard Fulton

[illegible]

file
Honoraria

BROWN UNIVERSITY
Bicentennial 1764-1964
PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND 02912

April 15, 1965

APR 16 1965

Miss Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Miss Mutarelli:

This letter is just to let you know that CORE will be receiving a check for $100.00 as an honorarium for Mr. Farmer's speaking engagement at Brown University. A check for Mr. Farmer's expenses will be sent to him shortly.

Yours truly,

(Mrs.) Barbara Alterman
Secretary
Dean of The College

Honoraria

May 12, 1965

Mr. Charles Miller
Chapel Hill CORE
407 West Franklin Street
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Miller:

Thank you for your letter with $19.75 enclosure. Am glad to hear that Mr. Farmer's visit went so well. Hope that your fund-raising appeal will be successful; needless to say, we look forward to receiving the check!

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

[illegible] 1 0 [illegible]

19.75

MAY 1 0 1965

Chapel Hill CORE
407 West Franklin Street
Chapel Hill, N.C.
May 5, 1965

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York

Dear Miss Mutarelli:

I just wanted to let you know what a fine day May 3rd was. We met Mr. Farmer in Greensboro as planned then brought him here for a cocktail party. (We are in the process of writing all the people at the party an appeal for funds; you'll get the money as soon as we can collect it.) Then we had a nice dinner in a formerly segregated restaurant. His address was given great advance publicity (better than we've ever been able to do) and there was a good crowd. After the address we had a student reception. The money raised from that is enclosed.

It was a great day and we're all very happy. Many thanks for your help!

Sincerely,

Charles Miller
Co-chairman, Chapel Hill CORE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

To be Acknowledge by your Dept.

file - honoraria

ack. 5/17

Nancy Mutarelli
5-17-65

Delta Sigma Theta Sorority xxx
Flint, Michigan ✓
$652.00
617.00 Delta Sigma
35.00 Individual Conts.

Michigan State University, NAACP ✓
East Lansing, Michigan 300.00 (Honorarium)

Mrs. Barry Gordy
Detroit, Michigan
500.00 Cash

Picked up xxx
Individual Conts.

Wayne J. Whipple
no address - 10.00

James A. Mitcham
1327 Liberty st.
Flint, Michigan
10.00

Edith Prunty Spencer
1201 Lapeer rd. ✓
Flint, Mich. 10.00

Charlena H. Schenecke
2934 S. Washington
Saginaw, Michigan 48601
5.00

honoraria

May 17, 1965

Mr. Marc Helman
Program Chiarman
Queens College CORE
Student Association, Queens College
Flushing 67, New York

Dear Mr. Helman:

Thank you for your good letter addressed to Mr. Farmer. As soon as Mr. Farmer returns to the office, I shall draw it to his attention. Thank you also for the enclosed check for $150.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

STUDENT ASSOCIATION
QUEENS COLLEGE OF THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
FLUSHING 67, NEW YORK

May 13, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director of CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

150.00
5-14-65

Dear Mr. Farmer,

On behalf of the Queens College chapter of CORE and the Student Association I would like to thank you for speaking at our campus.

Your speech was an inspiration for those of us in the movement and a clear statement of our position for those who are not actively involved.

Enclosed you will find a check for one hundred and fifty dollars(150.00) for your appearance. We would appreciate it greatly if you would acknowledge receipt of it.

Thank you again for speaking at our college. I hope that our future relations will be as pleasant as those we have had in the past.

Yours for Freedom,

MAY 14 1965

Marc [illegible]
Program Chairman
Q.C. CORE

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

honoraria

May 21, 1965

Mr. Stanley L. Newman
Associate Fellow
Institute for Policy Studies
1900 Florida Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009

Dear Mr. Newman:

Mr. Farmer asked me to thank you for your good letter of May 13th and for the enclosed honorarium of $300.

The following are the expenses incurred on the trip:

Airport taxis, N.Y.	$11.00	
Airport Taxis, Washington	$6.00	
Air shuttle	$36.00	
	$53.00	Total

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES
1900 FLORIDA AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON D. C. 20009
ADAMS 4-9382

May 13, 1965

300.00
5-14-65

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Thank you so much for the splendid presentation at our New Era of American Policy and Statecraft seminar session on "Civil Rights." The Congressmen are still buzzing about the evening; they and all of us at the Institute felt it was the most successfully stimulating of our sessions to date.

Enclosed is your honorarium. If you will be good enough to send us a list of travel expenses which you incurred on this trip, we promise prompt reimbursement.

Again, thank you so much for your contribution to the seminar series.

Very best wishes,

Sincerely,

Stanley L. Newman
Associate Fellow

SLN:cn

11 - NY TAXI
6 - Wash TAXI
36 - Shuttle
53

17.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

file
Honoraria

June 2, 1965

Mrs. Addie Walton
Bridge Street A.M.E. Church
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Mrs. Walton:

Thank you very much for sending us your check for $500 for Mr. Farmer's speaking engagement on May 30th.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

honoraria

July 1, 1965

Mrs. Mary Chenoweth
National Capital Area
 Civil Liberties Union
1101 Vermont Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Mrs. Chenoweth:

Thank you very much for sending your check in the amount of $53,00 to cover Mr. Farmer's expenses for his speaking engagement on May 22nd.

Thank you also for the hospitality shown to Mr. Farmer.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

To be acknowledged
6-28-65

National Capital Area Civil
Liberties Union
1101 Vermont Avenue
Washington, D.C. — get file

$53.00 expenses for
James Farmer—
OWH award Dinner
May 22, 1965

file - op. acc

NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA
CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

An Affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union

SUITE 803, 1101 VERMONT AVENUE, N.W. WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005 DI 7-8826

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June 14, 1965

JUN 17 1965

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am writing you on behalf of the National Capital Area Civil Liberties Union to thank you for the moving address which you delivered at our Bill of Rights Award Dinner.

If the response of those at the dinner is any reward to you, after a long day and a hard week, all that I can say is that those who heard you, virtually all of them having heard you in person for the first time, were deeply moved by your eloquent message.

We appreciate your willingness to give of your time to speak to our group, especially when the demands upon you are so great.

We are hopeful that through our activities in the American Civil Liberties Union and in the Lawyers Committee for Defense of Constitutional Rights, we can be of help to your work in CORE.

Sincerely yours,

David Carliner

file Honoraria

TO: Nancy Mutarelli

From: Ann Sage Date: 7-13-65

re: Check #8704 - $145.22

Received From: The Fellowship of Reconciliation
Nyack, New York

Mr. Farmer's expenses & Honoraria $145.22

Orig. Copy — Bookkeeping

1895 Carhart Avenue
Peekskill, New York
July 23, 1965

$53.50

JUL 2 6 1965

Congress of Racial Equality
8 Park Row
New York, New York

Attention: Miss Mutarelli

Dear Miss Mutarelli:

Forgive me for taking so long in sending you the check you have been seeking from the MSU chapter of the NAACP for Mr. Farmer's appearance at the Union Baptist Church in Lansing, Michigan.

As you can see I am home from school and I received Dr. Green's letter late and then I had to write the bank for the money but it finally arrived. Enclosed you will find the check for $53.50.

If you have any questions do not hesitate to write me at the above address. Thank you for your patience.

Sincerely yours,

Byron Peterson
President, NAACP chapter
of MSU.

BDP/jkw

July 27, 1965

Mr. Byron Peterson
President, NAACP Chapter of MSU
1895 Carhart Avenue
Peekskill, New York

Dear Mr. Peterson:

Many thanks for sending the check for $53.50 as a contribution to CORE for Mr. Farmer's appearance at the Union Baptist Church.

We do appreciate your help on this.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

8-4-65

Received $487.^{50}$

Honoraria

James Gormer
Indiana, Pa. 7/28

UPWA

UNITED PACKINGHOUSE, FOOD AND ALLIED WORKERS, AFL-CIO
DISTRICT COUNCIL NO. 3

605 Capital City Bank Bldg.
Des Moines, Iowa 50309
Telephone 243-8662

August 10, 1965

honoraria

100.00

AUG 12 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

This is to express sincere appreciation on behalf of our District organization for the tremendous contribution made by you at our recent President, Chief Steward and Womens Conference held in Des Moines, Iowa, July 28-30.

The enclosed check in the amount of $100.00 is but a token of our appreciation and I sincerely hope that it will be helpful in defraying your expenses for the trip to Des Moines.

I know that your short visit here was a very huge affair inasmuch as we scheduled you for a full appearance both in the afternoon and evening of the 29th and then had what appeared to be a marathon of press conferences. However the impact of your appearance in Des Moines will have very far reaching effects and I am sure will be responsible for an accelerated CORE program throughout the state.

With best personal regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,

Martin Pardekooper, jr.
Program Coordinator

MP/yf
encl.

honor

September 10, 1965

Mr. James Francis True, Treasurer
Virginia Council on Human Relations
Jefferson Chapter
P. O. Box 62
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Mr. True:

Thank you very much for forwarding the check for $150 for Mr. Farmer's speaking engagement at the University in May. Mr. Farmer's expenses for this trip were:

Air fare, Raleigh-Charlottesville	$30.87
Taxi from airport	5.00
Total	$35.87

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Stedman
Administrative Department

$150.00 inc[illegible]
file hold
for Nancy

[illegible]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

honoraria

September 23, 1965

Dr. Charles C. Bookert
115 Maple Avenue
Clairton, Pa.

Dear Dr. Bookert:

Mr. Farmer has asked me to write to thank you on his behalf for the hospitality that you and the other members of the Hollywood Social Clubshowed him.last week. He very much enjoyed his visit with you.

We have received your check for $500.000as a contribution. to CORE. For this we are grateful; it is only the dedication and support of our friends that enable us to continue our work in the civil rights. Struggle.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Stedman
Administrative Depprtment

NS/blc

Charles C. Bookert, M. D.
Phone; 233-9498
115 Maple Ave. Clairton, Pa.

September 20, 1965

SEP 22 1965

Miss Nancy Stedman
Administrative Dept.
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Miss Stedman:

Would you please thank Mr. Farmer again for me and the Hollywood Social Club for the excellent presentation at our annual fund raising banquet. I don't know if CORE gives certificates of any kind, if you do, would you please send us a certificate recognizing our contribution and if not would you please send us a letter stating that you received five hundred dollars ($500.00) from the Hollywood Social Club of Clairton. Thanks very much for your cooperation.

Very sincerely yours,

Charles Bookert

Charles C. Bookert, M.D.

CCB:cbc

Honoraria

September 29, 1965

Mr. Gabriel Simches, President
Baldwin Council for Human Rights
Box 14
North Balwin Station
Baldwin, New York

Dear Mr. Simches:

Thank you for your good letter of September 23rd and for the check for $250. I and all of us at CORE very much appreciate this contribution to CORE from the Baldwin Council for Human Rights.

I enjoyed my visit with all of you very much, and I especially enjoyed the stereo earphones.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JB:ms

To be acknowledged
9-27-65

BALDWIN COUNCIL FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
BOX 14, NORTH BALDWIN STATION, BALDWIN, N. Y.

$ 250.00

SEP 27 1965

Original Copy –
Bookkeeping.

September 23, 1965

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality, Inc.
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I want to take this opportunity to thank you for coming to our town. For once I feel we have been involved with a moment that had a very deep impact on all of us. The reactions to the meeting have been most gratifying.

Enclosed is a check which is not meant as an expression of our feelings since I think these are things that can not be expressed through money. We only hope that it can help in another very real area.

Once again thank you and I do hope you will remember the center of my bed and the stereo ear phones long after Baldwin has left you.

Sincerely yours,

Gabriel Simches

Gabriel Simches, President
Baldwin Council for Human Rights

enj vis v much
espcly the stereo earphones

Honoraria

October 4, 1965

Mr. Robert G. Porter
Secretary-Treasurer
American Federation of Teachers
716 N. Rush Street
Chicago, Illinois 60611

Dear Mr. Porter:

Thank you very much for sending the check for $323, which we received on Friday. Mr. Farmer asked me to let you know that he very much enjoyed participating in your Convention.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department

AFL-CIO

[illegible]erican Fe[illegible] Teachers
[illegible] IN EDUCATION • [illegible] FOR DEMOCRACY
[illegible] CHICAGO, ILLINOIS [illegible] WH-ITEHALL 3-4226

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Minneapolis, Minn. 55410

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2528 N. E. 13th Avenue
Portland, Ore. 97212

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Hollywood, Calif. 90046

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1018 East 8th Street
Chattanooga, Tenn. 37403

ROY B. G. MORT
145 57th Street
Niagara Falls, N.Y. 14304

JAMES E. O'MEARA
616 Engineers Bldg.
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

RICHARD PARRISH
10 W. 135th Street
New York, N.Y. 10037

HERRICK S. ROTH
Room 300, 360 Acoma Street
Denver, Colo. 80223

WILLIAM H. SIMONS
1917 Randolph Street, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20018

FRANK SULLIVAN
2858 N. 23rd Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19132

ALFRED J. TAPSON
110 Walnut Street
San Francisco, Calif. 94118

MARY R. WHEELER
634 S. Lombard
Oak Park, Ill. 60304

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DONALD BURTON
Assistant Research Director

DAVID ELSILA
Editor, American Teacher

CATHERINE McGOURTY
Office Manager

[illegible]-483

m September 29, 1965

322.00

OCT 1 [illegible]

Miss Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Miss Mutarelli,

I am sorry for the time lag in sending the AFT contribution to CORE. We collected $323.00. A check for that amount is enclosed.

We were inspired by Mr. Farmer's speech. He is a dynamic person. We certainly were honored by his participation at the AFT convention.

My best regards.

Sincerely,

Bob Porter

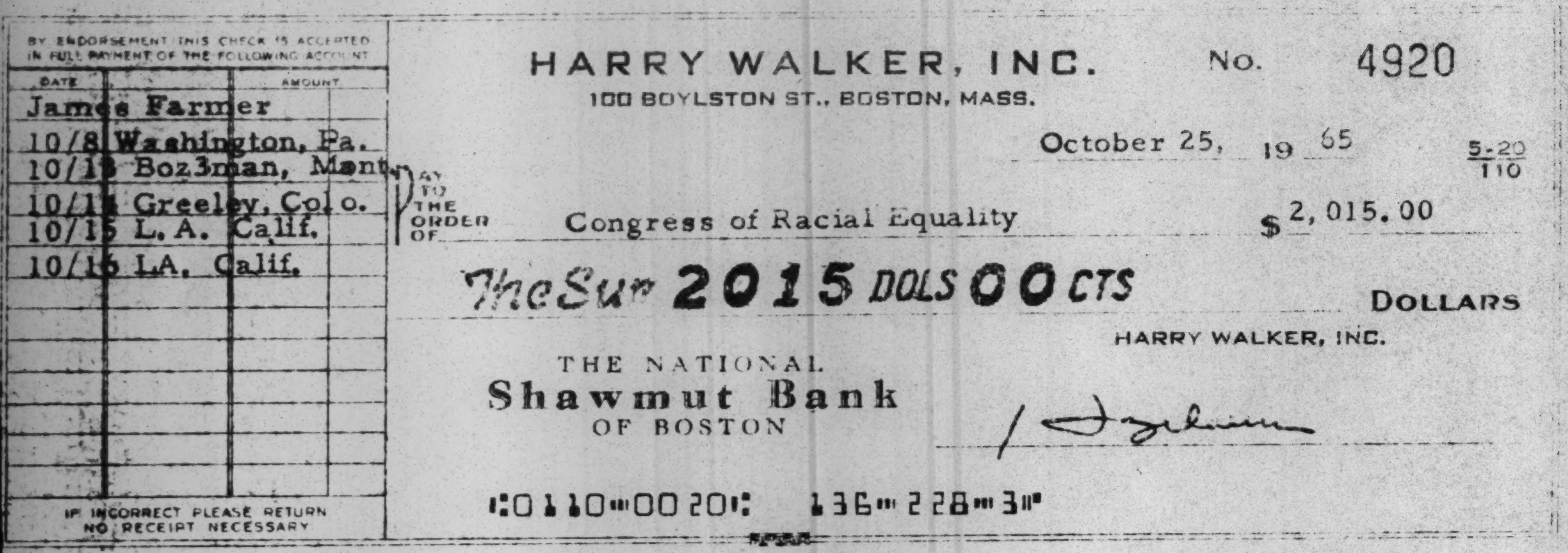
ROBERT G. PORTER
SECRETARY-TREASURER
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

RGP:FGH
OEIU 28
AFL CIO
enc. Check

2,015

Nancy

10-26-65


BY ENDORSEMENT THIS CHECK IS ACCEPTED IN FULL PAYMENT OF THE FOLLOWING ACCOUNT

DATE		AMOUNT	
James Farmer			
10/8	Washington, Pa.		
10/13	Boz3man, Mont.		
10/14	Greeley, Col o.		
10/15	L. A. Calif.		
10/16	LA. Calif.		

IF INCORRECT PLEASE RETURN
NO RECEIPT NECESSARY

HARRY WALKER, INC.
100 BOYLSTON ST., BOSTON, MASS.

No. 4920

October 25, 19 65

5-20
110

PAY TO THE ORDER OF Congress of Racial Equality $ 2,015.00

The Sum 2015 DOLS 00 CTS DOLLARS

HARRY WALKER, INC.

THE NATIONAL
Shawmut Bank
OF BOSTON

⑆0110⑉0020⑆ 136⑉228⑉3⑈

487.50
487.50
975.00

487.50
487.50
487.50
1462.50

Wash	—	750
Bozem	750	
Greele	750	1500
La	500	1000
La	500	
		250

2015
975
3 1040
343

2015.00
1462.50
552.50

1500
1750
3250
60
19500

memo from the desk of
HARRY WALKER

Honoraria

1,722.50
11-4-65

November 3, 1965

Miss Nancy Stedman   c/o James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality

Enclosed is a check in the amount of $1,722.50 for four dates:

Cleveland, Ohio 10/12	325.00
San Diego, Calif. 10/18	487.50
Yankton, S. D. 10/26	487.50
Grand Rapids, Mich. 10/28	422.50
	1,722.50

As soon as we receive the checks from Hamline and Albion we will forward another check along to you.

Phyllis E. Barron
Phyllis E. Barron
Bookkeeper

HARRY WALKER, Inc., 100 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass. 02116 • Area Code 617 - 426-2334

honorarium

November 11, 1965

Mr. James Roosevelt, Jr.
Activities Chairman
Harvard-Radcliffe Young Democrats
Memorial Hall 162
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Roosevelt:

Thank you for sending the check for $150 as a contribution to CORE in lieu of an honorarium for Mr. Farmer's speaking engagement of September 30th. When Mr. Farmer returns to the office in three weeks I will be sure that he sees your kind letter.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Stedman
Administrative Department

150.00

NOV 9 1965

Memorial Hall 162
Cambridge, Mass.,
November 5, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

This is a note to let you know how well received your talk here last month was. In addition to the regular news coverage the next day, the Crimson ran a half-page silhouette based on their reporter's interviews with you during your visit. We (and about 50-60 of our members who were turned away) wished we could have arranged for a larger hall.

The enclosed is intended to defray the expenses of your trip and to help to some extent in the work of CORE. Please know how much I personally enjoyed talking with you. Best wishes from Peter Weiner and the rest of Young Democrats' executive committee. I will look forward to seeing you again.

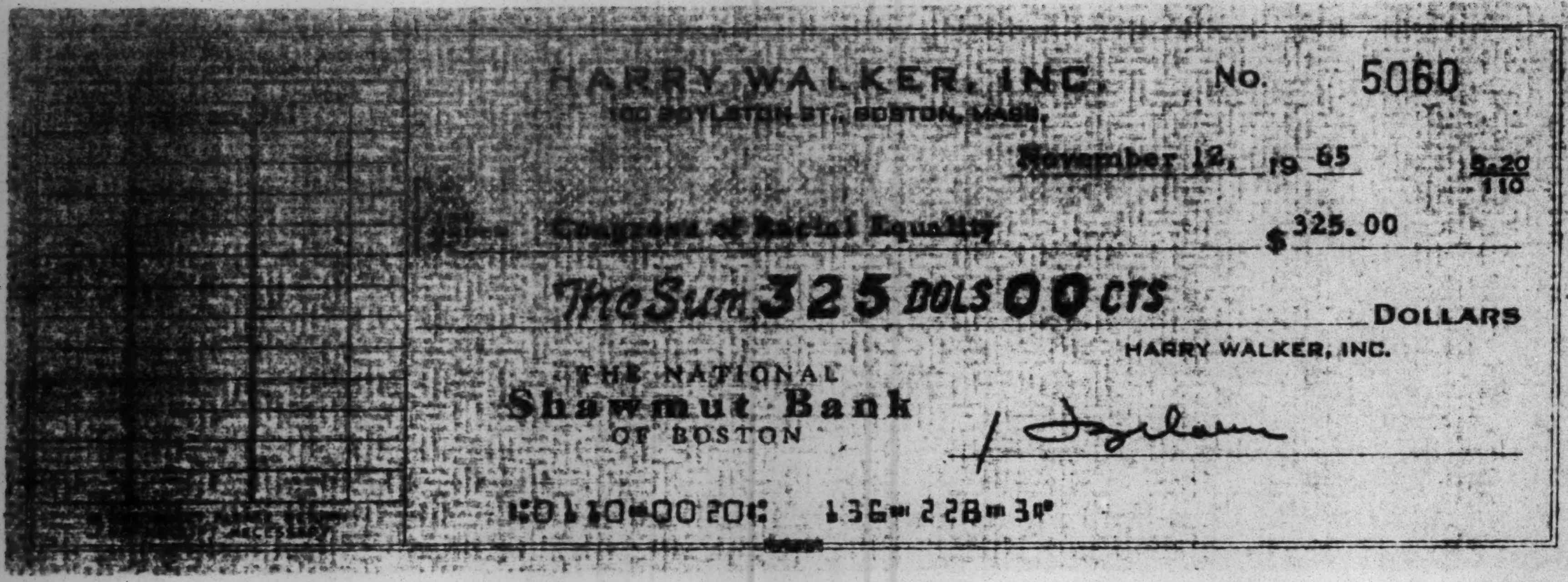
Sincerely,

Jim Roosevelt

James Roosevelt, Jr.
Activities Chairman
Harvard-Radcliffe
Young Democrats

honoraria

11-12-65
$325.00
Livingston, N.J.
11-3



HARRY WALKER, INC. No. 5060
100 BOYLSTON ST., BOSTON, MASS.

November 12, 19 65 5-20/110

Congress of Racial Equality $325.00

The Sum 325 DOLS 00 CTS DOLLARS

HARRY WALKER, INC.

THE NATIONAL
Shawmut Bank
OF BOSTON

⑆0110⑈0020⑆ 136⑈228⑈3⑈

Romania

November 12, 1963

Mrs. Selma H. Levenberg
The Ford Hall Forum
80 Boylston Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02116

Dear Mrs. Levenberg:

Since Mr. Farmer will not return to the office until November 24th, I want to acknowledge receipt of your letter of November 9th, with your check for $100 enclosed. Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Stedman
Administrative Department

Let There Be Light

THE FORD HALL FORUM

AMERICA'S OLDEST FORUM
OF PUBLIC EXPRESSION

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President
Louis P. Smith
Treasurer

George W. Coleman
1867-1950
Founder
David K. Niles
1889-1952
Director

November 9, 1965

$100.00

NOV 12 1965

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
C.O.R.E.
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Once again, we want to thank you very much for coming to the Ford Hall Forum. It is always a pleasure to have you appear on our platform and last Sunday night was no exception. We are sure you could see for yourself how attentive the audience was during your talk and their interest in the subject during the question period.

Many thanks for accepting our invitation and our best wishes to you.

Sincerely yours,

Selma H. Levenberg

Selma H. Levenberg

Enc.

80 BOYLSTON STREET · BOSTON, MASS. 02116 · HANCOCK 6-0725

Honoraria

****

FILE ☐

FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND POSSIBLE USE ☑

PLEASE ACKNOWLEDGE ☐

Received from Harry Walker
$2,015.00

11-12 — 487.50
11-18 — 390.00
11-23 — 422.00
11-30 — 390.00
12-2 — 325.00

****

Honoraria

FILE ☐

FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND POSSIBLE USE ☑

PLEASE ACKNOWLEDGE ☐

11-24-65

Received from
Harry Walker Inc. $1,625.00

Re: James Farmer Speaking Engagement.

Albion, Michigan - 10-28 - $325 ✓
Fort Worth, Texas - 11-11 - 325 ✓
Binghampton, N.Y. - 11-16 455

Oswego ✓, N.Y.
11-17 - 520

Honoraria

Form O.C. No. 1 **GOLDSMITH BROS.** Stationers, 77 Nassau St., N.Y. 8, N.Y.

Inter-Office Correspondence

USE THIS FORM FOR ALL OFFICE CORRESPONDENCE—WRITE ON ONE SIDE OF PAPER ONLY

Date 11-16-65

To Nancy From CB Page

Subject: Speakings Engagements (James Farmer)

Received From: Harry Walker Inc.

975.00 (Geneseo, N.Y. 11-8-65
(Columbus, Ohio 11-10-65

487.50
487 50
97500

PUT IN WRITING WRITTEN MESSAGES SAVE TIME AND AVOID ERRORS.

OHIO WESLEYAN
UNIVERSITY

DELAWARE, OHIO 43015

honoraria

November 22, 1965

NOV 24 1965

Miss Nancy Stedman
Administrative Department
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Miss Stedman:

Thank you for your letter of November 17 including the air fare charges for Mr. Farmer's visit on November 10.

I have just mailed our letter of appreciation to Mr. Farmer including a check for $80 to cover his transportation costs. The one hundred dollar honorarium was given him by me the day he spoke.

I appreciate CORE's willingness to have Mr. Farmer speak on our campus. He did an excellent job.

Sincerely yours,

James S. Leslie

James S. Leslie
University Chaplain

JSL:n

Wiley F.R. Front		
12/2	detroit	67.47
10/24	Boston, CAB	33.75
Nov.	Wiley Trvl	
11/21	S.C.	21.26 ?
~~11/16~~	~~Wash, W.H. Conf.~~	~~21.26~~ ✱
Oct.	Wiley Trvl	
10/6	Wash, Dem. Nat. Com.	41.25
10/13	Syr. Support for N.M. Trials	34.26
	Wash Off. Dev. Wiley + Lesser	68.16
Staff Reimbursements prior to Oct.		71.80

TRAVEL - NOVEMBER, 1965

Fund Raising Front Money

Farmer:

11/2 &3	N.Y. - Bradford, Pa. and return	$48.62
11/7	N.Y. - Boston and return	32.00
11/8-13	N.Y. - Rochester, Columbus, Ft.Worth, Las Vegas,NY	378.42
11/16	N.Y. - Binghamton	16.07
11/20	Rochester - New York	22.79
11/21-23	N.Y., Chicago, Los Angeles, N.Y.	308.96
11/30	N.Y. - Schenectady and return	26.25

Wiley:

11/10	N.Y. - New Haven and return (train)	8.21

Program

Farmer:

11/6	N.Y. - Baltimore and return	$30.14
11/14 & 15	N.Y. - Washington and return (Center)	36.00

Wiley:

11/16,17,18	N.Y. - Washington and return (White House Conf.)	21.26
11/21 & 22	N.Y. - Columbia, S.C. and return	83.06
11/30	N.Y. - Washington and return	36.00

TRAVEL - DECEMBER, 1965

Fund Raising Front Money

Farmer:

12/2	N.Y. - Boston and return	$41.46
12/7, 8	N.Y. - Milwaukee and return	110.88
12/9	N.Y. - Poughkeepsie (train)	
12/10	N.Y. - Seattle, Spokane and return	322.25
12/15,16	N.Y. - Louisville and return	90.93

Wiley:

12/2	N.Y. - Detroit and return	67.47

Program: Farmer

12/6	N.Y. - Washington and return	$36.00
12/27	"	18.00

NAC, December 31

Loretta Hall	$113.40
Bill Bradley	304.71
Don Smith	304.71
Doretha Smith	136.50
Oree Dyes	
R. Turner	
W. Ussery	304.71
J. Williams	
Cecil Brown	
Floyd McKissick	
J. Williams	

Reimbursed:

R. Rosenfeld	68.00
~~Julia Lewis~~	~~45.49~~
Marlene Wilson	50.55
J. Robinson	20.

TRAVEL - JANUARY, 1966

Fund Raising Front Money

Farmer:

1/10,11,12	N.Y., Columbus, Kalamazoo, Newark
1/29,30	Washington

Wiley:

albany?

Program:

Farmer:

1/12	N.Y. -Washington & return	
1/16	N.Y. - Harrisburg & return	$30.98
1/28	Bogalusa	

McKissick:

HONORARIA

Nov ~~FEB.~~	AMOUNT	
2		N Y U Law School
4		Dartmouth
5	250.00	Univ. of New Hamp. (Durham, New Hampshire)
10		Union College
11		MIT
12		Harvard Dames
12		Harvard Business School
13		Brandeis Univ. Walton Massachusetts
15		Frontiers Freedom Banquet, Mich.
17		Oakland Jewish
22	100.00	Ford Hall Forum (Boston Mass)
DEC.		
6	300.00	St. Louis JCC Liberal Fourm
7		" " Bar Association
8	250.00	N Y U
9		Lincoln
11-13	1,000.00 385.23 (Travel Expense	Dallas ACLU Cal
18		New Era
FEB 12	250.00	AME Church Phila
24	500.00 25.00 Travel Expense	Adelphi
26		High School of Fashion Industries
28		Community Church

March	Amount	
1.	343.00	Tuskeegee
1		Schenectady CORE
4	172.00	St. Mary's
5	358.35	St. Edwards
12	474.68	Wake Forest
16	450.00	Kansas City
18	450.00	Naperville
19	———	Detroit Press Club
17	500.00 & Travel Expense	Univ. of Missouri
9	150.00	Nassau Community College
10	100.00	Brown
28	500.00	Alfred
April		
3	650.00	Bellingham, Wash.
4	500.00	Temple Isaiah
5		Desert Pass CORE
6	500.00	Riverside, Cal.
7	500.00	Fort Collins, Cal.
7	~~500~~ 107.00	Seattle CORE
7	500.00	Long Beach State Cal.
14	300.00	Institute for Policy Studies
26	100.00	Bloomfield College
30	150.00	Queens College

May		
8	500.00	Assumption College
7	250.00	Mt. Holyoke
3	50.00 +	Chapel Hill CORE
2	137.34	Bennett College, N. C.
4	150.00 + exp.	University of Virginia
6		Hale
12	18.74 (expenses)	Kent State½
13	400.00	Michigan State
14	652.00	Flint, Mich.
17	50.00	Bank St.
19	487.50	U. Conn.
25	500.00	Cortland
26	487.50	Hartwick College
30	500.00	Bridge St. A.M.E. Church
June		
6		Tulsa CORE
19	$145.22	F O R
July		
28	487.50 100. —	Indiana State Univ., Penna. Un. Packinghouse, Des Moines
August		
5	expenses only ($40)	Harvard International Seminar
24	323.00	American Federation of Teachers, Los Angeles
September		
12	$210.65	Mt. Zion Baptist Church, Newark
16	$250.00	Baldwin Human Relations Committee

September		
17	500 + $81 (exp)	Hollywood Club, Clairton, Pa.
21	487.50	Gustavus Adolphus, St. Peter, Minn. 750
23	$31	Maryknoll
28	325.00	Wheeling College, W.Va. — 500
30	$150.	Harvard-Radcliffe Young Democ. ("substantial")
October		e $6,000
4	422.50	Bucknell, Louisville Pa.
5	422.50	Mansfield State, Mansf. Pa.
6	422.50	Meadville, Penna.
8	343	Washington & Jefferson College, Pa. 600
12	325	Western Reserve, Cleveland - 500
13	487.50	U. Of Montana, Bozeman - 750
	300	U. of Denver
14	487.50	U. of Colorado, Greeley — 750
15	343	UCLA — 500
16	343	Loyola Univ., Los Angeles — 500
18	487.50	San Diego State College - 750
19	300	Boston University
26	487.50	Hamline U., Minnesooa - 750
"	487.50	Yankton, S. Dakota - 750
28	235 (325 - $90 for brochures)	Albion College, Michigan — 500
"	422.50	Park Congreg. Church, Grand Rapids 650
November		
2	325	St. Bonaventure, Olean, N.Y. 500

November	Amount Rec'd.	Place	Hon.
3	$325	Livingston, N.J.	$500
7	$100	Ford Hall Forum	
8	487.50	Geneseo	750
9	—	Columbus CORE	?
10	180	Ohio Wesleyan	100 + 68.35
10	487.50	Capital University	
11	325	Texas Ch. U., Ft. Worth	$500
12	487.50	Nevada So. U., Las Vegas	$750
16	455	Broome, Binghamton	$700
16	—	Binghamton CORE	?
17	520	Oswego	$800
18	390	Monroe, Rochester	$600
19	750	U. of Rochester	$750 (not walker)
21		Chicago CORE	?
22	91.77	U. of Chicago	$300 plus travel (not walker)
23	422.00	Whittier, Calif.	$650
30	390.00	Union Coll., Schenectady	
30		Schenectady CORE	?
December			
2	325	Stonehill, N. Easton, Mass.	$500
2	260	St. Bernadine, Loudonville, NY	400
7	428.50 (Dec. 17)	Temple Sinai, Milwaukee	650
9	525 "	Dutchess Coll., Poughkeepsie	750
10	500	Yakima, Was h	500 +
11		Tri-Cities CORE	$2,000
11	2,000	Seattle CORE	$2,000

December	Place	Hon.	Amt.'Rec'd.
~~12~~	~~Washington State University~~	~~$200~~	
12	Unitarian Church, Spokane	$300	$300
January			
6	x U.S. Department of Labor	$100 +	
11	Otterbein College, Westerville, Ohio	500	325
11	Kalamazoo	500	325
~~12~~	~~Calvin College, Grand Rapids~~	~~500~~	
~~13~~	~~Pocatello, Idaho~~	~~750~~	
~~14~~	~~Ricks College, Rexburg, Idaho~~	~~600~~	
18	Albert Einstein	150	150.
19	x Merrick	500	500
	The Athenians	26.	25.

2-17-66

Received from

Harry Walker, Inc.
100 Baylston Street
Boston, Mass. 02116

$617.50

Winston Salem N.C. (2-6) $390.00
L. I. New York (2-8) $227.50

Hon.

****

FILE ☐

FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND POSSIBLE USE ☑

PLEASE ACKNOWLEDGE ☐

2-24-66

The Baptist Church In
Brookline
Cor. Beacon & Park Avenue
Brookline, Mass. 02148

$175.00 (Floyd McKissick) Honorarium

To: Nancy.

****

FILE ☐

FOR YOUR INFORMATION AND POSSIBLE USE ☑

PLEASE ACKNOWLEDGE ☐

2-25-66

Received $100.00 (James Farmer)

From State University College
New Paltz, New York 12561

Honoraria

December 1, 1965

Mr. James Leslie
University Chaplain
Ohio Wesleyan University
Delaware, Ohio 43015

Dear Mr. Leslie:

Thank you very much for your note of November 22nd to Mr. Farmer (with enclosed check for $80), which I shall see that he receives when he returns to the office tomorrow.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Stedman
Administrative Department

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

For your Information
$2000.00
[illegible]
12-27-65

Honoraria

Mr. Farmer
C.C. Gartner

2202½ East Union
Seattle, Washington
December 17, 1965

Congress of Racial Equality
34 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Sirs:

The Seattle chapter of CORE and the Washington American Civil Liberties Union held a fund raising dinner on December 11, at which James Farmer was the featured speaker. The affair was a complete success, with an overflow crowd. It is our pleasure to send you the enclosed check for two thousand dollars ($2000,) the major portion of the profits realized from the dinner.

Sincerely,

John T. Cornethan
John T. Cornethan, Chairman
Seattle CORE

JTC/sh
Enclosure

hon

December 20, 1965

Mr. Tom Rose
The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53211

Dear Mr. Rose:

Thank you for forwarding the $15.00 that was collected during Mr. Farmer's visit to the University of Wisconsin.

Mr. Farmer very much enjoyed being with you.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Stedman
Administrative Department

NS:mr

Farmer

15.00

The University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN 53211

BOLTON HALL
DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AFFAIRS

Dec 14/65

DEC 17 1965

CORE:

The enclosed check for fifteen dollars is CORE's part (½) of a collection taken when Mr. Farmer spoke at UWM last week. We again want to thank Mr. Farmer for speaking, and hope next time we will be able to raise more money.

Sincerely,

Tom Rose

Tom Rose
For the Student
Equality Fellowship

407

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION Washington, D.C., 20210

January 18, 1966

JAN 28 1966

Mr. James L. Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y. 10038

Dear Mr. Farmer:

You are entitled to an honorarium of $100.00 for your remarks "The Negro in the Changing Labor Force" at our seminar on January 6, 1966. In this connection it would be appreciated if you would sign all copies of the enclosed form where I have placed the red "X" and return all copies to me in the enclosed franked envelope.

Sincerely yours,

Robert R. Behlow
Special Assistant to the
Assistant Manpower Administrator

Enclosures

honor

February 3, 1966

Mr. Laurence J. Platt
Speakers Forum
Albert Einstein College Of Medicine
Yeshiva University
Eastchester Road and Morris Park Avenue
Bronx, New York 10461

Dear Mr. Platt:

Mr. Farmer asked me to thank you for your kind letter of January 25th and to acknowledge receipt of the $150 contribution to CORE in lieu of honorarium. Mr. Farmer very much enjoyed being with you on the 18th.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Stedman
Administrative Department

ALBERT EINSTEIN COLLEGE OF MEDICINE
YESHIVA UNIVERSITY
EASTCHESTER ROAD AND MORRIS PARK AVENUE
BRONX, N.Y. 10461

STUDENT COUNCIL

January 25, 1966

Mr. James Farmer
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Mr. Farmer,

I would like to thank you once again, on behalf of the students of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine, for a most absorbing talk and a most enjoyable evening.

You have our best wishes for grand success in your new job, as well as our gratitude for the accomplishments you have already helped to effect as Director of CORE. Thank goodness for your college-day fear of blood.

150.00

JAN 31 1966

Very truly yours,

Laurence J. Platt
Speakers Forum

Honorario

February 3, 1966

Mrs. Thelma Patillo
General Chairman
Human Relations Conference
Route 1, Box 696
Yakima, Washington

Dear Mrs. Patillo:

Many thanks for your letter of January 27th with the enclosed check for $500. The cost of Mr. Farmer's ticket from New York to Yakima was $322.25, plus $5.00 for the taxi to the airport here in New York. He was driven from Yakima to Richland, so there were no expenses involved there..

Mr. Farmer very much enjoyed being with you last December.

Sincerely yours,

Nancy Stedman
Administrative Department

January 27,1966

500.00

JAN 3 1 1966

Miss. Nancy Stedman
Congress Of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York,38,New York

Dear Miss:Stedman:

When I returned to Yakima,from Calif.,I was very surprised and chagrined to learn the check for Mr. Farmer's appearance here on Dec. 10th had not been sent to your office.

Both Mrs. Haas and I were out of the city and somehow communications broke down.

We are enclosing a check for Five Hundred Dollars($ 500.00) and requesting for our finance committee a statement of Mr. Farmers expenses.

They have them to be the plane fare from New York to Yakima and from here to his next stop ,Richland.There were no hotel or other bills to our knowledge.

As soon as we have this information we will forward the amount to you immediately.

There have been many fine comments about his lecture.We wer8 so very pleased to have had the privilege of hearing him.

Sincerely yours,

Thelma Patillo

Thelma Patillo-Gen.Chr.

tp
enc: check
note

Rte 1 Box 696
Yakima, Wash

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL
1208 WEST CHESTNUT STREET
YAKIMA, WASHINGTON 98902

1-26-66

Thelma,

Here is the check for Mr. Farmer. I have a call left asking Mrs. Haas to bring me up to date on the travel reimbursement. I'll ask her to call you.

Please let Mr. Farmer know there are others who ~~are~~ are very embarrassed to learn this was not previously taken care of.

Best wishes,
Casey

2-7-66

To: Nancy

Hon

Harry Walker, Inc
100 Baylston st.
Boston, Mass. 02116

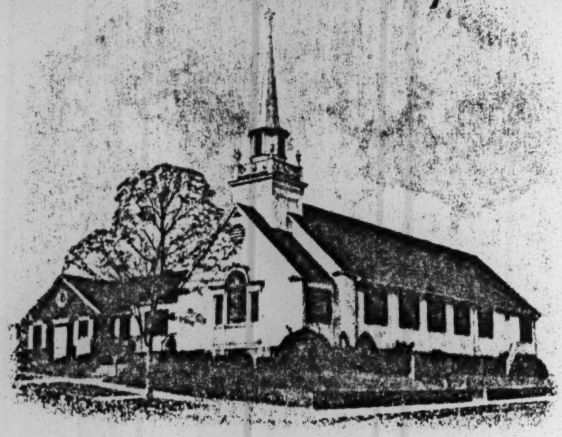
$325.00

Kalamazoo, Michigan (1-11-66)

Allwood Community Church

MINISTER
RAYMOND J. PONTIER
STUDY TELEPHONE - 777-6360
RESIDENCE
67 MERRILL ROAD
777-9495

ASSOCIATE MINISTER
WILLIAM E. BLECKLEY
STUDY TELEPHONE - 773-8850
RESIDENCE
66 MERRILL ROAD
773-0691



CHELSEA AND MERRILL ROADS
CLIFTON, NEW JERSEY 07012

March 1, 1966

Mr. James Farmer
C.O.R.E.
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Enclosed is a check for $500. from the Passaic-Clifton Committee on Fair Housing for the work of CORE. We are sorry this is a bit late, but our ticket receipts have been dribbling in over the past couple weeks. We are most pleased that your speaking engagement on February 11th was such a fine success and that we are able to fulfill our committment.

A check is also enclosed in the amount of $119.65 for the sale of your book "Freedom - When?" In addition to sales to the public, our Committee purchased copies to present to three local high schools. We want to hold the few remaining books until after March 20th, when there will be an interracial forum in Passaic. Any sold books, we will send the money for, and those unsold books will be returned to you.

My thanks to you and to CORE for your wonderful cooperation with our group.

MAR 2 1966

Sincerely yours,

Raymond J Pontier

Raymond J. Pontier

$500.00 Honorarium
119.65 Book sale "Freedom When?"

file

HONORARIA

Nov. ~~FEB.~~	AMOUNT	
2		N Y U Law School
4		Dartmouth
5	250.00	Univ. of New Hamp. (Durham, New Hampshire)
10		Utica College
11		MIT
12		Harvard Dames
12		Harvard Business School
13		Brandeis Univ. Walton Massachusetts
15		Frontiers FreedoM Banquet, Mich.
17		Oakland Jewish
22	100.00	Ford Hall Forum (Boston Mass)
DEC.	~~300.00~~	
6	300.00	St. Louis JCC Liberal Fourm
7		" " Bar Association
8	250.00	N Y U
9		Lincoln
11-13	1,000.00	Dallas ACLU Cal
	325.23	(Travel Expense
18		New Era
FEB 12	250.00	AME Church Phila
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26		High School of Fashion Industries
28		Community Church

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5	358.35	St. Edwards
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16	450.00	Kansas City
18	450.00	Naperville
19		Detroit Press Club
17	500.00 & Travel Expense	Univ. of Missouri
9	150.00	Nassau Community College
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28	500.00	Alfred
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4	500.00	Temple Isaiah
5		Desert Pass CORE
6	500.00	Riverside, Cal.
7	500.00	Fort Collins, Cal.
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7	500.00	Long Beach State Cal.
14	300.00	Institute for Policy Studies
26	100.00	Bloomfield College
30	150.00	Queens College

May		
8	500.00	Assumption College
7	250.00	Mt. Holyoke
3	50.00	Chapel Hill CORE
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4		University of Virginia
6		Yale
12	18.74 (expenses)	Kent State*
13	400.00	Michigan State
14	652.00	Flint, Mich.
17	50.00	Bank St.
19	487.50	U. Conn.
25	500.00	Cortland
26	487.50	Hartwick College
30	500.00	Bridge St. A.M.E. Church
June		
6		Tulsa CORE
19		FOR

Hospitals

1199

local 1199
drug and hospital
employees union
affiliated with RWDSU, AFL-CIO
709 eighth avenue
new york, n. y. 10036
JUdson 2-1890-1-2-3-4

Leon J. Davis, President
William J. Taylor, First Vice President
Edward Ayash, Treasurer
Moe Foner, Executive Secretary
George Glotzer, Vice President
Elliott Godoff, Vice President
Ted Mitchell, Vice President
Jesse Olson, Vice President
Armando Ramirez, Vice President
Doris Turner, Vice President

APR 8 1965

April 7, 1965

Dr. George Wiley
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

Dear George:

I am enclosing the text of the telegram to members of the State Assembly which was read and discussed with you today by Bayard Rustin.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Fraternally and sincerely,

Moe Foner

Moe Foner
Executive Secretary

MF:bs
encl.
coe-1199

We join in urging you to vote for and actively support passage of Warner Bill (S.P. 3521; S.I. 3297) to extend collective bargaining rights to nonprofit hospital workers on statewide basis. Bronxville hospital strike has clearly demonstrated that this legislation is of vital concern to our state's 115,000 hospital workers, most of them members of minority groups. Since Warner Bill also assures uninterrupted patient care, its enactment would be in best interests of the hospitals and community they serve.

A. Philip Randolph, President - Negro American Labor Council

Roy Wilkins, Executive Director - National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

James Farmer - National Director, Congress of Racial Equality

Whitney Young, Executive Director - National Urban League

Dorothy Height, President - National Council of Negro Women

Bayard Rustin, Director - Randolph Institute

~~George~~? file?

APR 15 1965

THE ASSEMBLY
STATE OF NEW YORK
ALBANY

FRANK WALKLEY
WYOMING COUNTY

file
Hospital

April 13, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
CORE
239 W. 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I have received your telegram asking for support of the Warner bill (Sen. Prt. 3521, Sen. Intro. 3297), which would extend collective bargaining to non-profit hospital workers on a statewide basis.

I am surprised that you refer to the Bronxville hospital strike in arguing that this bill is vital. It seems to me that the act of striking by hospital workers, when it is illegal, weakens the position of those who are asking for collective bargaining as a right. The greatest deterent to granting this is the increased possibility of strikes. As a member of a Hospital Board of Managers, I am keenly aware of the responsibility to patients that all of us associated with hospitals have. Nothing should be done to weaken this responsibility to patients or to jeopardize the care which they need.

What needs to be made clear, I think, is that this bill would not in any way make strikes more likely to occur than presently.

Sincerely,

Frank Walkley

Frank Walkley

fw:ms

file

Hospital

MAY 1 0 1965

STATE OF NEW YORK
DEPARTMENT OF LAW
STATE OFFICE BUILDING
80 CENTRE STREET
NEW YORK 13, N. Y.
TELEPHONE: CORTLANDT 7-9600

LOUIS J. LEFKOWITZ
ATTORNEY GENERAL

May 6, 1965

Dear Friend:

The Dental Society of the State of New York has just voted to demand that the American Dental Association strengthen its ban against discriminatory membership practices of constituent State Societies.

On April 15, I urged the State Dental Society to take this action. I wrote, in part:

"It would be a source of great pride to the people of New York State to have the New York Dental Society in the vanguard of efforts, carried on through the national professional organization, to democratize those societies which still discourage or prevent membership by Negro dentists because of their race or color. Discriminatory practices towards professional men anywhere in America are intolerable to the citizens of the State of New York."

Let us rejoice in the progressive leadership displayed by the New York dentists, acting in the best American tradition.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Louis J. Lefkowitz

LOUIS J. LEFKOWITZ
Attorney General

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM
W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

NG029 (34)(23)PA012 1965 MAR 23 AM 12 53
RA034 W NFY010 NFZ1 NFZ1 GOVT NL PD NF WASHINGTON DC 22
JAMES FARMER, CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 PARK ROW NYK

MAR 23 1965

MAR 23 1965

ROY WILKINNS WILL TESTIFY THIS WEDNESDAY BEFORE THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE ON THE VOTING RIGHTS BILL. AT THE LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE MEETING OF WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVES SUNDAY IT WAS GENERALLY AGREED AS A MINIMUM THE ADMINISTRATION BILL SHOULD BE STRENGTHENED IN FOUR AREAS:

1. COVERAGE SHOULD BE WIDENED TO PROHIBIT DISCRIMINATION IN STATES AND COUNTIES OTHER THAN THE SIX OR SEVEN STATES REACHED BY THE ADMINISTRATION BILL;

2. THE POLL TAX SHOULD BE ABOLISHED AS A REQUIREMENT FOR VOTING IN ALL ELECTIONS;

3. ELIMINATE THE REQUIREMENT THAT NEGROES, ONCE DISCRIMINATION

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM
W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

MAR 25 AM 12 53

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IS SHOWN, MUST STILL APPLY TO STATE BEFORE THEY CAN REGISTER WITH A FEDERAL EXAMINER;

4. BROADEN AND STRENGTHEN THE SECTION PROHIBITING INTIMIDATION.

MR. WILKINS WILL CALL FOR THESE IMPROVEMENTS IN GENERAL TERMS. HE WILL NOT PROPOSE ANY SPECIFIC FORMULI AT THIS TIME.

IT IS IMPORTANT THAT HE SPEAK FOR AS MANY GROUPS IN THE LCCR AS POSSIBLE. PLEASE CALL NA 8-6671 OR WIRE US AT 100 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. BEFORE NOON ON TUESDAY
ARNOLD ARONSON SECRETARY

1. 2. 3. 4. NA 8-6671 100

Check on copies

[illegible]

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U.S.
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
Washington, D.C.

[illegible] March 2[illegible], 196[illegible]

[illegible]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CLASS OF SERVICE
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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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1965 MAR 26 AM 10 53

VUA010 NBC062 RB022
WD044 WW BUA023 GOVT PD 6 EXTRA BU WASHINGTON DC 1019A EST
JAMES FARMER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR CORE
38 PARK ROW NEW YORK NY

PLEASE CALL ME CONCERNING PROPOSED VOTER RIGHTS BILL. BECAUSE OF THE NUMBER OF GRAVE WEAKNESSES, I HOPE YOU WILL FIND AN OPPORTUNITY IN YOUR SCHEDULE TO TESTIFY BEFORE THE HOUSE JUDICIARY SUBCOMMITTEE. SINCERELY

CONGRESSMAN JOHN CONYERS JR 426 CANNON OFFICE BUILDING WASHINGTON D C

(21).

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

TESTIMONY OF JAMES FARMER BEFORE THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE ON MARCH 31, 1965

My name is James Farmer. I am the National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality and I am testifying today on behalf of CORE.

The importance of the right to vote is so deeply ingrained in the spirit of American civilization and democratic government that comments in support of this right now are in the nature of cliches. Nonetheless, denial of this right to millions of our fellow-citizens makes necessary the present bill. President Johnson is to be honored for his presentation of this bill, and the eloquence with which he has supported it.

Negroes are denied the right to vote not only in the registrar's office, not only at the polls, but in the stores where they are refused credit, in the fields where they are thrown out of work, in the churches where the arsonist does his evil work, in the shop or home where they are discharged, and on the highways and streets where violence is done. In the past month, three persons have been cruelly murdered in Alabama. While none of them were directly engaged in the process of voting, all of them were acting so as to make that right possible. Last year in Mississippi, thirty-eight churches were bombed or burndd. Who will deny that these acts were designed to intimidate those who might seek to register and vote?

Attached to my testimony is a photograph of the Pleasant Grove Baptist Church, which was burned to the ground on January 17, 1965, after a series of CORE conducted voter registration classes. Also attached is a photograph of Tent City in Fayette County, Tennessee, where in 1961 Negro sharecroppers were forced to live after being evicted from their farm homes after attempting to register. Another shows a Choctaw Indian Church bombed near Philadelphia, Mississippi -- just a few miles from where two CORE staff members and a student volunteer were murdered. These acts of violence and intimidation have occurred over a period of years and still persist.

Not only must the act of registering and voting be protected by the federal government, but the Negro must be free of the intimidation of the club, the gun, the torch, and the dollar. CORE proposes the following principles:

1) where death is the result of intimidation designed to deny a person the rights guaranteed under this bill, there should be penalties up to those provided by the state for murder.
2) where physical harm is the result of efforts to deny citizens the right to vote, the perpetrators of that harm must be subject to federal sanctions equal to that provided by the state.
3) where the initiators of other forms of intimidation receive federal funds, these federal funds must be cut off.

The first two principles apply criminal sanctions against those who seek to deny to others the right to vote. The third principle applies the spirit of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to the present bill. For example, if the source of intimidation comes from an employer who receives federal funds -- be it a school board, a firm directly holding a government contract, a farmer receiving crop loans or other forms of assistance, etc. -- these funds must be cut off. We can no longer tolerate the subsidy of intimidation by the public purse.

The efforts of the Attorney-General, Mr. Katzenbach, to propose legislation which would have an automatic application, thus avoiding long, drawn out litigation, are to be lauded. We must also ensure that this bill will bring the right to vote to all and not just most of those who have been denied it for discriminatory reasons. We must end now, once and for all, the exclusion, because of their race or color, of fellow Americans from participation in the making of the decisions that face our society, and from the benefits of that society.

It is therefore imperative that a broader application be included in this bill.

Too many political subdivisions of states where discrimination has been practiced, where Negroes have been denied the right to vote, are not included. Counties in those states where more than fifty percent of the people are registered, despite active discrimination, would not come under the protective umbrella of the proposed bill. This is true in Florida and North Carolina, Arkansas and Texas. In Florida, many areas not far from the state capitol at Tallahassee are serious pockets of bigotry, discrimination and racism. This is true also in parts of Arkansas and Texas.

There are several ways in which the coverage of this bill can be broadened.

We think the 50% registration provision proposed is much too limiting. Thus, our suggestion is that where twenty people in any political subdivision address a complaint to the Attorney-General asserting that they have not been allowed to register and/or vote because of their race or color, this matter should then be certified by the Attorney-General if he believes it to be true, and then referred to the Civil Service Commission for the appointment of a federal examiner.

The term "political subdivision" should be clarified to mean, we suggest, any part of a state which elects a person to represent that area in any legislative body or in a state directed convention or elects someone to participate in the governing of that area.

We do not believe that any requirement other than age or residence is necessary as a basis for voting, except confinement in a prison or mental institution. Persons who have completed a sentence have paid their debt to society and should be permitted to register. Furthermore, permitting felony convictions to exclude can cut out the very Freedom Fighters who have participated in the dramatic demonstration of the necessity of this bill.

Furthermore, even the formal ability to read or write is no longer important. This requirement is an anachronism of the nineteenth century when the primary means of communication was the printed word. In our times, with the successive and successful development of the radio and television, an appreciation of the issues involved and the candidates aspiring to office can be had without ability to read and write. Literacy requirements will only penalize older people who have been deprived for discriminatory reasons of the simple education which would give them a means to pass this qualification. No one can demonstrate that this inability to read or write will affect the character of the vote.

A major requirement we urge to be inserted in this bill is the elimination of the poll tax. No one should have to pay in order to exercise the right to vote. It is a dreadful commentary on American life when a Congress in 1965 can give even token lip service to one of the most vicious provisions of law enacted for discriminatory reasons this country has ever seen. The imprimatur of the Congress can only adversely affect the decision of a court in considering the constitutionality of the poll tax as a requirement for voting.

We also urge that the terms of all persons elected under federal and state laws which come within the purview of this act be terminated no later than December 31, 1966, and that the new elections for such offices be held no later than the first Tuesday following the first Monday of November, 1966. This provision needs no justification: when fewer than 50% of the people in so many areas have not been allowed to vote because of discrimination, the very least we can do is to make certain of their right not to have foisted upon them for additionally long periods of time persons so elected. There is already ample precedent for such a step, for example, in the federal court decision in New York State to terminate the normal two year terms of the state legislators after one year because they were elected under an apportionment scheme which has been found unconstitutional.

CORE has proposed three kinds of changes in this bill.

First, we have sought to broaden the coverage of the bill by providing for its implementation by a petition of twenty aggrieved persons, by seeking to clarify the term "political subdivision", by ending various discriminatory and anachronistic restrictions upon the right to vote, viz., felony convictions, literacy requirements, and the poll tax.

Second, we have sought to prevent various forms of intimidation from preventing Negroes even getting to the registrar's office or the polling place. While there can be no assurance that such intimidation will be prevented, we can and must assure that those who commit such intimidation will face the full and severe sanction of the federal government.

Third, we have sought to cut to a minimum the time which those who have been prevented from voting are forced to live under the rule of those who have been elected under a discriminatory system. We must assure not only the prevention of future discrimination and intimidation, but we must not allow those who have gained public office as a result of past discrimination to savor that fruit any longer.

We must end now, once and for all, the exclusion because of their race or color, of fellow Americans from participation in the making of the decisions that face our society, and from the benefits of that society.

Three times in the past decade Congress has passed voting rights bills. While more could have been done in their implementation, each of them was flawed by inadequate coverage or invited excessive litigatory procedures or by too limited penalties for violation.

CORE urges that this voting act of 1965 avoid those pitfalls. The coverage must be broad and automatic, those who intimidate must be punished, and those who have profitted from discrimination in the past must no longer be allowed to so benefit.

The right to vote is too precious, too many have died for its preservation, too much is at stake for us all, for you and we to allow further delay, or to allow any weakening of this bill.

Its language must be strong.

Its passage must be swift.

Its enforcement must be sure.

Marvin

Ⓐ perm OK

(Farmer testimony on voting bill, ~~new lead paragraphs~~ 27 March)

¶ The importance of the right to vote is so deeply ingrained in the spirit of American civilization and democratic government that comments in support of this right now are in the nature of cliches. Nonetheless, ~~D~~denial of this right to millions of our fellow-citizens makes necessary the present bill. President Johnson is to be honored for his presentation of this bill, and the eloquence with which he has supported it.

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In the past month, three persons have been cruelly murdered in Alabama. While none of them were directly engaged in the process of voting, all of them were acting so as to make that right possible. Last year in Mississippi thirty-eight churches were bombed or burned. Who will deny that these acts were designed to intimidate those who might seek to register and vote ?

Ⓑ →

A My name is James Farmer. I am the National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality and I am testifying today on behalf of CORE .

Attached to my testimony is a photograph of the Pleasant Grove Baptist Church which was burned to the ground on January 17, 1965 after a series of CORE conducted voter registration classes. Also, attached

B is a photograph of Tent City in Fayette County, Tennessee where (in 1961) Negro Sharecroppers where forced to live after being evicted from their farm homes after attempting to register. in 19

Another shows a Choctaw Indian Church bombed near Philadelphia, Mississippi -- just a few miles from where two CORE staff members and a student volunteer where murdered.

These acts of violence and intimidation have occurred over aperiod of years and have still persist.

¶ Not only must the act of registering and voting be protected by the federal government, but the Negro must be free of the intimidation of the club, the gun, the torch, and the dollar. CORE proposes the following principles:

1) where death is the result of intimidation designed to deny a person the rights guaranteed under this bill, there should be ~~a mandatory~~ penalties ~~up to life imprisonment~~ to those provided by the ~~jail sentence of at least fifteen years;~~ state for murder

2) where physical harm is the result of efforts to deny citizens the right to vote, the perpetrators of that harm must be subject to federal sanctions equal to that provided by the state

3) where the initiators of ~~more subtle~~ other forms of intimidation receive federal funds, these federal funds must be cut off.

~~In other words, we seek to apply the spirit~~

¶ The first two principles apply crimminal sanctions against those who seek to deny to others the right to vote. The third principle applies the spirit of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to the present bill.

For example, if the source of intimidation comes from an employer who receives federal funds -- be it a school board, ~~a branch office of a federal agency~~ a firm directly holding a government contract, a farmer receiving crop loans or other forms of assistance, etc. -- these funds must be cut off. We can no longer tolerate the subsidy of intimidation by the public purse.

The efforts of the Attorney-General, Mr. Katzenbach, to propose legislation which would have an automatic application, thus avoiding long, drawnout litigation, are to be lauded. We must also ensure~~it~~ that this bill will bring the right to vote to all and not just most of those who have been denied it for discriminatory reasons. ~~We must end now, once and for all~~, the exclusion,~~of those~~ because of their race or color, of fellow Americans from participation in the making of the decisions that face our society, and from the benefits of that society.

It is therefore imperative~~it~~ that ~~a~~broader application be included in this bill,

Too many political subdivisions of states where discrimination has been practised~~x~~,where Negroes have been denied the right to vote, are not included. Counties in those states where more than fifty percent of the people are registered, despite active discrimination, would not come under the protective umbrella of the proposed bill. This is true in Florida and North Carolina, Arkansas and Texas. In Florida, many area not far from thestate capitol at Talahassee are serious pockets of bigotry, discrimination, and racism. This is true also in parts of ~~North Carolina~~ Arkansas, ~~North Carolina~~ and Texas,

4

~~to partiepate in the decisions that face our society, who have not been allowed to participate in the benefits of that society.~~

~~It is therefore imperative that a broader application be~~ included in this bill.

Too many political subdivisions of states ~~with~~ where discrimination has been practised, where Negroes have been denied the right to vote, are not included. In CORE's own experience, areas of North Carolina and Florida might not be included because these states are excluded from the benefits of the law. Counties in these states where more than 50% of the people are registered, despite active discrimination, would not come under the protective umbrella of the proposed bill. Similarly is this true of many areas of Arkansas and Texas. In ~~the case of Florida, to the world Southern Florida illustrates the practises of the state, but this is highly inaccurate~~ In Florida. Many areas' not far from the state capitol of Tallahassee are serious pockets of bigotry, discrimination and racism. ? In progressive North Carolina is this also true. And while discrimination is ~~on the wane in Texas, it has not completely left that state despite the efforts of President Johnson~~.

34 counties are covered ?

There are ~~many~~ several ways in which the coverage of this bill can be ~~xb~~ broadened.

We think the 50% registration provision proposed is ~~much~~ too limiting. Thus our suggestion is that, where 20 people in any political subdivision address a complaint to the Attorney-General ~~complaining~~ asserting that they have not been allowed to register and/or vote because of their race or color, ~~that~~ this matter shd then be certified ~~if~~ by the Attorney-General believes it to be true, to the Civil Service Commission for the appointment of a federal examiner. ~~I will leave it to the lawyers and the courts to decide the (comparative constitutionality) of different proposals, but it is our view that such a proposal as we make comes within the protection of the 15th Amendment.~~

The term "political subdivision" should be clarified to mean, we suggest, any part of a state which elects a person to represent that area in any legislative body or in a state directed convention or elects someone to participate in the governing of that area.

We do not believe that any requirement other than age or residence is necessary as a basis for voting, except confinement in a prison or mental institution. Persons who have ~~served~~ completed a sentence have paid their debt to society and should be permitted to register. Furthermore, permitting ~~this to be a requirement is too easy a loophole to~~ felony conviction to exclude can cut out The very Freedom Fighters who have participated in the dramatic demonstration of the necessity of this bill.

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inability to read or write will affect the character of the vote. ~~[illegible] years past the discriminatory state registrars didn't hesitate to permit whites to register who barely could make [illegible]~~

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~~When this bill becomes law, and with we hope the kinds of suggestions that we have made, the battle to increase voter registration will not have ended. Intimidation, violence, economic pressure are weapons that will still be used. We strongly urge further amendments to this bill to discourage as much as possible the proponents of violence, the xxxxxx remnants of a society that has never left the middle 19th Century, a society that thinks nothing of slaying a Jimmie Lee Jackson, a Mickey~~ Michael ~~Schwerner, Jim~~ James ~~Chaney and the other martyrs in the fight for freedom. Often these deaths, wasteful~~

CORE staff members

We also urge that the terms of all persons (~~Except U.S. Senators~~) elected under federal and state laws which come within the purview of this act be terminated no later than December 31, 1966, and that the new elections for such offices be held no later than the first Tuesday following the first Monday of November, 1966. This provision needs no justification: when fewer than 50% of the people in so many areas have not been allowed to vote because of discrimination, the very least we can do is to make certain of their right not to have foisted upon them for additionally long periods of time persons so elected. There is already ample precedent for such a step, for example, in the federal court decision in New York State to terminate the normal two year terms of the state legislators after one year because they were elected under an apportionment scheme which has been found unconstituional.

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Its passage must be swift.

Its enforcement must be sure.

Marv

MR. FARMER - SCHEDULE

Thursday, March 25th

1:25 - Lv. La Guardia airport, Mohawk flight #407
2:52 - Ar. Elmira; Mr. Hogan, Director of Special Services, Alfred State Technological College, will meet you.

8:00 - Talk on "New Trends in the Civil Rights Revolution".

Spend night in dorm. Tel: Dr. Flaxington - 607-587-3813; home: 324-2422

Friday, March 26th

10:30 - Lv. Elmira, Mohawk flight #411
11:57 - Ar. La Guardia (check airport when you arrive to change to flight leaving at 1:10, if you prefer. It was all booked.)

4:00 - Lv. JFK airport, National flight #285
5:10 - Ar. Newport News; someone from Hampton Institute will meet you.

8:00 - Ogden Hall on Hampton Institute campus; public meeting, expect 2,000 people; AMSAC conference; 25 student editors. General talk, perhaps referring to your Africa trip and impact of Africa on civil rights in US.

Sleeping accommodations have been arranged.
TEL: 703- PA 3-6581 - ask for AMSAC conference office.

Saturday, March 27th

11:20 - Lv. Newport News on National flight #283
12:20 - Ar. JFK

Sunday, March 28th

nothing on calendar

Monday, March 29th

10:30 - Appointment in office with Mr. Clarke from Techbilt

12:00 - Appointment with Mr. Ilan, Histadrut

1:30 - Appointment with Dr. Wolff

8:00 - Dinner at White House

Tuesday, noon - speak at Queens College

Testimony on Reapportionment Before the House Judiciary Committee
James Farmer, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality
25 June, 1965

My name is James Farmer. I am the National Director of CORE, and I appear before you today on their behalf.

The right to vote while a simply stated maxim is a complex process. As all America knows, some men in this country have schemed and conspired to deny this right to Negroes for decades.

The Supreme Court's decisions for half a century are a compendium of the misanthropic endeavours to deny Negroes the right to vote: the "Grandfather Clause" (Frank Guinn and J.J. Beal v. United States, 1915), the white primary (Smith v. Allwright, 1944; cf. Terry et al. v. Adams et al., 1953), the unequal application of literacy and other tests, the discriminatory use of the poll tax, and recently, the malapportionment of state legislatures. The Court's rulings in Baker v. Carr (1962) and Reynolds v. Sims (1964) are but one more instance of the overthrow of efforts to deny, diminish, or deprive the Negro of the right to vote.

The right to vote begins with the opportunity to register and then to cast one's ballot free of fear, intimidation, or pressure. The voting rights bills of 1957, 1960, 1964, and now the Voting Rights Act of 1965 all seek to assure these rights. However, the right to vote is not completed with the casting of one's ballot. For this right to be complete, the individuals's vote must be recorded and then must be counted equally. It is to this point - the culmination of the process of voting - that Senate Joint Resolution 2 and its companions in the Senate and House are directed. For if this amendment or those of its ilk were to be enacted, the right of each American to be equal politically would be trampled upon. For as Chief Justice Warren wrote in Reynolds v. Sims (1964). "To the extent that a citizen's right to vote is debased, he is that much less a citizen."

Ample evidence has been presented before this committee and others to show the extraordinary degree of legislative malapportionment now existing in the state legislatures. For example, in Georgia at the time of Baker v. Carr (1962), the largest legislative district was over ninety-nine times the size of the smallest. In Alabama, one-fourth of the total electorate may elect a majority of the House or Senate. In Nevada, eight percent of the total population may elect a majority of the Senate; in California 10.7%; and in Vermont, 11.9%.

Already much has been done to implement the Supreme Court's "one man one vote" standard. In 1964, ten state legislatures reapportioned themselves and four more were done by court order. In 1965, twenty-four states are under court order to reapportion before the next election. It is this progress which these amendments seek to stop.

In brief, the opposition to the principle of "one man one vote" is directed against our urban centers. "The original constitutions of thirty-six states required that representation be based completely, or almost so, on population. Subsequently...the practice was to change because of the growth of big cities." (Advisory Committee on Intergovernmental Relations, Apportionment of State Legislatures, p. 11) It was only when urban areas began to grow and when redistricting, as required by their constitutions, meant shifting power to these new urban areas, did state legislatures seek to freeze in rural domination. In times past, and now too, this rural domination has hindered successive generations of urban dwellers - many new immigrants and workers.

Today, this under-representation of urban areas serves to perpetuate the denial of equal rights to Negroes. In 1960, over 72% of Negroes in the United States lived in urban areas. Throughout the South in particular, the Negro is increasingly leaving the rural areas to move to cities. For example, in Alabama, the percentage of non-whites living in urban areas in 1960 is up 23% over 1950. The comparable figure for Mississippi is 27.6%, for North Carolina 26.4%, for Louisiana over 200%, and for Florida 71.3%.

Thus it may fairly be said that the denial of equal representation to urban dwellers is most directly a denial of full citizenship to the Negro.

These amendments would permit a bicameral state legislature to apportion one of its houses on other than a population basis, with the provision that a popular referendum approve such a plan.

No provision to deny a person of constitutionally guaranteed rights - especially the most precious right, to vote - can be put to a vote of others. The very idea of holding a vote to decide whether to grant someone the right to free speech or to a jury trial is abhorent to our basic tradition. So, too, is the placing before the general public the question as to whether the power of their own or others vote shall be diminished!

Alternately, some propose that the state legislatures petition Congress to amend the Constitution to overturn the "one man one vote" rule. Here we have an example of the height of political conflict of interest - those who stand most directly to be affected by the rule petitioning for its change! And further, the idea of southern legislatures, whose members have been elected by a process which has historically and does presently exclude Negroes from voting, voting to establish a system which will perpetuate the political inferiority of Negroes, is contrary to every standard of justice so as truly to merit the label of "un-American."

Finally, the proposal that one house of a bicameral legislature may be apportioned "upon the basis of factors other than population" is vague as to what those bases may be. Indeed, there is nothing in the proposals themselves which would prevent that basis from being race. Even were the legislatures to be less blatant (and unconstitutional; a factor, I must note, which has not deterred them in the past) than to use race, the use of such bases as years of schooling, property, or income all could effectively diminish the power of the Negro vote. For an example of how allegedly non-racial criteria effectively isolate and weaken the Negro, one need only observe the de facto segregation of northern school districts, the lines of which are drawn on ostensibly non-racial bases. And, of course, the designation of the "factors other than population" upon which one house of the state legislature would be apportioned, would be by the very legislators, in many southern states at least, who have been elected by an electorate from which Negroes have been excluded. Thus, the unrepresentative legislatures would be permitted to devise the scheme for perpetuating their own unrepresentative rule. And no popular referendum - and I ask you to what extent the coercive denial of the vote to Negroes would affect their participation in such an election? - can undo or mitigate the undemocratic nature of such a plan.

What of the practical effect of the continuation of minority rule in state legislatures? For the Negro it would mean that even where our highest court has set a standard - "one man one vote" - the racists, the bigots, the reactionnaries, and the self-interested can connive to deny them equality. The American political process has only recently begun to deal with a measure of justice with the Negro, and it has been the Supreme Court which has courageously led the way. To take the unprecedented step of over-turning the Court's ruling in this matter would in effect say to Negroes that where their rights are concerned any measure to thwart them is acceptable.

For the governing of our country this proposal would mark a leap backward, and indeed would inevitably promote the further growth of the federal government at the expense of the states, which so many of the sponsors of these proposals profess to abhor. In a nation now over 70% urban, the problems of cities present the great challenge of our domestic life. Schools, housing, welfare, transportation, metropolitan government, civil rights all loom large as urban problems, and all these have gotten (and I fear will continue to get) short shrift from rural dominated state legislatures. The city dwellers, black and white, are entitled to the opportunity of dealing with their problems, unfettered by an unequal share of power in the state legislature, and unshackled by permanent unequal representation.

To register freely, to vote freely, to have one's vote honestly counted, and to have one's vote equally counted - these are the components of the right to vote. To deprive a person at any one of these stages is to deny him the right to vote. Therefore, we urge the defeat of these vote denying proposals.

Draft of Testimony on Reapportionment

(introductory parageaph re, name/organization/etc.)

The right to vote while asimply stated maxim is a complex process. As all America knows, some men in this country have schemed and conspired to deny this right to Negroes for decades.

The Sipreme Court's decisions for half acentury are a comoendium of the misanthropic endeavours to deny Negroes the right to vote: the "GrandfatherClause (Frank Guinn and J.J.Beal v. United States, 1915), thw white primary (Smith v. Allwright, 1944; cf. Terry et al. v Adams et al., 1953). the unequal application of literacy and other tests ( ), the discriminatory use of the poll tax ( ). And recently the malapportionment of state legislatures. The Court's rulings in Baker v. Carr (1962) and Reynolds v. Sims (1964) are but one more instance of the overthrow of efforts to deny, diminish, or deprieve the Negro of the right to vote.

The right to vote begins with theopportunity to register and then to cast one's ballot free of fear, intimidation, or pressure. The voting rights bills of 1957, 1960, 1964, and now the Voting Rights Act of 1965 all seek to assure these rights. However, the right to vote is not completed with the casting of one's ballot. For this right to be complete, the individual's vote must be recorded and then must be counted equally. It is to this point -- the/culmination of the process of voting -- that Senate Joint Resolution 2 and its companions (S.J.Res. 37, 38, 44) are directed. For if this amendment or those of its ilk were to be enacted, the right of each American to be equal politically would be trampled upon. For as Chief Justice Warren wrote in Reynolds v. Sims (1964), "To the extent that a citizen's right to vote is debased, he is that much less a citizen."

Ample evidence has been presented before this committee and others to show the extraordinary degree of legislative malapportionment now existing in the state legsilatures. For example, in Gerogia at the time of Baker v. Carr (1962), the largest legislative district was over ninety-nine times the size of the smallest. In Alabama, one-fourth of the total electorate may elect a majority of the House or Senate. In Nevada, eight percent of the total population may elect a majority of the Senate, in California 10.7%, and in Vermpnt, 11.9%.

Already much has been done to implement the Supreme Court's "one man one vote" standard. In 1964, ten state legislatures reapportioned themselves and four more were done by court order. In 1965, twenty-four states are under court order to reapportion before the next election. It is t is progress which these amendments seek to stop.

In brief, the opposition to the principle of "one man one vote " is directed against our urban centers. "The original constitutions of thirty-six states required that representation be basdd completely, or almost so, on population. Subsequently...the practice was to change because of the growth of big cities."(Advisory Committee on Intergovernmental Relations, Apportionment of State Legislatures, p. 11) It was only when urban areas began to grow and when redistricting, as required by their constituttions, meant shifting power to these new urban areas, did state legislatures seek to freeze in rural domination. In times past, and now too, this rural domination has hindered successive generations of urban dwellers -- many new immigrants and workers.

Today, this under-representation of urban areas serves to perpetuate the denial of equal rights to Negroes. In 1960, over 72% of Negroes in the United States lived in urban areas. Throughout the South in particular, the Negro is increasingly leaving the rural areas to move to cities. For example, in Alabama, the percentage of non-whites living in urban areas in 1960 is up 23% over 1950, the comparable figure for Mississippi is 27.6%, for North Carolina 26.4%, for Louisiana over 200%, and for Florida 71.3%.

Thus it may fairly be said that the denial of equal representation to urban dwellers is most directly a denial of full citizenship to the Negro.

What of the proposals of Senators Dirksen, Church, Javits and others ? In short, these amendments (S.J. 2,37,38,44) would permit a bicameral state legislature to apportion one of its houses on other than a population basis, with the provison that a popular referendum approve such a plan.

No provision to deny a person of constitutionally guaranteed rights -- especially the most precious right, to vote -- can be put to a vote of others. The very idea of holding a vote to decide whether to grant someone the right to free speech or to a jury trial is abherent to our basic tradition. So, too, is the placing before the general public the question as to whether the power of their own or others vote shall be diminished !

Alternately, some propose that the state legislatures petition Congress to amend the Constitution to overturn the "one man one vote" rule. Here we have an example of the height of political conflict of interest — those who stand most directly to be affected by the rule petitioning for its change ! And further, the idea of southern legislatures, whose members have been elected by a process which has historically and does presently exclude Negroes from voting, voting to establish a system which will perpetuate the political inferiority of Negroes, is contrary to every standard of justice so as truly to merit the label of "un-American."

Finally, the proposal that one house of a bicameral legislature may be apportioned "upon the basis of factors other than population" is vague as to what these bases may be. Indeed, there is nothing in the proposals themselves which would prevent that basis from being race. Even were the legislatures to be less blatant (and unconstitutional; a factor, I must note, which has not deterred them in the past) than to use race, the use of such bases as years of schooling, property, or income all could effectively diminish the power of the Negro vote. For an example of how allegedly non-racial criteria effectively isolate and weaken the Negro, one need only observe the de facto segregation of northern school districts, the lines of which are drawn on obstensibly non-racial bases. And, of course, the designation of the "factors other than population" upon which one house of the state legislature would be apportioned, would be by the very legislators, in many southern states at least, who have been elected by an electorate from which Negroes have been excluded. Thus, the unrepresentative legislatures would be permitted to devise the scheme for perpetuating their own unrepresentative rule. And no popular referendum — and I ask you to what extent the coercive denial of the vote to Negroes would affect their participation in such an election ? — can undo or mitigate the undemocratic nature of such a scheme.

What of the practical effect of the continuation of minority rule in state legislatures ? For the Negro it would mean that even where our highest court has set a standard -- "one man one vote" -- the racists, the bigots, the reactionarieis, and the self-interested can connive to deny them equality. The American political process has only recently begun to deal with a measure of justice with the Negro, and it has been the Supreme Court which has courageously led the way. To take the unprecedented step of over-turning the Court's ruling in this matter would in effect say to Negroes that where their rights are concerned any measure to thwart them is acceptable.

For the governing of our country this proposal would mark a leap backward, and indeed would inevitably promote the further growth of the federal government at the expense of the states, which so many of the sponsors of these proposals profess to abhor. In a nation now over 70% urban the problems of cities present the great challenge of our domestic life. Schools, housing, welfare, transportation, metropolitan government, civil rights all loom large as urban problems, and all these have gotten (and I fear will continue to get) short shrift from rural dominated state legislatures. The city dwellers, black and white, are entitled to the opportunity of dealing with their problems, unfettered by an unequal share of power in the state legislature, and unshackled by permanent unequal representation.

To register freely, to vote freely, to have one's vote honestly counted, and to have one's vote equally counted -- these are the components of the right to vote. To deprive a person at any one of these stages is to deny him the right to vote. Therefore, we urge the defeat of these vote denying proposals.

make file HUAC

MAY 1 7 1965

Wiley

New York Council
To Abolish The House Un-American Activities Committee
150 WEST 34TH STREET, NEW YORK 1, N.Y. • PE 6-3228

May 13, 1965

Dear Friend,

You are urged to attend a meeting of the New York Council to Abolish HUAC to be held:

Thursday, May 20, 1965
at 7:30 P.M.
in the Forum Room
SHERATON-ATLANTIC HOTEL
34th St. and Sixth Ave.

In the past months, since the death of our chairman, Edward Crawford, last November, the Council has continued to function and has compiled an enviable record of accomplishments. It has:

1) tripled the opposition to HUAC among Metropolitan New York City - Northern New Jersey area Congressmen over the 1963 vote at the time of two roll calls February 25, a record that far surpasses that of any other similar area and which followed a highly successful Washington delegation, twice the size of previous years,

2) acheived the co-sponsorship by six N.Y. area Congressmen of the anti-HUAC Edwards resolution - these are six of a total of 13 throughout the country,

3) mounted a campaign against HUAC's planned investigation of the Ku Klux Klan which, as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and others point out, is likely to be the springboard for an attack on civil rights groups.

HUAC has now announced new hearings in Chicago May 25 involving persons working in a West-Side Chicago civil rights group. HUAC and the Senate Internal Security (Eastland) Subcommittee continue to be the instruments of destructive attacks on the civil rights, peace, and other movements expressing dissent. Recent evidence from the South reinforces the urgency of abolishing these committees. We must plan the continuing fight back!

The Executive Board is pleased to present a slate of candidates to reconstitute the leadership of the New York Council. This slate will be headed by Hedi Piel for chairman of the Council. Mrs. Piel is the Democratic Party Assembly District Leader, Fifth Assembly District, North on Manhattan's West side. She led the New York Council's delegation to Washington last year. She was responsible for the 1964 anti-HUAC resolution which she pressed through the Executive Committee of the N.Y. County Democratic Committee (Tammany Hall) of which she is a member.

You can help win the fight against HUAC and SISS and preserve the right to dissent in these times when it is so important for all Americans. Please plan to attend this important meeting.

Sincerely yours,

William A. Price

William A. Price
Executive Secretary

make folder HUAC

Statement to the Press

by Jeremiah Stamler, M.D.

May 24, 1965

Since receiving a subpoena to appear before the Committee on Un-American Activities, I have deliberated very carefully on the proper course to defend my scientific work, my integrity and my rights. I have retained counsel, Albert E. Jenner, Jr. and Thomas P. Sullivan of Raymond, Mayer, Jenner & Block, of Chicago, and William M. Kunstler and Arthur Kinoy of Kunstler, Kunstler and Kinoy, of New York City.

Based on careful evaluation, I have come to the conclusion -- confirmed and supported by counsel -- that there exist serious questions of interest and importance to all Americans concerning the constitutional validity of the Committee on Un-American Activities procedures. The appropriate forum for the resolution of these matters is the courts of the United States. Accordingly, my counsel have instituted an appropriate civil action in the federal court here in Chicago to obtain a prompt judicial resolution of the constitutional validity of this Committee.

The full legal and constitutional basis for this suit is set forth in detail in the attached legal complaint. This matter is now in the hands of the court, and will undoubtedly go forward in accordance with due process. My appearance before the Committee hearings will -- on advice of counsel -- be in conformity with this civil action, testing the constitutional authority of this Committee to proceed.

I take this serious and important legal step -- on advice of counsel -- in the belief that as a professional man, scientist and public servant I have special responsibilities to my fellow citizens. I am convinced that the civil action I have authorized my attorneys to institute is the most appropriate and dignified way to fulfill my responsibilities under the circumstances -- to professional work and colleagues, to friends and family, to the defense of my reputation, to these United States, our laws, law-making and judicial bodies, our Constitution, and above all to fellow citizens in Chicago and elsewhere.

I trust this action will not be misconstrued or distorted. I regard it as an assumption of a difficult social responsibility, not an evasion. This I regard as in keeping with my unswerving loyalty, allegiance and devotion to my country and its people, whom I have strived to serve with dedication throughout my adult life, as I have strived to serve all humanity.

Having responded to the action of the Committee in the most principled, honorable and dignified manner I know how, the desire and purpose uppermost in my mind is to continue our research group's long-term investigative work on the causes and prevention of heart attacks and strokes, and to continue the fine program of chronic disease control being pursued by our Division of Adult Health and Aging at the Chicago Board of Health. As I have heretofore stated, "I know no better way to serve out city, our nation and its people than to strive for the conquest of disease and the achievement of better health, and it is in this endeavor that I have attempted to express my personal dedication to a constructive life of social responsibility and service to the American people and all humanity."

For years I have had hanging in my office and home a fine portrait of Albert Einstein, inscribed with a quotation from him that magnificently expresses the humanism that has been the essence of my social outlook since I gained maturity. I stand on that high ground.

"Man is here for the sake of other men -- above all, for those upon whose smile and well-being our own happiness depends, and also for the countless unknown souls with whose fate we are connected by a bond of sympathy. Many times a day I realize how much my own outer and inner life is built upon the labors of my fellow-men, both living and dead, and how earnestly I must exert myself in order to give in return as much as I have received."

Albert Einstein

Statement to Fellow Scientists
and Physicians

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May 24, 1965

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I am fully aware of the basic issues involved here. They concern first of all the fate of the elementary rights and freedoms of Americans, won in the War of Independence, codified in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and reinforced by the amendments following the Civil War: religious freedom, freedom of conscience, speech, petition, assembly, association, the rights of due process and absolute protection against bills of attainder (i.e. legislative punishment).

I am profoundly convinced that the Committee on Un-American Activities and its operations violate these fundamental guarantees of liberty. I have arrived at this conclusion based on a study of the Committee and its record, made available by legal counsel. This included a review of the debate in the House of Representatives on February 25, 1965, concerning the Committee (Congressional Record Vol. 111, No. 37, p. 3561), and an examination of relevant Supreme Court opinions.

To be named or subpoenaed by this Committee is to be indicted. To be called before its hearings is -- for all but its few chosen friendly witnesses -- to be put on trial without a fair and reasonable opportunity to be heard. This is an indictment and a trial proceeding contrary to all established judicial order and rule. Witnesses presented by the Committee cannot be cross-examined by counsel in open court. Allegations presented as facts cannot be put to any test of validity. No witnesses may be brought before the public sessions of the Committee to testify in behalf of accused.

This is no dispassionate fact-finding legislative body with a true legislative purpose -- as evidenced by the fact that its two decades of work, and expenditure of millions of dollars (it is one of the most expensive House Committees) has produced only three legislative bills approved by the Congress. Rather, it is a classical star chamber proceeding, an inquisition in every sense of the word. It is in full violation of the Constitution of the United States.

The Committee's violations of legality are an inevitable by-product of the false premises it promulgates as its point of departure. As a working scientist, I learned early that false initial assumptions inevitably lead to false conclusions and erroneous proposals. Thus, as long as the false notion persisted -- prior to Galileo, Kepler and Copernicus -- that the sun rotated around the earth, there could be no real science of astronomy. As long as the belief held on -- prior to Harvey -- that the blood surged to and fro, and did not circulate, there could be no real science of physiology or medicine. As long as the superstition held sway that persons with mental illness were possessed by devils, there could be no scientific psychiatry. And in my own field of research on atherosclerosis, there could be no substantial progress until the false premise had been dispelled that this was not a disease but rather an aspect of normal aging.

The Committee on Un-American Activities -- I am deeply convinced -- is in profound error precisely because it proceeds throughout on the basis of totally erroneous premises. Its fundamental false assumption is that it has the right and ability to define Americanism, and to fix its criteria for Un-Americanism -- and on the basis of these arbitrary self-selected standards ferret out "Un-Americans". In these regards, its axioms are akin to those of the witch hunters of the 17th century, and its procedures parallel the witch hunters' methods of ordeal by fire or water. Historical experience with inquisitions -- recent and not so recent, in this country and abroad -- has demonstrated in abundant and grim detail how dangerous it is for a people to be saddled with these false premises.

As already emphasized, the adoption or imposition of false premises and hardened dogmas in science has a grossly debilitating effect. It is a truism that the forward advance of science -- including biomedical science -- in its continuously expanding effort to master nature for the benefit of mankind, requires a healthy free intellectual climate, a true open market place -- national and international --

for the exchange and flow of ideas. Repressive political interference in science can have only one effect -- to stifle and hold back the acquisition of vital knowledge, to do great harm to research programs that have the potential to bring great benefit to all Americans and all humanity. This threat is very real and concrete in the present instance.

This problem transcends the work and welfare of any single individual, including myself. It relates in a most fundamental way to the methods and approaches we take as a people to the complex problems presently confronting our nation and the world. As Americans, we have the good fortune to live in a New World of tremendous accomplishment, where broad sections of the population enjoy great economic and social blessings. In terms of health for example -- my field of specialization -- the age-old scourges of famine and pestilence have been all but vanquished. As a result, 25 years have been added to life expectancy of Americans in the twentieth century alone, and a newborn baby today can expect to live to age 70 instead of age 45, as in 1900.

But difficult problems remain, some old, some new. In the field of health they encompass such complex challenges as the cardiovascular diseases -- first and foremost, hardening of the arteries and high blood pressure and their complications (e.g. heart attacks and strokes). These alone are responsible for a majority of deaths in our country, a total of over one million estimated for the current year. Then there are such huge and challenging problems as cancer, diabetes, automobile accidents, and air pollution, to name but a few in the health field alone.

Going beyond this area, there are matters impressing themselves upon us day-after-day in the newspapers: civil rights, poverty, crime, the population boom, our relations with other nations (including communist countries),war and the very survival of our human species.

One thing is clear: these complex problems can be tackled and solved only by a free people soberly utilizing every intellectual resource of rationalism, objectivity, probing and analysis in the process of evaluation and decision making. The scientific method is needed -- within the general framework of a dedicated humanism devoted to the well-being of mankind, in our country and throughout the world.

The approaches of the Committee on Un-American Activities -- based on false premises, arbitrary criteria, preformed judgments and repression of rationality and intellect -- preclude the systematic application of intelligence to the solution of the complex problems of the modern world. Therein lies perhaps its greatest danger. Therein lies the necessity to resist its stifling influence.

These then are the considerations of conscience basic to our civil suit testing the constitutionality of the Committee on Un-American Activities. I trust this action will not be misconstrued or distorted. I regard it as an assumption of a difficult social responsibility, not an evasion. This I regard as in keeping with my unswerving loyalty, allegiance and devotion to my country and its people, whom I have strived to serve with dedication throughout my adult life, as I have strived to serve all humanity.

Having responded to the action of the Committee in the most principled, honorable and dignified manner I know how, the desire and purpose uppermost in my mind is to continue our research group's long-term investigative work on the causes and prevention of heart attacks and strokes, and to continue the fine program of chronic disease control being pursued by our Division of Adult Health and Aging at the Chicago Board of Health. As I have heretofore stated, "I know no better way to serve our city, our nation and its people than to strive for the conquest of disease and the achievement of better health, and it is in this endeavor that I have attempted to express my personal dedication to a constructive life of social responsibility and service to the American people and all humanity."

For years I have had hanging in my office and home a fine portrait of Albert Einstein, inscribed with a quotation from him that magnificently expresses the humanism that has been the essence of my social outlook since I gained maturity. I stand on that high ground.

> "Man is here for the sake of other men -- above all, for those upon whose smile and well-being our own happiness depends, and also for the countless unknown souls with whose fate we are connected by a bond of sympathy. Many times a day I realize how much my own outer and inner life is built upon the labors of my fellow-men, both living and dead, and how earnestly I must exert myself in order to give in return as much as I have received."
>
> Albert Einstein

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF ILLINOIS
EASTERN DIVISION

JEREMIAH STAMLER, M.D. and)
YOLANDA F. HALL,)
)
Plaintiffs,)
)
vs.) No.
)
HON. EDWIN E. WILLIS, HON. JOHN)
M. ASHBROOK, HON. DEL CLAWSON,)
HON. JOE R. POOL, HON. CHARLES L.)
WELTNER, HON. WILLIAM M. TUCK,)
HON. RICHARD H. ICHARD, HON.)
GEORGE F. SENNER, JR., and HON.)
JOHN H. BUCHANAN, JR., individually)
and as Chairman and Members of the)
Committee on Un-American Activities)
of the United States House of)
Representatives,)
)
Defendants.)

COMPLAINT

Plaintiffs Jeremiah Stamler, M.D. and Yolanda F. Hall submit the following complaint against defendants Hon. Edwin E. Willis, Chairman, and Hon. John M. Ashbrook, Hon. Del Clawson, Hon. Joe R. Pool, Hon. Charles L. Weltner, Hon. William M. Tuck, Hon. Richard H. Ichard, Hon. George F. Senner, Jr., and Hon. John H. Buchanan, Jr., Members, of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the United States House of Representatives:

1. Plaintiff Jeremiah Stamler, M.D. is a citizen of the State of Illinois and of the United States. He has been licensed to practice medicine since 1948. He is and has been for some years the Executive Director of the Chicago Health Research Foundation and the Western Hemisphere Editor of the "Journal of Atherosclerosis Research." He is a member and past and present officer of many professional and scientific societies. He is the author of several scientific books and numerous scientific articles on the subject of

diseases of the heart and blood vessels. He is and has been the recipient of many long-term research grants for local and national scientific studies, from the National Institutes of Health and the United States Public Health Service, the American Heart Association, the Chicago Heart Association, and other granting agencies. On May 21, 1965 he received the Albert Lasker Award in Medical Journalism from the Albert and Mary Lasker Medical Foundation, for his co-authorship of a series of articles dealing with the prevention of heart attacks. He is and has been for some years the Director of the Division of Adult Health and Aging, and the Director of the Heart Disease Control Program, both of the Chicago Board of Health, Chicago, Illinois. He sues individually and on behalf of all other citizens similarly situated.

2. Plaintiff Yolanda F. Hall is a citizen of the State of Illinois and of the United States. She holds a Master of Science degree awarded by the Department of Home Economics of the Illinois Institute of Technology. She is and has been for some years a Research Nutritionist for the Heart Disease Control Program of the Chicago Board of Health and for the Chicago Health Research Foundation. She sues individually and on behalf of all other citizens similarly situated.

3. Defendant Hon. Edwin E. Willis is a citizen of the State of Louisiana. He is made a party individually and as Chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives of the United States House of Representatives (hereafter "House Un-American Activities Committee"). Defendants Hon. Joe R. Pool, a citizen of the State of Texas, Hon. Charles L. Weltner, a citizen of the State of Georgia, Hon. John M. Ashbrook, a citizen of the State of Ohio, Hon. Del Clawson, a citizen of the State of California,

Hon. William M. Tuck, a citizen of the State of Virginia, Hon. Richard H. Ichard, a citizen of the State of Missouri, Hon. George F. Senner, Jr., a citizen of the State of Arizona, and Hon. John H. Buchanan, Jr., a citizen of the State of Alabama, are made parties individually and as members of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

4. The jurisdiction of the Court arises under 28 U.S.C. §§ 1331, 1332, 1343 (3) and (4), 2201, 2202, 2282, 2284; 42 U.S.C. § 1983; and under the Constitution of the United States and in particular under Article I, Section 9, Clause 3, Article III, and the First, Fifth, Ninth, Tenth, and Fourteenth Amendments thereto.

5. The amount in controversy, exclusive of interest and costs, exceeds $10,000.

6. Defendants and each of them, acting in concert and under the color of an unconstitutional Act of Congress and Resolution of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, set forth below, together with other persons acting under the color of laws, whose identies are presently unknown to plaintiffs, have undertaken and endeavored to subject plaintiffs and others similarly situated to the deprivation of rights, privileges and immunities secured to them by the Constitution and laws of the United States.

7. Pursuant to the aforesaid undertaking and endeavor, defendants have caused to be issued and served upon Plaintiffs certain subpoenas, copies of which are attached hereto as Exhibits 1 and 2, which direct plaintiffs, and each of them, to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee, or a duly appointed subcommittee thereof, to be convened in Chicago, Illinois, on May 25, 1965, at 10:30 A.M.

8. Defendants have taken the aforesaid action under and pursuant to the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1964, 60 Stat. 812, 828 (U.S. Code Congressional Service, 1946, p. 793), which embodies Rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives of the United States establishing the charter of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Rule XI of said Act provides in pertinent part:

> "The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation."

9. Rule XI of said Act is illegal and void as applied to plaintiffs, and as utilized by defendants and their predecessors in the past, in that it violates the Constitution of the United States and in particular the First, Fifth, Ninth and Tenth Amendments thereto, for the following reasons, among others:

(a) Rule XI violates the First and Fifth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States because it is unduly vague, uncertain and broad. Its overbroad sweep inhibits and deters the exercise by citizens of the United States of the rights of freedom of speech, press, assembly, privacy, to remain silent, and of association, in violation of the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. The dragnet sweep of the provisions of Rule XI of said act violates the command of the First Amendment that

Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

(b) It appears from both the origin of Rule XI, and the setting within which the Committee has in the past operated pursuant to its charter, that Rule XI purports to establish a general authority in the House Un-American Activities Committee publicly to expose the private affairs of individuals without justification in terms of the legitimate investigative functions of the Congress, all in violation of the Consitution of the United States, and beyond and in excess of any powers granted to the Congress by the Constitution of the United States.

(c) Rule XI has authorized the creation of a governmental mechanism with the sole purpose and objective of forcing public disclosure of beliefs, opinions, expressions and associations of private citizens which may be unorthodox or unpopular, resulting in public stigma, scorn and obloquy, all beyond any powers granted to the Congress by the Constitution of the United States.

(d) Rule XI purports to authorize such a sweeping, unlimited and all-inclusive compulsory examination of witnesses in the constitutionally protected areas of speech, press, petition and assembly, that it violates the procedural requirements of the Due Process Clause of the Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution.

(e) The delegation of authority by Congress to the House Un-American Activities Committee contained in Rule XI is so vague, ambiguous and uncertain that it cannot support or authorize investigations by the House Un-American Activities Committee which affect or deter the citizens of the United

States in the exercise of their rights of freedom of speech, press, petition and assembly, as guaranteed by the First Amendment to the federal constitution.

(f) Rule XI purports to sanction a usurpation of the functions of the executive and judicial branches of the national government, in violation of the principle of separation of powers which underlies the Constitution of the United States.

(g) Rule XI of said Act violates the prohibition against Bills of Attainder set forth in Article I, Section 9, Clause 1 of the Constitution in that it authorizes and provides for legislative punishment.

(h) Rule XI violates Article III of the Constitution in that it sanctions and authorizes the imposition of punishment for the exercise of rights otherwise guaranteed by the First Amendment.

10. (a) Under color of said Act and Rule, defendants have caused said subpoenas to be issued to plaintiffs (Exhibits 1 and 2) commanding them to appear before the said Committee at a public hearing on May 25, 1965, for the purpose of embarrassing, harassing and intimidating plaintiffs and to deter plaintiffs from the exercise of their rights, privileges and immunities as citizens of the United States, and in particular their rights to freedom of belief, speech, press, assembly and association guaranteed by the First Amendment.

(b) For several years, plaintiff Yolanda Hall has been active in Chicago, Illinois, and especially in the area known as Austin, both privately and in conjunction with various civic organizations, in efforts to secure for Negro citizens the rights guaranteed to them by the federal Constitution. Plaintiffs allege upon information and belief that certain persons, some of whom are named in the exhibits attached hereto, and some of whose names and identities are unknown to plaintiffs, have induced defendants to issue subpoenaes to plaintiffs, not for any authorized or legitimate legislative purpose or investigation, but solely in order to punish, embarrass and harass her for said activities, and in order to punish, embarrass and harass plaintiff Stamler, who hired plaintiff Hall and who is her immediate superior, and to intimidate and deter plaintiff Hall and others who have carried on such activities, both in Chicago and elsewhere in the United States, from carrying on those activities in the future.

11. There has been no specification or information given to plaintiffs, and none is contained in the subpoenaes attached as Exhibits 1 and 2, as to the purposes or scope of the hearings to be held before defendants on May 25, 1965, or as to the matters which defendants intend or desire to investigate. Therefore, if and when plaintiffs are interrogated by defendants, plaintiffs will be unable to determine (i) whether the investigation is relevant or germane to any authorized or legitimate legislative function, or (ii) issues of relevancy and materiality, or (iii) whether there is so compelling a need for plaintiffs to reply to defendants' questions that infringement of plaintiffs' constitutional rights is justified. Plaintiffs will therefore be unable to exercise intelligently and effectively the rights guaranteed to plaintiffs by the Constitution of the United States.

12. (a) The purported subpoenaes issued to the plaintiffs, and the hearings to be convened by the House Un-American Activities Committee on May 25, 1965 at Chicago, Illinois, are illegal and void in that defendants have violated the Rules of Procedure of the Committee, and in particular Rule 26(m) and Rule XVI thereof, which provide as follows:

> "(m) If the committee determines that evidence or testimony at an investigative hearing may tend to defame, degrade, or incriminate any person, it shall—
>
> (1) receive such evidence or testimony in executive session;"
>
> "XVI. No Member of the Committee or staff shall make public the name of any witness subpenaed before the Committee or Subcommittee prior to the date of his appearance."

(b) In violation of Rule 26(m), said subpoenaes are returnable at a place which is open to the general public.

(c) In violation of Rule XVI, the names of plaintiffs and other persons subpoenaed to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee on May 25, 1965, have been released by defendants, their agents, employees or attorneys, or persons acting in concert with them, to certain public news media, including newspapers in and around Chicago, Illinois, resulting in the publication of plaintiffs' names, and photographs of plaintiff Stamler, in newspapers in and around Cook County, Illinois, representative samples of which are attached hereto as Exhibits 3 et seq. This publicity has resulted in great harm to plaintiffs and their families in their professional and private lives, and to their professional and private reputations.

13. The extensive publicity which has been given to the activities of the House Un-American Activities Committee, and especially the adverse publicity and public scorn which has been visited upon those who have resisted, opposed, failed to cooperate with, or questioned the motives or procedures of the House Un-American Activities Committee, have caused many citizens of the United States, including plaintiffs, to fear being subpoenaed by the House Un-American Activities Committee, and in order to avoid the risk of being subpoenaed, to forego the exercise of their right of freedom of speech, press, assembly, petition, and other rights and privileges guaranteed to all citizens by the First Amendment to the federal Constitution. Unless this Court restrains defendants as requested herein, (i) defendants, their successors and agents will continue to harass, intimidate and defame citizens, including plaintiffs, and (ii) citizens, including plaintiffs, will become more and more fearful of risking the displeasure of or being subpoenaed by the House Un-American Activities Committee, and (iii) with the resulting chilling and deterent effect upon the

valuable constitutional rights of all citizens, and the loss to society of the benefits of fearless and unfettered expression of ideas and beliefs.

14. The hearings to be held at Chicago, Illinois beginning on May 25, 1965 are not intended to and in fact will not advance any legitimate legislative purpose or investigation. The purpose, intention and effect of the efforts of defendants to enforce this Act and Rule is to deter, intimidate, hinder and prevent plaintiffs and persons similarly situated in Illinois and throughout the nation from exercising the constitutional rights to freedom of belief, speech, press, privacy and association guaranteed to them by the First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, to hold up to public obloquy and scorn all those who resist or refuse to cooperate with defendants or who question defendants' motives or the propriety of defendants' procedures, and to embarrass, punish and deter persons whose political, economic, philosophical and other views, ideas and beliefs do not coincide with defendants, and to embarrass, punish and deter persons who have actively attempted to secure equal rights for Negro citizens and other minority groups in the United States. Unless this Court restrains the operation and enforcement of said Rule, plaintiffs and all persons similarly situated will risk and suffer irreparable and immediate loss or substantial impairment of fundamental rights as a result of the chilling effect of the enforcement and operation of this Act and Rule upon the exercise of First Amendment rights.

15. Defendants have in the past caused and they threaten to continue in the future to cause the utilization of federal criminal statutes, in particular 2 U.S.C. § 192, to compel citizens to disclose publicly their beliefs, opinions, expressions and associations, and to bring adverse publicity and public derision to those who fail or refuse to cooperate with defendants, all in violation of the Constitution of the United States and in particular the First and Fifth Amendments thereto.

16. (a) Plaintiffs fear that if they appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee pursuant to said subpoenaes, and decline to respond to defendants' questions for the reasons stated herein, they will be subjected to prosecution for criminal contempt with resulting adverse publicity, public obloquy, and injury to plaintiffs and their families in their professional and private lives.

(b) Plaintiffs fear that if they appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee pursuant to said subpoenaes, they will be unable to intelligently and effectively protect their constitutional rights, because they will be unable to determine whether defendants' inquiries are germane and material to the legitimate legislative purposes, if any, of the House Un-American Activities Committee, or impinge upon plaintiffs' constitutional rights, and plaintiffs will therefore subject themselves to multiple, lengthy and costly criminal contempt proceedings, all of which will result in irreparable harm to plaintiffs and their families, both financially and in their professional and private reputations.

17. Furthermore, unless the enforcement and operation of said Act and Rule is restrained by this Court, immediate and irreparable injury and harm may be done to plaintiffs and to the entire nation in that the effect of the enforcement of the aforesaid subpoenaes against plaintiffs will be to interfere with, injure, undermine and destroy invaluable medical research programs in the area of the prevention of heart disease presently under the control and direction of plaintiff Stamler, who is assisted by plaintiff Hall.

18. No previous application for this relief has been made.

WHEREFORE, plaintiffs pray:

1. That pursuant to 28 U.S.C. §§ 2282 and 2284, a three-judge court be immediately convened to hear and determine this proceeding.

2. That a permanent injunction issue:

(a) Restraining defendants and each of them, their agents, employees and attorneys, and all others acting in concert with them, and their successors, from the enforcement, operation or execution in any way whatever of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, 60 Stat. 817, 828, insofar as that Act incorporates Rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives establishing the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives.

(b) Restraining defendants and each of them, their agents, employees and attorneys, and all others acting in concert with them, and their successors, from impeding, intimidating, hindering and preventing plaintiffs from exercising the rights, privileges and immunities guaranteed to them by the Constitution and laws of the United States.

(c) Restraining defendants and each of them, their agents, employees, and attorneys, and all others acting in concert with them, and their successors, from attempting to issue subpoenaes, hold hearings or take any action whatsoever under the purported authority of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, 60 Stat. 817, 828, or House Rule XI of the Rules of the United States House of Representatives.

3. That this Court enter a judgment declaring that the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, 60 Stat. 817, 828, insofar as it incorporates Rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives establishing the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives, violates the Constitution of the United States and is therefore void and of no effect.

4. That this Court declare the hearings to be convened by defendants on May 25, 1965 at Chicago, Illinois are illegal and void.

5. That this Court enter a judgment declaring that the subpoenaes served on plaintiffs (Exhibits 1 and 2) are void, and that plaintiffs need not comply with those subpoenaes.

6. Pending the hearing and determination of this action, this Court enter an interlocutory injunction restraining defendents and each of them, their agents, employees and attorneys, and all others acting in concert with them, and their successors, from (i) convening or proceeding with the hearings scheduled to begin on May 25, 1965 at Chicago, Illinois, (ii) from proceeding upon or enforcing in any way the subpoenaes issued to and served upon plaintiffs (Exhibits 1 and 2), including any proceeding to enforce those subpoenaes pursuant to the criminal provisions of Title 2 U.S.C. Section 192, and (iii) from seeking or receiving in any hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee, wherever held, any evidence or testimony concerning plaintiffs or their immediate families; and

7. They be given all other relief as the Court may deem appropriate.

Albert E. Jenner, Jr.

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STATE OF ILLINOIS)
) SS.
COUNTY OF COOK)

AFFIDAVIT

Jeremiah Stamler on oath states that the matters stated in this Complaint are true, except those matters alleged therein to be made upon information and belief, which matters he is informed and believes are true.

____
Jeremiah Stamler

Signed and sworn to before
me May_____, 1965.

____
Notary Public

file HUAC

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WILLIAM M. KUNSTLER
MICHAEL J. KUNSTLER
ARTHUR KINOY

CABLE ADDRESS
"KANDKLEX"

June 1, 1965

MEMORANDUM

We are enclosing for your information a copy of a complaint which has been filed in Federal District Court in Chicago, challenging the constitutionality, power and authority of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The complaint has been filed by Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, one of the most eminent American scientists in the area of heart disease research. The Illinois attorneys are headed by Mr. Albert E. Jenner,Jr., former President of the Illinois Bar Association and one of the chief executive counsel for the Warren Commission. We are associated with Mr. Jenner of counsel in the action.

A single federal judge has refused to convene a three-judge court and the case is now on appeal to the Court of Appeals.

We are also enclosing for your information a copy of Dr. Stamler's statements indicating his reasons for having brought this law suit, as well as a copy of Mr. Jenner's statement before the Committee.

George - filed - HUAC

file Housing

REAL ESTATE CONFIDENTIAL

by Daniel M. Friedenberg

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DISSENT - SUMMER 1961)

I.

The most striking fact about New York in the last decade is the realty boom. Wherever one goes--in the heart of old Manhattan or the farther outskirts of the Bronx and Staten Island--construction is seen. Craters yawn in what were pleasant meadows, metallic booms and tiers of steel loom against the sky, overhead bridges span entire sidewalks with scaffolding and the pressure hammer constantly gnaws at the vitals of the pavement. It would seem that nothing is spared in this massive demolition and rebuilding. Old trees and young buildings enter the same insatiable maw; for neither leafy elms nor elegant Park Avenue structures can withstand the path of progress as conceived by builders.

It must bewilder the senses of the spectator, this awesome chopping down and regurgitation of concrete and steel. Why are stately edifices barely thirty years old uprooted for squat ribbon-windowed office structures? Why are new massive apartment houses crowded jowl to jowl, blocking out air and light, when even the atrophied organs of the city dweller still feel joy at a shaft of sunshine? And, most of all, where do the tenants come from to fill the wave on wave of new apartments and office buildings? With rents frozen at approximately $20-30 in the older houses, while the new apartments charge an average closer to $60 per room for lower ceilings and cheap partitions; with older commercial space renting at an average of about $3 per square foot while the newer office buildings demand almost double--what is behind this boom?

The author of this article has participated in the postwar building frenzy from its inception. He has watched its legitimate start, when the city woke from a depression lethargy and war immobility, to erect new housing for the generation of war brides and new offices equipped with air-conditioning, acoustical ceilings and fluorescent lighting. He has seen the maturity of the boom, as shifts in racial population have altered the residential character of whole boroughs and the needs of expanding business have integrated many out-of-town companies into the financial web of the metropolis. And he has now begun to observe a repetition of the overbuilding of the 1920s in which, like fabled Midas whose touch turned everything to gold, the city will throttle itself.

To understand why the builders have had such a field day in New York City and continue to build without reference to actual space needs, skyrocketing land values and ever higher construction costs, the economic background must be examined. Building is a favored industry, comparable in some respects to oil drilling from the point of view of accelerated depreciation, and stock market speculation in so far as capital gains are concerned. The tax structure is deliberately keyed to subsidize the rich and acquisitive, who then find themselves compelled by the very logic of this favoritism to expand and expand again without reference to the market needs; and let the devil take the hindmost!

The factors that stand behind this favoritism can be simply enumerated: land appreciation, the leasehold device, tax-free accelerated depreciation, new complex methods of financing, the development of the syndicate, juggling of space measurement, "escalation" clauses and maintenance charges, and the use of capital gains. This study will concern itself primarily with private enterprise and not public housing nor the very genuine efforts of organizations like the United Housing Corporation, the non-profit group run by Abraham Kazan, whose efforts have accomplished more in building decent apartments for the middle class in New York City than all the speculative builders put together.

II.

LAND--It is undoubtedly true that many of the old American fortunes originated in land speculation. The Astors, Goelets, Rhinelanders and Schermerhorns profited by the tremendous expansion of New York City in the early part of the nineteenth century. A possibly apocryphal story illustrates the technique. John Jacob Astor offered to sell a Wall Street lot for $8,000 in 1810. A buyer, surprised at the low price, promptly appeared.

"Yes, you are astonished," Astor was reported to have said. "But see what I intend to do with the eight thousand dollars. That Wall Street lot, it is true, will be worth twelve thousand dollars in a few years. But I shall take the eight thousand dollars and buy eighty lots above Canal Street and by the time your one lot is worth twelve thousand dollars, my eighty lots will be worth eighty thousand dollars."

In our time, however, the big money in real estate rarely enters land speculation. The leisurely approach, waiting five to ten years for land appreciation, does not fit the tempo of modern life. Only the very rich, mindful neither of temporary losses nor income taxes, can afford this outlook. The government has taken the position that since buildings age, a certain part of their cost may be allowed as a tax-free deduction each year. This is known as depreciation. But the tax authorities refuse to allow depreciation on land itself, following the sound theory that land cannot wear out. As a result, investment in land for the sake of future appreciation is limited either to very small endeavors or to the extremely powerful who think in terms of generations rather than of their annual tax return.

Certain old estates still follow this approach: the Astors and Goelets are still with us. The Astor Estate, for example, anticipated the development of Park Avenue as a financial community and purchased several large plots between 46th and 59th Streets in the 1940s. The Aramco Building, constructed by the Uris Brothers as the first large postwar building, was erected on Astor land. The Goelet Estate acquired the blockfront on the south side of 42nd Street between Lexington and 3rd Avenues, on which the Galbreath interests erected the Socony Mobil Building. And, in a continuing process, the Astors are now investing in land to the East of Park Avenue in the 50s, while the Goelet heirs have acquired a large plot directly facing the Lincoln Square project.

No special genius is required to foresee such developments. The future of Park Avenue above Grand Central was clearly understood by most old-time investors, as is the future value of land in areas directly abutting the present midtown nexus. It is still possible to buy land located in proximity to Lincoln Square for about $35 a foot, which should certainly triple in value within the decade. But only the very rich can afford to make such investments, for they require enormous outlays of cash, rarely can be mortgaged to a significant extent and usually show a carrying loss.

Sometimes, of course, land speculation does produce fabulous profits. From the small truck farmer whose lot on Staten Island happens to sit adjacent to the bridge now being built over the Narrows to Brooklyn, to the Bronx junk dealer whose yard abuts the junction of the Hutchinson River Parkway with the Cross Bronx Expressway, we are all familiar with such luck. But there are other examples in which more than blind chance is involved. In one case (the specific location and exact details shall remain nameless for obvious reasons), a speculator netted a cool million dollars in cash for six months of control. A large plot in a key part of Manhattan remained covered with rundown buildings for many years. A speculator bought one part of the plot for $600,000. He held on for almost a decade and then, in disgust, sold at a loss of $200,000 to another speculator who suddenly appeared. One month later a tremendous development was announced for the entire area, which required the acquisition of the part of the plot in question. The man who had stepped in for $400,000 insisted on and received a price of $1,400,000! Even the most charitable spirit has doubts as to the background of this transaction.

LEASING-- While the old estates specialize in buying land and leasing it after an appreciation in value, it is the "new money" which concentrates on the acquisition of these leases. Men like the Uris Bros., Erwin Wolfson and the Tishmans have skyrocketed into multimillionaires within short years by realizing the unique advantages of leased land or what is called a leasehold.

While no depreciation is allowed on land, both the leasehold rent for the land and the depreciation on the building itself are tax deductible when a building is constructed on a leasehold. The overwhelming advantage of the leasehold (until 1958*) was that the person leasing could depreciate or write off the entire building cost during the first term of the lease, usually 21 years. The government further allowed accelerated depreciation, meaning that the largest part of the cost could be written off in the early years. Under the 200% declining balance method, for example, the depreciation allowance can be doubled (hence 200%). If a leasehold runs for 21 years, the annual depreciation allowance is thus almost 5%--that is to say, the period of years of the leasehold divided into one hundred per cent--which when doubled, means that the builder receives close to 10% of his money tax-free each year in the early years!

Nor is this all. Depreciation is allowed against the entire building cost whereas the builder invests at the maximum about one-third of the total cost, the rest being covered by a mortgage or mortgages. In effect, the builder thus receives an annual tax-free return of up to 30%; since 10% is tax-free and the equity or actual cash investment of the builder is only one-third, the total tax-free amount is enlarged three times. And this is before figuring his actual profit from renting!

It can readily be understood why New York City is rebuilding at such a frantic rate. The builder makes a profit "coming and going": from the government as accelerated tax-free depreciation; and into his pocket as normal profit from rent collection.

The leasehold is fantastically profitable, but there is still another method to increase the return over and above both depreciation allowance and rent income. This is known as the collapsible corporation, a device only recently authorized. In essence, the government allows a builder to liquidate his corporation after holding a piece of property for three years and a day, and then taxes him only 25% on his capital gains. He thus escapes double taxation, first on the normal profit and then on dividends.

A certain Mr. X., to take an actual example, built an apartment house in the East 50s several years ago. He set up a new corporation for a $60 fee. He borrowed what seemed 65% of the money for the job from an insurance company, but in reality the mortgage represented over 80% of the cost; his architect and engineer supported the inflated estimate for otherwise they would not get his next job. Then, with only a 20% investment of his money, he sought and received double depreciation on the completed structure, in this particular case running even higher since he broke the building down by what is called the "components" method and depreciated the elevators, roof, air conditioning, etc., at a still faster rate. Just recently he sold the apartment at a high profit to a syndicate, liquidating his corporation in order to pay a single capital gains tax. The result is that he received an annual tax-free return of over 30%, his investment, in effect, being returned in three years through the depreciation alone, above and beside the profit from rent, and then sold at another high additional profit subject only to a tax of 25%!

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* The law has been changed on this point, but the problem can be solved, in the majority of cases, by other methods too complicated to describe here.

If the speculator can manage to build in his individual name or that of a partnership, the profits are again enhanced, since he can apply the depreciation against his own total income, which is usually taxed higher than the corporate level. Erwin Wolfson, for example, leased land from Columbia University on a short term lease and constructed 100 Church Street. Assuming a 5% accelerated depreciation factor (very conservative under the circumstances) on a $10 million construction job, Mr. Wolfson had a legitimate tax-free deduction averaging somewhat less than one-half million dollars annually to apply against his personal income tax for the next few years. As the principal owner of Diesel Construction Company, the largest construction company in New York City, and the sponsor of Grand Central City, which will be the largest office structure in the world (now renamed Pan Am Building for its principal tenant), Erwin Wolfson presumably found this deduction of use.

FEE BUILDING-- The classical method of construction is to buy the land outright, called the fee simple, and then build. Its disadvantage is that the builder has money invested in the land as well, a non-depreciable item. This is to a degree compensated for by the fact that mortgages tend to give more money to fee builders than leasehold builders, feeling their investment to be more secure with the former. The variations by which speculators have achieved success with this method are as infinite as the cunning of the human mind. Sam Rudin, an old-time builder whose development of Washington Square North sparked the postwar boom in Greenwich Village, decided to erect a mammoth office building. He bought a plot, now called 80 Pine Street, and projected a structure of almost 900,000 square feet. But he was unable to get financing, because the area was somewhat east of the financial district and the mortgagees had doubts as to its success. The Chase Manhattan Bank, which had sold him the plot, was concerned. They did not want to get back the land. Furthermore, since the First National City Bank and the Hanover Bank had announced plans to move a major part of their operations to the midtown area, the Rockefellers wanted 80 Pine Street to reinforce their tremendous investment in the Chase Manhattan Plaza, only two blocks away. The upshot was that Chase Manhattan rented enough space in 80 Pine Street to enable Mr. Rudin to acquire financing.

Very often the builders end up working for the mortgagees. The Tishmans at 666 Fifth Avenue and the Minskoffs at 575 Lexington Avenue--second generation builders both, whose families have been identified with midtown construction for 50 years --were staggering under the load of the tremendous equities involved. The Prudential Insurance Company, which had indicated an interest in providing mortgage money, obligingly bought the two buildings before they were completed and leased them back to the builders. The result is that the Tishmans and Minskoffs make large sums operating the buildings which belong, however, to the Prudential Insurance Company.

There is as much skullduggery behind many of these deals as in the most sinister novels; and far more is at stake. One reads that gunmen can be hired to murder individuals for a few thousand dollars; those on the inside of realty laugh at such petty antes. Several years ago, for example, a large financial institution was approached by a speculative builder who thought the institution might be interested in letting him develop a property which it owned. The builder asked his structural engineer to draw preliminary plans for a new building. The engineer, rich in his own right, was a partner in one of the largest realty syndicates. The next week a very important man, of the same social background as the president of the financial institution, arranged a meeting through which the realty syndicate got the job. The speculator with the original idea was left out in the cold, and it was not until several years later, when his structural engineer fired a draftsman, that the truth came out.

Another case of the ruthlessness pervading this struggle for money is one involving a principal corner in downtown Manhattan. An investment builder was going to build on an inside plot when it struck him that a large insurance company, occupying the adjacent corner building, was in need of additional space. He reasoned that by combining his plot with the other, he would create a better structure and satisfy the growing needs of the insurance company as well. But the insurance company refused to sell, offering to lease instead. The deal was arranged but problems arose because of the difficulty of mortgaging a combined fee simple and leasehold. The insurance company refused to sign the lease, though it kept on assuring the investment builder it would honor its commitment. The latter, getting deeper and deeper, without money and unable to arrange temporary relief because of the unsigned leasehold, was eventually forced to sell out at a loss to the insurance company, which then used the same plans and proceeded to erect the structure. This building, when fully rented, will net close to $400,000 per year in profit!

Perhaps the most startling case of banditry in the history of New York City real estate occurred very recently. A tremendous apartment project, occupying a magnificent location in the center of Manhattan's East Side, has just been completed. Its history is unusual. Several years ago one of the City's most prominent builders decided to go ahead with this project. He spent a large sum for the land. By the time he sought financing the money market, in one of its perennial swings, had become very tight. No matter what the builder did, he was unable to raise money.

Finally this builder turned in despair to that private market of vultures that always wheel in the financial air, looking for dying victims. These are the very rich men who for a price save propositions by investing a certain sum of money, taking back a large interest. He found one such gentleman who was willing to give aid. The terms were that the new party would lend $3 million for a short period of time, until a package deal of financing could be arranged, and in return receive 50% interest in the mammoth job.

The new participant thereupon approached his banks and borrowed $3 million at 6% interest. This new equity money enabled the job to proceed. The money market soon loosened up and financing was arranged. The terms of this new financing were so liberal that $2 million of the $3 million was returned to the gentleman who had stepped in. To sum up, the new partner thus obtained a 50% interest in one of the largest apartment building projects in the history of New York for what amounted to 6% interest on $3 million for several months and 6% interest on $1 million for three years (his real equity money). The total interest will amount to some $200,000 and for this money he has obtained a permanent position in a magnificent project which should return his $1 million equity in short years and then show one-third of a million dollars annual return thereafter!

INTRICATE FINANCING--The above deals are comparatively simple. A piece of property is bought or leased and a building is constructed subject to a normal mortgage. The only widely known exception to this rule was the bond issuances that took place during the construction frenzy of the late 1920s. At that time it was common practice to issue bonds instead of mortgages, because more money could be obtained through this method. With the arrival of the depression, most of these bond issues collapsed in value. Certain very smart individuals thereupon proceeded to buy up the defunct bonds at a few cents on the dollar, until they obtained control of the properties against which the bonds had been issued. Some of the "older money" in real estate came about through this technique which, of course, was thoroughly legitimate according to the laws. The Salmon Building, 500 Fifth Avenue, at the northwest corner of 42nd Street, was acquired, for example, by means of this technique.

It took, however, that amazing manipulator of modern times, William Zeckendorf, to improve to its highest degree the procedure of squeezing money from buildings. This wizard decided in the early 1950s that the typical financial operations of real estate men were amateurish. They divided property into equity, the cash they put in, and that money contributed by the mortgagee. Mr. Zeckendorf reasoned that realty could be regarded much like other forms of modern corporate ownership, that is, merchandised in separate units comparable to common stock, preferred stock and debentures. Thus, he reasoned, an improved property is a unit consisting of many parts: it is land on which a building has been erected; the building itself; the operating value due from rent income; and the additional mortgage value of the rents isolated from the building. He was the first person properly to understand that the land could be sold to one party, the building to another, the operating lease to a third, and that even another mortgage position could be hewed from the rent income separate from the operating lease.

The first building to which he applied this technique was 2 Park Avenue. The structure had a value, according to traditional standards, of something less than $10 million. The primary step was to sell an operating lease on the entire property for $5 million, composed of $1.5 million cash and $3.5 million lease mortgage. This was reasonable because the building tossed off about $1 million which, even with the very heavy carrying charges of $600,000 on the new lease mortgage, meant that the investors received about $400,000 annually or an 8% return. Then Zeckendorf went to a mortgage company and borrowed $6,750,000 at 4½%. In a short time the rents went up, serving as additional security against the property, and Zeckendorf borrowed in the form of a second mortgage an additional $2,250,000. He thus received a total of $14 million for a property that was estimated as worth less than $10 million--and still held the fee, on which he turned down an additional offer of another million dollars!

In effect, what Zeckendorf did was to wring fifty per cent more money out of the building by dividing it into parts--fee, operating lease and separate fee mortgages. He perfected and even elaborated this technique in the subsequent purchases of the Graybar and Chrysler Buildings, as well as the Equitable Building at 120 Broadway. A peculiar refinement of the Chrysler-Graybar purchase was that the owning corporation he was going to acquire had several million dollars in its bank account. This money he needed for the purchase. Operating through a new corporation he borrowed money from other sources to close the transaction and then immediately withdrew the money from the bank account he had now acquired to pay off his borrowing; in a sense he thus bought the building with the building's own money.

The labyrinthine mind of Mr. Zeckendorf is at present engaged in a project which will make even this earlier financing seem childish. Anxious to enlarge the facilities of his Drake Hotel, he is now closing the following proposition. As the first step, he will sell the Drake to a syndicate that will give him \$4½ million cash over a present \$4½ million mortgage. He will simultaneously lease back the hotel for a long term and also agree to use the money received to build the addition. The syndicate likewise will agree to lend him another \$1 million so that he can proceed with construction, as well as permit him to increase the mortgage by an additional \$2 million in order to assure him all the money required for the job. The return to the syndicate (it is reported in the trade) will be guaranteed at approximately 12%, with the rent being reduced in proportion to the reduction of the mortgage. At the end of ten years Mr. Zeckendorf will have a six months' option to buy back the entire enlarged property for \$8½ million over any mortgages then outstanding.

The terms of this type of financing stagger the imagination and are even difficult for experienced realty people to follow. The basis is a continuing market, one which will get better and better. But conservative men with many years of background shudder to think what will happen to buildings laden with top-heavy mortgages and demanding leases if ever there is a downward dip in our booming economy.

SYNDICATES--What has made this rickety structure of building and expansion possible is the syndicate.* The syndicate is merely a group of people who get together and form a partnership, participating in the profits according to their proportionate interest in the total deal. The attraction of the syndicate is its tax position. The corporation is subject to double taxation, first on normal income and then on dividends. But an individual or a partnership is subject only to one tax, the return received directly by the participant. Furthermore, the depreciation on the property, which is a tax-free item, goes to the corporation and not the stockholders when a property is held in corporate form, while it goes tax-free directly into the pockets of the individuals in a syndicate.

This simple equation has transformed New York real estate. Since properties are judged according to their return to the investors, the effect has been quite simply to double values. A building valued at \$5 million to a corporation is now worth \$10 million to a syndicate. Furthermore, since at each sale a new depreciation allowance is set up based on the new selling price, by raising prices the syndicates in practice add tax-free dollars to the income of their investors. A building formerly worth \$5 million might be close to the end of its depreciation deduction. When bought for \$10 million, the entire difference (minus land value, which is non-depreciable) is credited as additional depreciation. The syndicates then take this depreciation in one of the accelerated forms: presuming, in the above example, that \$4 million is additional new depreciation at 4%, or \$160,000 tax-free money, they take the 150% declining balance method (or 1½ times) and pull out \$240,000 instead, all of which goes tax-free into the pockets of the participants.

Building after building, hotel after hotel, apartment after apartment, has fallen to the scythe of the syndicates. As buildings get older their depreciation runs out and the owners are forced to sell. When the syndicator offers almost double money for what the owner thought the property was worth, the urge to liquidate becomes irresistible. And the process feeds on itself. The syndicates have been offering between 10-12% annual profit, part of this tax-free, and the better they do the more money pours into their portfolios. The consequence is that values of New York real estate have soared so high, the market has been picked as clean of purchases as the dead carcass of a cow by ants. This is part of a vicious cycle, because builders feel compelled to erect new structures, knowing that even if they rent only with some degree of success, they can immediately sell at a profit. The whole swollen apparatus of leasehold building, accelerated depreciation, capital gains tax and syndicate operation forces a wild spiral of building and speculation which must load weight on weight until the realty market may collapse in a horrible shambles.

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* The new Real Estate Investment Trust Act extends the syndicate method on an even vaster scope.

III.

Real estate is subject to other tricks beside tax juggling. It is the perfect medium for the huckster mentality because the cheaper the product the higher the return. Cost of construction has risen to the point that a speculative formula has evolved to substitute tinsel for quality. The result has standardized building to the point that one can identify speculative structures merely at a glance.

It is so obvious that builders cover every inch of land with construction that when rare exceptions occur, like the Lever Building between 53rd and 54th Streets on Park Avenue, and the Seagram Building a block to the south, the news hits the front pages of the newspapers. The fact that crowding massive structures over narrow streets ruins the esthetic effect of architecture is of no importance, because the builders are concerned not with esthetics but with the rent received per square foot. This itself is legitimate in our economy, but when the ultimate desire is only the profit as divorced from architectural value and the municipal interest, we have gone a step in monetary perversion beyond all known previous civilizations. The so-called Babylonian or ziggurat effect is merely an extension of this maximum land use on the vertical level, whereby the builder conforms to the city code by the use of setbacks every three stories. A recent adaptation, the block base and tower, has become popular not because the builders underwent some weird conversion to artistic values, but rather because of the rising costs of roofing material and plumbing for the numerous setbacks.

A corollary of the 100% land usage and maximum setbacks is the application of glamor to the public parts of the structure. The typical speculator builds a fancy lobby, usually including an abstract mobile or ceramic design as a sop to "modern architecture"--Noguchi is the favorite for this today. The curtain wall facade is made of precast stainless steel cubes or hexagonals, cream plastic plates or aluminum members anodized in silver or gold. These skin treatments are "modern" too: and also cost less than the traditional brick and limestone. The fact that the thinly veneered facades leak like a sieve is irrelevant since the tenants will have already moved in on long-term leases by the time this is apparent. The elevators are the newest gimmick, playing soft semi-classical music with their operatorless controls that save the builder up to $.25 per square foot in labor cost.

The lobby, facade and elevators are the center of glamor application. Where the speculator recoups is in the mechanical equipment and, in particular, air conditioning. The difference between a good and bad air-conditioning installation runs as much as $3 per square foot in a modern office building and, since the average structure today is over 300,000 square feet, this item along can save the builder almost $1 million. An adequate air-conditioning system should have zone controls for each face of the building and separate zone controls for the upper and lower parts. It should have air diffusers sufficient to handle each specific area, yet capable of throttling or "balancing." The system must have return ducts for the stale air, extended not only into the different zones but also into the areas subdivided by masonry or ceiling-high metal partitions. And, what is extremely important in the spring and autumn seasons, where there are wide oscillations of temperature in the same day, the installation should be equipped with what is called "100%

fresh air," or oversized entry ducts, that permit the air to be completely replaced by new fresh air in a short period of time.

A defective air-conditioning system is eminently suited to the purposes of present-day builders because it is something the prospective tenant will not see. One cannot tell the difference between good and bad air flow merely by looking at plans. When more sophisticated tenants call in engineers to review the design of the air conditioning, the builder usually adapts or improves the system for the executive area, still ending up with a large saving on the unimproved clerical areas.

It might be added that the speculators themselves are not solely at fault, since many aspects of the elevator and air-conditioning industries are virtual monopolies. Cost have been pushed so high the builder reacts in natural fashion because of the competition. For a speculator to construct office space according to good standards, he would be forced to rent at a figure much higher than his competition. But again, the question of "fair return" is relevant since most builders feel that a job is losing money if they do not "get their money out" in six or seven years, which means a 14% or 17% profit before taking advantage of the accelerated depreciation deduction.

ALLIED with the continued cheapening of mechanical equipment is the new popular theory of large office areas. By a sort of hypnosis unrelated to reality, many tenants have been convinced that tremendous floors are more amenable to modern office layout. This hallucination is fostered by the Madison Avenue publicists who have been hired by almost all the top-notch speculative builders. Objective studies indicate that between 12,000 and 20,000 square feet is the ideal layout space for big firms. It is to the builder's interest, however, to convince tenants that huge floor areas are ideal because the larger the cube construction, the cheaper it is to build. The land acquisition is only a minor part of the total cost picture, yet due to the peculiarities of the city code, one can build proportionately more space the bigger the plot. Two stairways as fire exits and one fire tower air shaft are needed in a small building as well as a large. The bigger the floors, the less toilets per square foot are installed and the less sun load is confronted by air-conditioning. Also, it is just as easy to build a large building as a small building, since the same number of trades are involved. The success of the campaign on the part of builders to convince tenants of the necessity to rent tremendous floors is one of the most striking phenomena of real estate today.

The speculator not only saves on tax techniques and cheap construction, but on renting and maintenance methods. The Real Estate Board of New York, a non-governmental association dominated by the larger realty interests, changed its method of computing square footage in 1953. Up to that date, tenants did not pay for corridors, toilets, air conditioning fan rooms located outside the premises, slop sink closets and electric and telephone rooms. Today, the tenant is required to pay for everything on a single-occupancy floor except the stairs, fire tower shaft and space occupied by the elevators. In effect, this means that the landlord receives between 7% and 12% more rent for the same space. Since few buildings are constructed on exact right angles and straight lines, the architect usually works hand in hand with the builder, giving him "the benefit of the doubt" on angles when the structure is not built flush with the lot line: for example, on a 8" skew over 200 lineal feet, the landlord would pick up almost 70 square feet (averaging the skew is 4" or one-third foot times 200 feet). Assuming two walls skewed in a thirty story building, the landlord would then pick up over 4,000 square feet! And we are starting on the assumption that the landlord indicates the correct footage to begin with.....

Another method by which landlords receive rent for useless square footage is by calculating as rentable area the enclosures of the peripheral air conditioning, a practice universally accepted. Most of these enclosures stick almost two feet into the premises. Assuming a building of 20,000 square feet on a floor or 200' by 100', there are 600 lineal feet of exterior walls. This means that the tenant pays for 1,200 square feet additional on each floor! It has been calculated by those in the know that the really shrewd operators, who combine all of these methods, receive a bonus amounting close to 20% over traditional measurements. Since the average equity runs less than one-third of the building cost, it is not hard to see why so much money pours into New York construction today.

But the tricks are not limited to space measurement. A standard item of modern leasing is the inclusion of the so-called "escalation clause" which provides that all increases in labor and maintenance costs, as well as taxes, are paid ;by tenants in proportion as their occupancy or rent is to the total occupancy or rent of the entire structure. Originally created to solve the problem of inflation on long-term leases, this clause has become a bonanza in the hands of ruthless landlords. The technique is simple. Certain common cost items are delayed during the first or base year and then applied later so that they fall into escalated items. The net effect is to increase the rent or landlord profit. For example, a very expensive matter in modern buildings is elevator maintenance. The large elevator companies charge about $2,500 per cab annually. What the speculator does is withhold awarding the contract for elevator maintenance during the first year the new building is open. Thereupon he hires the company and charges the entire amount to the tenant! In the case of a building containing 15 elevators and some 400,000 square feet, this contract would run about $37,500 annually. The landlord would thus pick up as extra rent a bonus of almost $.10 per square foot.

The escalation clause has been extended to include everything from uniforms and broken windows to toilet paper and soap. The side possibilities are almost too obvious to mention. The landlord needs soap, toilet paper, hand-tailored suits as well. And sometimes he has a dull-witted nephew who then appears as a new mechanic or central control inspector....

ONE OF THE BIGGEST extras in office maintenance is the cleaning contractor. In former times, owners built up their own crew of cleaning women, who worked on an average between 1600 and 1800 square feet an hour. Except for the few remaining owners of integrity--or fools, according to one's terms--this has long since been discarded. Today high pressure cleaning contractors employ crews of women who are forced to cover between 2200 and 2500 square feet an hour. The results are lamentable because it is impossible to clean properly at this speed. But who can catch the landlord in a lease violation? "Clean" is a general word, meaning something to one party and another to the next. When the tenant occupies the space on a 20-year lease, there is little he can do. But this is not all. The maintenance companies also specialize in "extras," floor waxing, venetian blind cleaning, polishing furniture and desks, replacing fluorescent tubes and ballasts. By arrangement, the owner of the building "participates" in these extras, creating a handy side income. If an occasional tenant protests the high prices, the landlord points out "there is nothing he can do" and furthermore shows the tenant that competitive prices are the same--which they are, since the various cleaning contractors have their own private agreements not to raid each other.

The tie-in between the cleaning contractors and the unions is an old story in this industry. Similar tie-ins exist between the large realty management companies and the superintendents. In one tragic case that recently occurred, an honest superintendent of a newly completed office building was fired by the management company because he tried to service the tenants according to decent standards. He went to the owner of the structure and was berated by him because he did not work for the benefit of the building! The poor honest man was ignorant of the fact that the owner received a "piece" of the money made by cutting standards and charging extras.

One of the newest ways to gouge tenants is known as "rent inclusion," referring to the including of electrical charges in the base rent. The practice was at first a reasonable reaction by realty owners to the elimination of electrical submetering in New York City. In essence, it meant that the owner, through the use of an independent consultant, would establish the cost of electricity and add it to the bill of the tenant. Since the tenant would have to pay the same retail rate to Consolidated Edison Company, it did not hurt him, whereas the owner received the advantage of the larger or wholesale rate.

Human rapacity being what it is, "inclusion" soon developed into a new racket. Although the average tenant uses between $.16 and $.20 worth of electricity per square foot, many owners charged a flat fee of $.25, pocketing the difference. When this malpractice was revealed, the owners then changed their tactics. Measurements of electricity is a difficult process since it involves many fluctuating factors such as line loss, demand charges, seasonal use variations, etc. The owners then made private deals with so-called "independent consultants" on a percentage basis, kicking back a portion of what they received in return for how high the consultant could push the charge. Since the alternative for the tenant was to run his own electrical lines all the way down the building in order to tie-in with the main service, he was at the mercy of unscrupulous landlords. This vicious practice often leads to a net additional rent of between $.05 and $.10 per square foot which, even after the booty is divided between the consultant and landlord, throws thousands of dollars extra income into the profit column.

REAL ESTATE management is singularly adapted to multiple corporations in common ownership. Since each corporation is only taxed 30% up to the first $25,000 profit, every new building job is organized under a separate corporate entity in order to avoid the full 52% tax at the lowest step. Another common method of "thinning" taxes is by means of creating a management corporation distinct from ownership. Suppose a builder has completed a structure. He can operate the building directly, hire a management company or set up his own separate management. With the last method, he can then charge the ownership corporation a commission for operating the property and deliberately juggle the rent, salaries and benefits to fall into the most favorable tax position. This device is usually employed when the builder has relatives he must put on the payroll; in effect, it means that the government is paying their salaries for the most part.

Another popular aspect of real estate is its fat expense account allowance. The purchase, sale, rent and general investigation of property is a category so large in its implications that almost any and every expense is legitimate. If one wants to check realty in southern California during the cold part of the winter, and the approach is carefully documented with letters to brokers, etc., this is a legitimate tax deduction. If a syndicate considers buying a property in Venezuela, a trip to that country is only in the line of business, with all sundry expenses allowed. When a potential tenant wants to see the latest show on Broadway or stay overnight at the best hotel or be provided with the consolations of a call girl, these are all reasonable accommodations to the problem of realty advancement. It is only part and parcel of business that expensive Christmas presents must be sent to one's clientele; and some of these presents, like homing pigeons, have a remarkable talent for returning home. Twenty-three-foot Cadillacs with television and telephones, including ship-to-shore yacht connections, are owned by certain well-known titans of realty. How can they do business without being able to contact their colleagues at a moment's notice?

One amusing aspect of the expense account is the expansion of New York realty interests in Florida. This has an obvious background. Suppose an apartment builder in Manhattan wants to spend his vacation at Miami Beach, Boca Raton or the Keys. If he builds or buys a hotel or apartment house in the city of his choice, it is inhuman of the government to expect him to have all the rooms fully rented for the entire season. The fact that one large hotel or apartment suite stays vacant merely reflects the vagaries of renting. Then again, this same owner must see that his business is going on satisfactorily. It is only logical that he fly down several times during the winter in order to check his affairs. And the transport, meeting with clients at night clubs, restaurant bills, etc., are fairly regarded as legitimate business expenses....

A last aspect of holding real estate bears notice. If an individual invests in the stock market, he must pay a normal tax on dividends. The Internal Revenue Department has decided, however, that after a realty corporation has paid a tax on regular business profits, it is entitled to a tax credit of 85% on additional profits if this money is invested elsewhere. The remaining 15% is then taxed at the regular 52% rate, which means in effect that if a realty corporation goes into the stock market with its undistributed profits, it pays a total tax of less than 8% (that is, 52% of 15%) on what it then makes. Since a like investment of this money in realty over again would be taxed the full 52%, the result is that dividends from the stock market are only hit by the Internal Revenue Department at one-sixth the same rate, or less than 8% instead of 52%!

Let us take an example. Suppose a realty outfit has made $100,000 after taxes. If it takes this money and reinvests it in another proposition, the profit is again subject to full tax at the 52% rate. On the other hand, if the corporation invests the money in the stock market and collects dividends at 5%, or $5,000 on the $100,000, it then pays approximately 8% of this $5,000 as taxes, leaving it over $4,500 after taxes. At the same time the money is fully liquid, since the stocks can be sold within twenty-four hours. In a market like that of the last years, where stock values have shot up, this is particularly significant because a sale then would only be subject to capital gains or a total of 25% tax on the rise in value of the stocks. Instead of being "frozen in" with their money, as the trade terms corporate realty holdings, investment can be made at minimum taxes both on dividend income and sale profits.

IV.

In trying to analyze the social consequences of the favorable treatment afforded to building, the first thought to strike even the most superficial observer is the resulting architectural mediocrity. In truth, speculative builders with a high sense of product can rarely survive, as the history of Fred F. French at Tudor City well documents. Speculators, obsessed by the gold lodestar, tend to "mortgage out" or reduce the money stuck in a job to the minimum, and then add structure on structure in a dizzy pyramid until the slightest breeze of vacancy may blow it over. This leads to a frantic chase for the cheapest methods, which is evidenced by the mechanical repetition of building patterns. The Uris Bros. have a style: colored bakelite disks behind aluminum fins. The Tishmans have a style: microscopic enlargement of a fly's eye, pasted on concrete blocks. Erwin Wolfson has a style: loft construction of the 1920s, built ten times larger. And New York City might be renamed Rothville for the architectural firm of Emery Roth & Sons, whose monotonous variations on Speculator Style have dotted Third Avenue and Park Avenue with squat boxes. The difference between Levittown and Rothville is only size.

Several of the new buildings, created as home offices for billion-dollar concerns, escape this general pall. The main problem even for these worthy structures is their setting. Leonardo da Vinci observed centuries ago that a building should rise in height only one-half the distance of the free span of space before it, but Municipal Code is based on the exact reverse. For a short time New Yorkers can look from the east side of Sixth Avenue and 52nd Street across a vacant plot, recently purchased by Uris Bros., toward a group formed by the RCA building, the Time-Life Building and the Equitable Life Building. When the Uris Bros.--the largest single builders of office space in the city today--add another of their hulking masses to this vacant lot, the mighty tableau will be drowned in the total effect.*

But the practical results of the present boom provoke more than merely esthetic objections. New York City is strangling itself. By mass transit 40,000 persons can be transported on the same amount of roadway that will only carry 1600 persons in private cars: or 25 times as many. But buses and the railroads, which the municipal and state governments refuse to subsidize for the public good, have become so expensive, that cars--on an average carrying less than two persons apiece--are used more and more. And the focal points of traffic are two small Manhattan zones: from Bowling Green on Broadway to Fulton Street in the downtown area, and the Park-Sixth Avenue complex in midtown. Since the prime rule of building is location first, last and always, the concentration becomes worse with each passing year. Permitting the construction of Pan Am Building--due north of Grand Central Station--which will dump 25,000 additional persons in the heart of midtown, is an act of municipal madness.

THE RISING COST of land has led to a type of economic ghettoization which is the antithesis of democracy. The rich and poor used to live close together, but this is much less true today. Public housing brings the lucky poor together, and high rents keep the unlucky poor segregated in ugly slums. The Protestant whites have left New York City and the Jews are following. By rule of the inverse ghetto, the East Side is becoming the haven for the last-remaining rich. A broker three years ago offered the author a large vacant plot on the East Side at $70 a foot. The price seemed ridiculous but the broker said: "Take it. The East Side is the only place where white people want to live today. The values must go up." Recently the same plot was sold, after two additional turnovers, at over $100 a foot. If the present movement continues, New York City will soon resemble a grotesquely enlarged medieval town, with each caste in its own quarter.

Commenting on this metropolitan concentration over two decades ago, the well-known social critic Lewis Mumford referred to the new Trinity of finance, insurance and advertising. Certainly, the Rome of this Trinity is New York City and its leading churches the home offices of these industries. The insensate march of

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* Since the Rockefellers have become partners in this project, the Uris architectural style has been vastly upgraded.

Manhattan realty values reflects the disease of modern times, for in this city is collected all the bureaucratic and non-productive functions of the American economy. The great hive of advertising, design, speculation, publicity, news, television, periodical literature and insurance buzzes with frantic energy of which the building boom is merely the outer form: buzzing for wild profits and quick turnover, not the production of capital goods or values adding grace to human existence.

As long as predatory cunning and acquisitive lust are the highest social virtues, this state of affairs will continue. The public really admires its dream fulfillment in megalomania; in one sense, the conniver is the embodiment of American Success. A recent survey of the National Bureau of Economic Research showed that since 1949--which not so coincidentally was the birth of the realty boom--there has been a trend toward more wealth in the hands of fewer people and that already by 1953 only 1.6 per cent of the country's population held 30 per cent of the nation's personal wealth. Again not coincidentally, the survey indicated that New Yorkers lead the nation in total personal incomes. The report did not indicate that more children die of rat bites in the slums of the metropolitan area than elsewhere. People seem less fascinated by such statistics.

Without doubt, real estate--and its sister, the stock market--are the two provinces where money can be made most quickly in our society. Accelerated depreciation, capital gains, the single tax on syndicate ownership: the entire structure, emphasizing cheap building and rapid sale, is a mechanical milker that pumps out a continual stream of cream from the public cow. As long as the laws deliberately subsidize the rich and rapacious, a frenzy of building and speculation will be a permanent aspect of American life, a frenzy which has robbed America of internal equilibrium and a sane view of the changing world.

THESE DISTORTIONS can be resolved simply. Depreciation, like amortization of mortgages, should be after taxes, and not represent a tax-free return. This is the method prevailing in many European countries. Home owners even in this country do not get allowances for depreciation and there is no reason why business should be given advantages denied to the home owner.

Syndicates are permitted a single tax denied to corporations on the peculiar basis that no tax ruling has specifically called them to account. Such tax discrimination is neither logical nor does it serve a useful social function; to the contrary, it favors one class of investors against another and is thoroughly "un-American" in the most abused sense of the word. And, most important of all, capital gains should be eliminated; this specious tax dodge resting on the fiction that capital held over six months is a long-term investment as distinguished from capital invested for less than six months, and hence subject to a maximum 25% tax on profits. To this one gimmick alone can be attributed the violent cycles and distortions of the American economy.

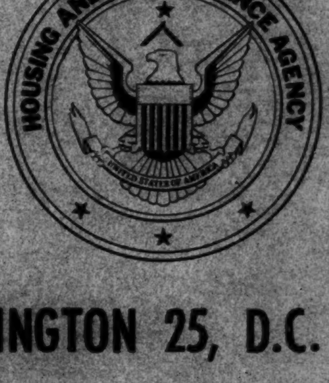
But the individuals who take advantage of these legal devices are also the individuals who make the laws; it is their representatives who control the legislatures and sit on the courts. And each obscure voter, who votes for them, dreams of participating in the great rat race of amassing income as a symbol rather than for use. As far as the objective observer can see, only when the whole inflated structure collapses of its own weight--as it must--will reforms such as those touched on above be effected. And then it may be too late, since we shall all, the innocent as well as the guilty, be buried in the falling debris....

* * *

A-1-39

THE PRESIDENT'S
EXECUTIVE ORDER
ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY



WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

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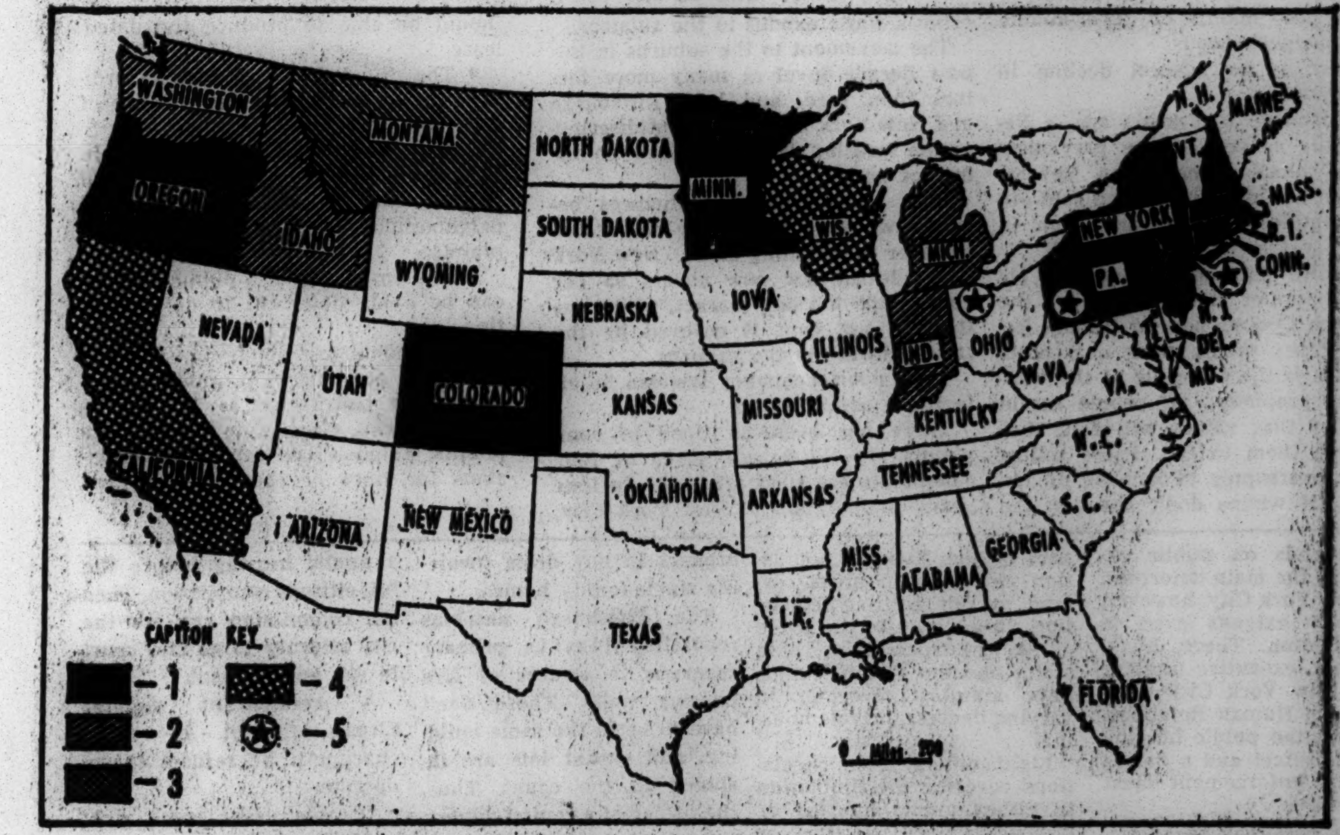
Fair Housing Laws Bring No Revolution

By Jean White
Staff Reporter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The Washington Post

The map shows (1) states with statutes prohibiting discrimination in public housing, publicly assisted housing, publicly assisted urban renewal or private housing accommodations; (2) states with statutes covering public housing; (3) states with statutes covering publicly assisted housing or urban renewal; (4) states with statutes covering both public housing and publicly assisted housing and urban renewal; (5) cities with local ordinances prohibiting discrimination in private housing. They are New York, Pittsburgh and Toledo.

ON JULY 29, 1957, when the first fair housing law was being considered in New York City, the real estate boards of New York ran newspaper advertisements warning, in part:

"This proposed law, we genuinely believe, will do more harm to racial relationships than anything else conceivably could.

"The proposed law would cause more families to leave the city. It would depress real estate values. It would affect the basis of the city's taxation and its credit. It would undo much of the success that we have had in amicable living."

These predictions have failed to materialize. New York City did take the lead later in 1957 and passed the first antidiscrimination ordinance to enter the private (nonpublicly assisted) housing market. Strengthened last year, New York City's fair housing statutes now cover 95 per cent of the housing market in the city.

One of Three Cities

WHAT HAS HAPPENED under these laws? Here is how Stanley H. Lowell, citizen chairman of the New York City Commission on Human Relations, sums it up:

"Our experience in New York has been that none of the fears has come true—drop in property values, flight to the suburbs by whites, inundation of neighborhoods by Negroes. There has been none of this. All this legislation seeks is to give equality of opportunity in choosing a place to live."

New York City is one of three cities—Pittsburgh and Toledo are the other two—that have enacted antidiscrimination housing legislation similar to that proposed for Washington. Toledo, however, has to await a court test before its regulation goes into effect.

In the three cities, the same arguments and fears being heard here came up in discussions. Leaders in New York and Pittsburgh now can speak from experience. Here are some of their observations:

- An open-occupancy law does not work miracles; neither does it bring disasters.

In both cities, there have been no wholesale changes in living patterns. But a law does provide an opportunity to start breaking down long-entrenched practices of segregation.

- There is no "inundation" of neighborhoods by Negroes.

Quite the contrary, Negroes crowd into neighborhoods when they have no other choice and are funneled into small areas. In the open market, they have the same wide choice as anyone else. And in the end, Negroes must have the economic price of admission to move into middle or upper-middle income neighborhoods.

- There is no general decline in property values.

In Pittsburgh four years ago, a Negro family moved into a previously all-white block. Since then, several houses in the block have been sold—to white families—without any drop in property value.

"If white home-owners panic," observes a former staff member of the Pittsburgh Commission on Human Relations, "they create their own problem. This is the old cycle of the 'self-fulfilling prophecy.' If people act in the belief that values will fall, they will force them to fall. Panic selling puts an oversupply of housing on the market. If whites don't abandon the neighborhood, property values don't decline."

More often than not, it is pointed out, Negroes are permitted to enter only older neighborhoods already deteriorating and on the downgrade in property values. This is used in "evidence" to keep the myth of declining values alive.

- Fair housing laws do not accelerate a white exodus to the suburbs.

The movement to the suburbs in the past decade involves many more factors than race, and both Pittsburgh and New York have found antidiscrimination housing laws have had no influence here.

Both cities enacted ordinances before laws were passed by the states to cover surrounding areas. New York City's broad law now covers 95 per cent of the housing market, while less than 25 per cent is covered by the state's statute in the suburbs.

- An open-occupancy law can be effectively administered.

There has been no flood of complaints. In Pittsburgh, three or four complaints are filed a month. In four years of operation in New York City, the Commission on Human Relations has handled about 1400 charges of discriminatory practices in housing.

In both cities, the majority of complaints have been settled by investigators who combine fact-finding and conciliation. Discrimination can be documented: if an owner pleads he did not rent to a Negro because the apartment already was leased, he should be able to produce the dated lease.

- **The effect of a fair housing ordinance goes far beyond the number of complaints filed.**

Law helps to establish a climate. In Pittsburgh, 115 Negro families moved quietly into so-called homogenized neighborhoods without need for complaints.

- The possibility of a public hearing can be a big deterrent to discrimination.

Most people just don't want to hang out their prejudices in public. Pittsburgh has had to go as far as the public hearing stage in only three complaints. Toledo's law carries no provisions for fines or court enforcement and depends on public exposure as the main deterrent.

In New York City, however, anonymity extends even to discrimination. There, Madison Jones, executive director of the New York City Commission on Human Relations, feels that the public hearing has little effect and a means for court enforcement must be provided.

- **The best way to administer a fair-housing law is through an appointed citizens' commission with a professional staff.**

In Pittsburgh, such well-known community leaders as Mrs. Jonas E. Salk, chairman, and Branch Rickey serve on the 15-member Commission on Human Relations.

When outstanding citizens sit on a panel, they give authority and dignity to the proceedings.

- To be effective, a fair housing law must cover operations of real estate brokers and salesmen and lending institutions.

A Negro cannot buy a home if a real estate salesman refuses to show him a house or a financial institution refuses to give him a loan because he wants to move into a white neighborhood,

ACTUALLY, a substantial part of the Nation's population now lives in areas covered by fair housing legislation. In addition to the three cities with regulations, nine states and the Virgin Islands have statutes covering, in varying degress, private housing.

Eight others have regulations covering discrimination in either public housing or publicly-assisted housing, or both. In California, state civil rights laws have been interpreted to include operations of real estate brokers and salesmen.

New York City has the broadest coverage in open-occupancy legislation. It is the only regulation that applies to the sale and rental of a single-family home occupied by the owner. (The law, however, exempts an apartment or room rented in an owner-occupied house, probably on the basis of the "togetherness" involved.)

OMISSION of the owner-occupied home can leave a major part of the housing market uncovered by a nondiscrimination requirement.

Pittsburgh feels that it handles this problem by covering all real estate salesmen and brokers in any deals involving single-family homes.

The Pittsburgh anti-bias regulation limits primary coverage to owners of five housing units. These don't have to be in the same building, and vacant lots are included in the count. Thus, the owner of a rented duplex, a vacant lot or a house with two roomers is covered.

Negroes make up nearly 17 per cent of Pittsburgh's central city population of 60,000. As in the Washington metropolitan area, the percentage of Negroes falls sharply in the suburbs around Pittsburgh.

The anti - discrimination housing ordinance in Pittsburgh, Mrs. Salk points out, aims at changing discriminatory patterns through conciliation and negotiation and is not primarily punitive.

THE SAME procedure of fact-finding and negotiation is the keystone of the New York City legislation. If investigators cannot work out a settlement on the spot in early talks, then a private hearing before a subcommittee is held. Finally, there is a public hearing before the full citizens commission. Then the commission can ask the city attorney to go into court to ask enforcement.

A recalcitrant violator faces contempt - of - court charges if he refuses to cooperate.

"People never come right out and say why they aren't renting to a Negro," Executive Director Jones notes, "But you can get at the truth if you have the right to subpoena records."

In both Pittsburgh and New York, leaders emphasize that fair housing laws guarantee only freedom of choice in housing.

"The law is not designed to promote integration," emphasizes Mrs. Salk. "It is designed to assure equal opportunity in choosing housing. A Negro cannot be refused an apartment or house on the basis of color alone. The law does not say that a person has to rent or sell to a Negro. If a person wants neighbors all wearing mink coats or driving pink Cadillacs, that is another thing."

STATEMENT BY ROBERT C. WEAVER, ADMINISTRATOR
HOUSING & HOME FINANCE AGENCY, November 20, 1962

The Housing and Home Finance Agency intends to move promptly in implementing President Kennedy's order against discrimination in housing.

Immediate steps have been taken to make available to the public and members of the homebuilding industry full information on the provisions of the order and its effect on programs administered by this agency.

As each step is taken to implement the order additional information will be made available.

The order makes clear the policy of our government in an area which has suffered from fear and uncertainty as well as from prejudice. And it alerts all Americans to their responsibilities toward their neighbors.

It is my hope and belief that this order, by removing artificial market restrictions, will permit that demand to achieve its natural growth. And I am confident that it will lead to an even more prosperous and healthy construction industry.

IMMEDIATE RELEASE NOVEMBER 20, 1962

Office of the White House Press Secretary

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THE WHITE HOUSE

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I would also like to announce that I have today signed an executive order directing Federal departments and agencies to take every proper and legal action to prevent discrimination in the sale or lease of housing facilities owned or operated by the Federal Government; housing constructed or sold as a result of loans or grants to be made by the Federal Government or by loans to be insured or guaranteed by the Federal Government; and housing to be available through the development or redevelopment of property under Federal slum clearance or urban renewal programs.

With regard to existing housing facilities constructed or purchased as a result of direct loans or grants from the Federal Government, or under Federal guarantees, or as a result of the urban renewal program, I have directed the Housing Agency and other appropriate agencies to use their good offices to promote and encourage the abandonment of discriminatory practices that may now exist.

In order to assist the departments and agencies in implementing this policy and to coordinate their efforts, I have established the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing.

It is neither proper nor equitable that Americans should be denied the benefits of housing owned by the Federal Government or financed through the Federal assistance on the basis of their race, color, creed or national origin. Our national policy is equal opportunity for all and the Federal Government will continue to take such legal and proper steps as it may to achieve the realization of that goal.

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EXCERPT FROM PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S PRESS CONFERENCE, NOVEMBER 20, 1962

Question: Mr. President, with regard to your housing order, could you explain, first, why you have taken so long to sign the order; second, does it become effective tomorrow morning for loans and guarantees and everything else that is not complete ....

Answer: Yes, that is correct.

Question: ...and third, what assessment have you made of the possible economic impact?

Answer: Well, I said that I would issue it at the time when I thought it was in the public interest, and now is the time. Secondly, it would become effective immediately. Thirdly, I don't think that its immediate effect--there may be some adverse reaction--but I think that we will be able to proceed in the development of our housing industry which is important to our economy. I know one builder the other day in part of New York said that he would be very much against the housing order because it would hurt his development, and he was reminded that there was a more stringent law in effect in New York at the time, so that I think that some of the fears have been exaggerated. In any case, it's sound public, constitutional policy and we've done it.

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
Office of the Administrator
Washington 25, D. C. November 21, 1962

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QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS
ON
THE PRESIDENT'S EXECUTIVE ORDER ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

PURPOSE AND EFFECT OF THE ORDER

Q. What is the overall purpose of the Executive Order?

A. To help achieve freedom of choice in housing for all Americans.

Q. By what means does the Order seek to achieve this purpose?

A. By assuring that the benefits of Federal housing programs and assistance are made available to all on a nondiscriminatory basis. To this end, it directs all departments and agencies of the Executive Branch of the Government to take appropriate action to prevent discrimination because of race, color, creed, or national origin in housing that they own or operate and in housing assisted by programs they administer. Also, it establishes the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing, with general supervisory and coordinating responsibilities, to give leadership in carrying out the purposes of the Order.

Q. What forms of housing assistance are covered by the Order?

A. The Order covers all the various kinds of Federal financial assistance, direct or indirect, for the provision, rehabilitation or operation of housing and related facilities, including land to be developed for residential use. Federal loans, advances, grants, contributions and insurance of loans or guarantee of loans are all covered by the Order.

Q. When does the Order become effective?

A. The Order takes effect immediately. All applications for Federal housing assistance received hereafter will be processed subject to the Order and implementing regulations that will be issued within 30 days.

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE

Q. How will the President's Committee be constituted?

A. The President's Committee will include the heads of the principal departments and agencies of the Federal Government that provide assistance to housing or supervise home financing institutions, plus such other members as the President shall from time to time appoint from the public, and a member of the staff of the Executive Office of the President, who shall serve as Chairman and Executive Director. The Committee may establish subcommittees, whose members shall be appointed by the Chairman. There will be an Executive Committee of the President's Committee, consisting of the Chairman and two other members designated by him from among the public members.

Q. What Federal department and agency heads are designated to serve on the President's Committee?

A. The Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Defense, the Attorney General, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Housing and Home Finance Administrator, the Administrator of Veterans Affairs, and the Chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board.

Q. What will be the powers and responsibilities of the President's Committee?

A. The President's Committee will recommend general policies and procedures to implement the Order, promote the coordination of the activities of departments and agencies under the Order, and report to the President on actions taken and results achieved. It may confer with representatives of any Federal department or agency, state or local public agency, or private group directly or indirectly affected by the Order. The President's Committee may hold public or private hearings for compliance, enforcement, or educational purposes. It shall encourage educational programs by nongovernmental groups in support of the objectives of the Order.

COVERAGE OF HOUSING

Q. What housing is affected by the Order?

A. The Order applies to housing that is --

(1) Owned or operated by the Federal Government.

(2) Provided in whole or in part with the aid of Federal loans, grants, advances or contributions.

(3) Provided in whole or in part by loans insured, guaranteed, or otherwise secured by the credit of the Federal Government.

(4) Provided by the development or redevelopment of real property made available by a State or local public agency through Federal financial assistance for slum clearance or urban renewal.

Q. Does the Order apply to existing housing as well as housing yet to be provided?

A. The principal effect of the Order will be on Federally assisted new housing construction, in which discrimination on the basis of race, color, creed, or national origin will be prohibited. Existing housing may also be affected, since the Order directs the departments and agencies to use their good offices and take other appropriate action permitted by law to promote the abandonment of practices of discrimination in housing heretofore provided with Federal assistance. It is not expected, however, that the Order will be applied to owner-occupied single family dwellings. Discrimination is prohibited in all housing that is owned or operated by the Federal Government, no matter when provided.

Q. Will there be any exception to coverage?

A. Yes, each department and agency responsible for implementing the Order is authorized to make desirable exemptions and exceptions, consistent with the law and the purposes of the Order.

Q. Are builders or developers of housing subject to the Order?

A. Yes, if the housing they produce is aided by any of the Federal Government's housing assistance programs, they will be prohibited from discriminating in its sale or rental.

Q. If a person buys a dwelling that is subject to the Order, at the time of purchase, will he be prohibited thereafter from discriminating in its resale or rental?

A. This will depend upon regulations to be issued by the operating agencies responsible for the Federal assistance programs under their authority to make exceptions and exemptions. The Order is not expected to control the manner in which an individual homeowner may dispose of his residence by sale or rental.

Q. Does the Order apply to the rental of a unit in a two-family residence where the owner occupies the other unit?

A. This will depend upon regulations to be issued by the operating agencies responsible for the Federal assistance programs under their authority to make exceptions and exemptions.

Q. Is public housing covered by the Order?

A. Yes, low-rent public housing provided with the aid of Federal loans and contributions is covered.

Q. Are college dormitories and faculty housing covered?

A. Yes, if provided with Federal financial assistance.

Q. Is housing for the elderly covered?

A. The Order covers all housing for the elderly that is newly constructed or rehabilitated with the aid of loans and contributions from the Public Housing Administration, direct loans from the Community Facilities Administration, loans insured by the Federal Housing Administration, or loans or insurance of loans by the Farmers' Home Administration.

Q. Is defense housing covered?

A. Yes, the Order covers all housing owned or operated by the Defense Department or provided with financial assistance by the Defense Department, and any housing constructed for defense personnel with FHA mortgage insurance.

Q. Is housing in urban renewal areas covered?

A. Housing provided in Federally-aided urban renewal areas is subject to the Order and may be affected by it in several different ways. It may come under the Order because it is provided by the development or redevelopment of land made available as part of the Federally-assisted urban renewal project; or because it is provided with the aid of a loan or other direct financial assistance from the Federal Government, as in the case of low-rent public housing or housing for the elderly; or because it is financed with a loan insured by the FHA or otherwise secured by the credit of the Federal Government.

COVERAGE OF LENDING PRACTICES

Q. How will home financing institutions be affected by the Order?

A. Home financing institutions will be prohibited from discriminating on the basis of race, color, creed, or national origin in their lending practices with respect to housing loans which are insured, guaranteed, or otherwise secured by the credit of the Federal Government.

ENFORCEMENT OF THE ORDER

Q. How will the Executive Order be enforced?

A. Each Federal department and agency will be primarily responsible for obtaining compliance with the purposes of the Order as it applies to operations and programs which it administers. It will establish a procedure for the handling of complaints of violations, and in case it finds a violation has occurred, it shall endeavor to bring about compliance by informal means, including conference, conciliation, and persuasion. It may also resort to sanctions.

Q. What sanctions are authorized by the Order?

A. Each department or agency may take the actions that are appropriate under its own governing statutes to obtain compliance within its programs or operations. In general, the ultimate action which might be taken by a department or agency in a case of violation would be to deprive the violator of the benefits of future Federal assistance. For example: A developer or sponsor of housing might be debarred from Federal loan programs or might be denied the benefit of Federally insured or guaranteed loans. A home financing institution might be denied Federal loan insurance or guarantee. A State or local public agency might be denied further Federal aid for low-rent public housing or urban renewal. Furthermore, it is provided that one Federal department or agency may apply its own sanctions against a builder, lender, or other firm or person who has violated the orders or procedures of another department or agency.

Q. Might there be resort to the courts?

A. Yes, in appropriate cases, departments and agencies are expected to refer to the Attorney General violations of the Order for such action as he may deem appropriate.

ECONOMIC EFFECT OF THE ORDER

Q. What will be the impact of the Executive Order on the housing market and the national economy?

A. It is expected that the Executive Order will call for very significant adjustments in real estate and lending practices, but these are adjustments that should free the market to respond more accurately and more equitably to the needs of the people, and their accumulated effects should result in a sounder real estate market and a sounder economy.

Housing and Home Finance Agency
Office of the Administrator
Washington 25, D. C.

Background Statement

STATE STATUTES AND LOCAL ORDINANCES AND RESOLUTIONS PROHIBITING DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING AND URBAN RENEWAL OPERATIONS

Closely related in purpose and effect to the President's Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing are the State statutes and municipal ordinances and resolutions that have been adopted in recent years to prevent discrimination in various types of housing. Nineteen States and the Virgin Islands and 49 municipalities had taken such action by November 1, 1962.

In the past five years 14 States and the Virgin Islands have either initiated or extended anti-discrimination legislation in the housing field, and nine of these jurisdictions have extended or enacted legislation relating to urban renewal or publicly assisted housing. Of the 49 cities with such ordinances or resolutions, 28 have enacted or extended such laws in the five-year period.

Also, during these five years, State legislation has been enacted for the first time to prohibit discrimination in private housing that does not receive any form of public assistance. Ten States, the Virgin Islands, and three cities have enacted such laws.

State and local actions in this field through 1961 are summarized by a booklet recently issued by the Housing and Home Finance Agency, entitled, "State Statutes and Local Ordinances and Resolutions Prohibiting Discrimination in Housing and Urban Renewal Operations." Since publication of the booklet, the State of Alaska, with a statute prohibiting discrimination in "all forms of publicly assisted housing, and any housing accommodations offered for sale, rent or lease," has been added to the list.

In a foreword to the booklet, Housing Administrator Robert C. Weaver says:

"Our concern is with the freedom of choice in housing--with seeing that all citizens have that freedom, regardless of their race, their religion, their color, or their national origin.

"The nondiscrimination statutes, ordinances, and resolutions relating to housing and urban renewal are intended to guarantee that freedom of choice.

"The extent to which they succeed will depend only in part upon the diligence of their enforcement, however. It will also depend upon the desire and action of Americans to achieve the freedom they offer."

The laws are summarized in three groupings: Those applicable to publicly owned and administered housing; those related to urban renewal areas and to housing assisted by public loan insurance or guarantees; and privately owned housing not assisted through public programs.

In public housing, 17 States and the Virgin Islands, and 38 municipal governments have banned racial discrimination. The first such law was enacted by New York in 1939.

Legislative action to prohibit racial discrimination in urban renewal projects or publicly assisted housing developments has been taken by 14 States and the Virgin Islands and by 34 municipalities. The first State action in this field was by Pennsylvania in 1945.

The most recent field of anti-discrimination legislation has been that affecting privately owned housing not assisted through public programs. New York City, in 1957, was the first of the three cities that had taken such action. Colorado, in 1959, was the first State, with 10 States and the Virgin Islands having enacted such laws by November 1, 1962.

Attached are tables listing the States and localities, with the type of legislative action taken. Municipal actions may be taken either through ordinances or resolutions, and for that reason are given in two separate listings.

TABLE I

States which Prohibit Discrimination in Housing and Urban Renewal

State	Type of Housing Covered by Statute		
	Public housing	Publicly assisted housing or urban renewal	Private housing without Government aid
Alaska	X	X	X
California	X	X	*
Colorado	X	X	X
Connecticut	X	X	X
Idaho	X		
Indiana	X	**	
Massachusetts	X	X	X
Michigan	X		
Minnesota	X	X	X
Montana		X	
New Hampshire	X	X	X
New Jersey	X	X	X
New York	X	X	X
Oregon	X	X	X
Pennsylvania	X	X	X
Rhode Island	X		
Washington	X	***	
Wisconsin	X	X	
Virgin Islands	X	X	X

NOTES TO TABLE I:

*While the California statute does not specifically mention private housing without government aid, the California Supreme Court has ruled that operations of real estate brokers and salesmen fall within California's civil rights act. In addition, State statutes prohibit restrictive covenants in conveyances and void all such existing covenants.

**The Indiana statute applies only to private-type urban development projects and merely prohibits the exclusion of any citizen from a zoned area because of race, creed, or national origin.

***The State of Washington did enact a law prohibiting discrimination in publicly assisted housing but it was held unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court. One of the principal grounds relied on by the Court was that the statute provided for an unreasonable classification as between those having a loan guaranteed by a Federal or State agency and those not having such a guarantee.

In addition to the above States, the State of Illinois has legislation bearing on the subject. Its Civil Rights Act prohibits an official from denying full and equal enjoyment of any property under his care to anyone because of race, religion, color, or national ancestry. It is assumed this applies to public housing which is administered by local public officials. Secondly, the State's Blighted Areas Redevelopment Act prohibits racial discrimination in the sale of land by the Land Clearance Commission, and the Urban Community Conservation Act also contains an anti-discrimination clause; the two together are thought to apply to the second category in the above table, namely, publicly assisted housing or urban renewal.

TABLE II

Cities with Local Ordinances which Prohibit Discrimination in Housing

City	Type of Housing Covered		
	Public housing	Publicly assisted housing or urban renewal	Private housing without Government aid
Cincinnati, Ohio		X	
Cleveland, Ohio	X	X	
Dayton, Ohio		X	
Denver, Colorado		X	
Des Moines, Iowa		X	
Hamilton, Ohio		X	
Los Angeles, Cal.		X	
New York, N. Y.		X	X
Philadelphia, Pa.	X		
Pittsburgh, Pa.			X
Providence, R. I.	X	X	
Toledo, Ohio	X	X	X

TABLE III

Cities, Counties, and Townships which have Adopted Resolutions Prohibiting Discrimination in Housing and Urban Renewal

State and City	Type of Housing Covered		
	Public housing	Publicly assisted housing or urban renewal	Private housing without Government aid
ALASKA			
Anchorage	X		
Fairbanks	X		
Juneau	X		
Ketchikan	X		
ARIZONA			
Phoenix	X		
CALIFORNIA			
Fresno	X		
Los Angeles County	X	X	
Oakland		X	
Richmond	X		
Sacramento		X	
San Francisco	X	X	
San Francisco County	X		
CONNECTICUT			
Hartford	X	X	
DELAWARE			
Wilmington	X		
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA			
Washington	X		
HAWAII			
Hilo	X		
Honolulu	X		
ILLINOIS			
Chicago	X		
Chicago: Hyde Park URA		X	
Chicago: Inst. of Tech.		X	
INDIANA			
LaPorte: Maple Terrace		X	
Michigan City: R-11 URA		X	
Mishawaka: URA project		X	
South Bend	X	X	

TABLE III (Cont'd.)

Cities, Counties, and Townships which have Adopted Resolutions Prohibiting Discrimination in Housing and Urban Renewal

State and City	Type of Housing Covered		
	Public housing	Publicly assisted housing or urban renewal	Private housing without Government aid
MARYLAND			
Baltimore	X		
MASSACHUSETTS			
Boston	X		
MICHIGAN			
Detroit	X		
Hazel Park	X		
Inkster: URA project		X	
Mount Clemens URA proj.		X	
Mount Clemens	X		
Pontiac	X		
Saginaw	X		
Superior Township		X	
MINNESOTA			
Minneapolis		X	
St. Paul	X	X	
MISSOURI			
Kansas City	X		
St. Louis	X		
NEBRASKA			
Omaha	X		
NEW JERSEY			
Newark	X		
NORTH DAKOTA			
Fargo: URA projects		X	
OHIO			
Cincinnati		X	
Hamilton	X		
Toledo	X		
Toledo: Chase Park URA		X	
PENNSYLVANIA			
Allegheny County	X		
Chester	X		
Delaware County	X		

TABLE III (Cont'd.)

Cities, Counties, and Townships which have Adopted Resolutions Prohibiting Discrimination in Housing and Urban Renewal

State and City	Type of Housing Covered		
	Public housing	Publicly assisted housing or urban renewal	Private housing without Government aid
PENNSYLVANIA (Cont'd.)			
Erie	X		
Philadelphia	X		
Pittsburgh	X		
RHODE ISLAND			
Providence	X	X	
WASHINGTON			
Pasco	X		
WISCONSIN			
Madison: UR 2-1		X	
Milwaukee: UR 1-1		X	
Superior	X		

November 20, 1962

Reprinted from Housing- 1961 Commission on Civil Rights Report

The Emergence of a Policy

The Federal Government's housing policy, until recent years, has been largely a response to crisis. Its seeds were sown in the urgency of World War I when housing near industrial sites proved inadequate and the Government stepped cautiously into the scene as money lender and house builder. It took firm root in the economic collapse of the thirties when the Government turned to housing as a major weapon to stabilize and stimulate the Nation's economy. And it grew in the massive defense effort of World War II when the Government faced up to the problem of providing housing for workers during war and then for returning servicemen in peacetime. Its full potential has not yet been reached. That lies in the future.

TENTATIVE BEGINNINGS

The first fleeting expression of Federal interest in housing occurred in 1892, when Congress appropriated $20,000 to investigate slums in large cities.[1] The study provoked nothing in the way of legislation but it indicated an official awareness of the fact that slums did exist and did involve problems.[2] It also reflected a change—what had once been an essentially rural nation was now fast becoming urbanized. Three cities, New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia, had populations in excess of 1 million. There were 28 cities, each with a population of over 100,000, whereas 20 years before there had been only 14.

Negroes were already coming to the cities in large numbers. By 1890, 1,500,000, or one-fifth of the 7,500,000 Negroes in the United States lived in urban areas. By 1910, the former figure would almost double. As yet, however, their increasing number was obscured by the rapid growth of the cities, themselves. The housing problems of urbanized Negroes were not yet deemed national problems worthy of congressional notice.

By 1913, Dr. George Haynes, professor of sociology at Fisk University, could define the outlines of the problem of residential segregation. In an article titled "Condition Among Negroes in the Cities" Haynes said, in part:[3]

> Migration to the city is being followed by segregation into districts and neighborhoods within the city . . . . Thus the Negro Ghetto is growing up. . . . [The Negroes] seek other neighborhoods, just as the European immigrants who are crowded into segregated sections of our cities seek better surroundings when they are economically able to secure them. But a prejudiced opposition from his prospective white neighbors confronts the Negro . . . . Intelligence and culture do not often discount color of skin. Professions of democratic justice in the North and deeds of individual kindness in the South have not yet secured to Negroes the unmolested residence in blocks with white fellow-citizens. In northern cities where larger liberty in some avenues obtains, the home life, the church life, and much of the business and community life of Negroes are carried on separately and apart from the common life of the whole people.
>
> In southern communities, with separate streetcar laws, separate places of amusement and recreation, separate hospitals and separate cemeteries, there is sharp cleavage between whites and Negroes, living and dead.

The first positive congressional action in the field of housing came during the emergency of World War I. On March 1, 1918, Congress authorized the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation to provide housing for shipyard employees.[4] This program was based on direct loans to real estate companies incorporated by the shipbuilders. Housing projects were constructed under this program in 24 localities. They included 9,000 houses, 1,100 apartments, 19 dormitories, and 8 hotels. On May 16[5] and June 4, 1918,[6] Congress expanded its housing activities by authorizing and appropriating funds for the housing of war workers in general. The Bureau of Industrial Housing and Transportation was established within the Department of Labor and the United States Housing Corporation was created by Executive order. The Bureau, working through the United States Housing Corporation (USHC) built, organized, and managed 25 community projects containing more than 5,000 single-dwelling units, as well as apartments, dormitories, and hotels. The USHC also considered and adjusted rent grievances. Investigations were made in more than 100 cities, plans were drawn for 128 sites in 71 communities, and work started on 140 projects. The war's end, however, stopped these activities. The USHC was in operation for only 109 days. Almost all Federal housing was sold to private owners and the Government hastily withdrew from the housing business.[7]

During the 1920's there was some demand for legislation that would ease home mortgage credit,[8] but none resulted. It was only with the advent of the economic collapse of the early 1930's that Congress again passed housing legislation. Again it was a crisis that prompted Federal action. This emergency was of a nature different from war and the means that Congress used to meet it were as different—and more far-reaching.

RESPONSE TO ECONOMIC CRISIS

On July 21, 1932, Congress passed the Emergency Relief and Construction Act—the first Federal legislation to meet the crisis of the Great Depression.[9] This measure authorized the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) to make loans to State-regulated, limited-dividend corporations chartered to provide housing for low-income families or for the reconstruction of slums. The corporations were subject to State and local laws as to rents, charges, capital structures, and rates of return. Under this law a loan of $8,059,000 was made to finance Knickerbocker Village in New York City, but the program was not received with widespread enthusiasm.

The President's Conference

A year and a half earlier, in December 1931, President Hoover had called a conference on home building and home ownership. Its only immediate result was the Federal Home Loan Bank Act, but the conference had more profound and far-reaching effects. The reports of its committees occupied 11 volumes.[10] Its findings and recommendations covered such areas as slum clearance, public housing, cooperative housing companies, and neighborhood planning. Significantly, an entire volume was devoted to the problems of housing for Negroes.[11] Negro migration to the cities had begun to take on significant proportions. In the 20-year period prior to 1930, the Negro population of New York City had almost quadrupled; in Philadelphia, it had more than doubled; in Chicago, it had more than quintupled; in Detroit, it had increased more than twenty-fold. After considering the uniqueness of the housing problems of Negroes, the President's Conference offered 16 recommendations to improve their situation. Some of these consisted of general suggestions for changing the climate of public opinion and inducing "civic-minded people" to establish adequate financing agencies to provide loans at reasonable interest rates. The report also recommended that a National Housing Commission and State commissions be established to promote adequate State housing laws. It recommended that permanent commissions be established on the community level to investigate housing conditions and propose specific controls. It also recommended that interracial groups be established to secure local housing improvements. In connection with the construction of low-priced apartments, it recommended that "consideration be given to the intervention by public funds either through tax relief or through direct subsidy." [12] Finally, the report recommended the organization of local cooperative associations of Negro homeowners and prospective homeowners for the purpose of enabling community groups to bargain collectively for financing facilities.

The importance of the President's Conference lies in the fact that for the first time a federally constituted body had studied the housing field in all its aspects and made proposals for dealing with it as a problem that was national in character.

Creation of the Federal Home Loan Bank System

The only immediate result of the President's Conference was the enactment on July 22, 1932, of the Federal Home Loan Bank Act,[13] which created the Federal Home Loan Bank System. This was the first long-term government measure in the area of home financing and is still the basic law governing the network of financial institutions within the Federal Home Loan Bank System. It was a bold device to integrate local credit institutions into a national system that would be supported on a permanent basis by central reserve facilities. It provided a reserve credit pool exclusively for home financing institutions, independent of the commercial banking system. The Federal Home Loan Bank System (FHLBS) was patterned somewhat after the Federal Reserve System in that it had a central governing board, called the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, appointed by the President, and a group of regional banks (Federal Home Loan Banks). Under this system, 11 of the latter were established with an original capital stock of $125 million subscribed by the Secretary of the Treasury.[14] Building and loan associations, savings and loan associations, homestead associations, savings and cooperative banks, and insurance companies were eligible to become members of the system. In 1933, the credit activities of the Federal Home Loan Banks were broadened by the provision in the Home Owners' Loan Act authorizing the chartering of Federal

Savings and Loan Associations.[15] And as part of the National Housing Act of 1934, the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation was created under the direction of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board to insure savings in Federally chartered associations and in State chartered associations which met prescribed qualifications.[16] Thus the Federal Government had moved away from the gingerly, tentative approach of the World War I measures. The Federal Home Loan Bank Act also marked a change in emphasis. The chief function of the Federal Government in housing would be to facilitate credit, not to build homes.

Home Owners' Loan Corporation

An additional step, one intended to counteract the flood of mortgage foreclosures throughout the country,[17] came on June 13, 1933, when Congress authorized the creation of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation.[18] The HOLC had a capitalization of $200 million and a loan authorization of $4.75 billion to be used for taking over and refinancing mortgages on one- to four-family dwellings that were either delinquent or held in lending institutions whose assets were frozen. Congress later provided for a guaranty as to principal and interest of HOLC bonds.[19] During its first 3 years, the agency financed 1,017,821 homes, or 1 out of 5 of all mortgages on owner-occupied homes in the nonfarm areas of the Nation.[20] It put $3.5 billion in loans and, when it stopped operating on May 29, 1951, it had accumulated a balance of nearly $14 million, which was presented to the U.S. Treasurer.[21]

The initial emphasis of these programs had been on restoring public confidence in the country's financial institutions.[22] To a large extent the effort succeeded and helped pave the way for a resumption of lending activity. The problem now was to devise methods to encourage building and to increase the supply of funds for new lending. To do this Congress in 1934 started in a new direction with a new and independent agency. It was named, significantly, the *Federal* Housing Administration (FHA). The enabling act was entitled, even more significantly, the *National* Housing Act.[23]

FHA and the new era of mortgage financing

The act of 1934 was revolutionary in its approach. FHA was given authority to insure private lending institutions against losses on long-term, first-mortgage, home loans, and on unsecured loans for home repairs. Similar mortgage insurance had been offered by private companies in the past, but for the Federal Government to engage in this operation was a radical departure from previous practice.[24]

The National Housing Act also provided for the establishment of national mortgage associations "to purchase and sell first mortgages and such other first liens as are commonly given to secure advances on real estate . . . under the laws of the state in which the real estate is located."[25] These associations were to be privately owned but governed by FHA. They were to deal directly with financial institutions rather than with the borrower. In short they were devices for assuring the financial community that FHA mortgages would have a ready market. Draftsmen of the act had anticipated that the financial community might respond with some hesitancy to the FHA-insured mortgage. Financiers were accustomed to short term, low loan-to-value ratio, unamortized mortgages. The FHA mortgage, with its low interest rate, high loan-to-value ratio, and long term might be considered too risky—despite government insurance—if there were no ready market for it.

Until these private associations were organized, however, the need for a secondary market had to be satisfied. On January 31, 1935, therefore, Congress authorized the creation of the RFC Mortgage Company "to assist in the reestablishment of a normal mortgage market."[26] This new subsidiary of the RFC was utilized temporarily to provide the secondary market function, while Congress waited confidently for the organization of the private associations. None were established.[27] The Government was forced to take a more direct hand.

In February 1938, at the request of the President, the RFC established the Federal National Mortgage Association (FNMA).[28] Now known as "Fannie Mae," it was originally expected to serve two purposes in aiding the Federal housing program. First, it made FHA mortgages more desirable by offering an assured secondary market to mortgage lenders concerned with liquidity. The mere fact that FNMA was available was a source of comfort and an inducement for many financial institutions to enter the mortgage market, even though they actually made little or no use of the Federal agency. Secondly, it facilitated the geographic spreading of mortgage capital. The reluctance of private enterprise to form private national mortgage associations was not repeated when FNMA notes were offered to the public. The initial offering of $29 million was oversubscribed many times.

Public housing

Up to this point, the main thrust of the Federal Government's housing policy had been to facilitate credit. The 1934 National Housing Act was aimed primarily at relieving economic conditions, and only incidentally at improving housing conditions. At the same time, however, the Government was taking some direct housing action. The first emergency legislation enacted during the depression, the Emergency

Relief and Construction Act of 1932,[29] had been designed to provide housing for families of low income, and for the reconstruction of slum areas.[30] On June 16, 1933, Congress passed the National Industrial Recovery Act,[31] which, among other things, provided for the "construction under public regulation or control of low-cost housing and slum-clearance projects."[32] The Public Works Administration (PWA) was established to make loans and grants to public agencies meeting two statutory requirements—reasonable security and self-liquidation. Under this legislation and subsequent appropriations by Congress, 50 low-rent public housing projects containing 21,600 units were built in 37 cities. In addition, loans were made for 7 limited-dividend projects which had 3,065 dwelling units.[33]

In 1937, Congress passed the United States Housing Act, creating the United States Housing Authority (USHA).[34] Unlike the earlier public housing laws, this was long-range in purpose. USHA was established as a permanent corporate body. Pursuant to this new legislation, the construction, ownership, and operation of public housing properties were to be under the jurisdiction of local housing authorities. The new Federal agency was empowered to make them loans representing 90 percent of the cost and to pay annual subsidies which, as it developed, were usually sufficient to meet the loan carrying charges. The municipalities concerned were required to contribute annual amounts equivalent to 20 percent of the Federal payments.

The earlier New Deal housing legislation, such as the Home Loan Bank Act, the Home Owners Loan Act, and the National Housing Act, had been within the broad category of "pump-priming" measures and did not encroach upon the domain of the private housing industry. The entrance of the Federal Government into public housing in the depression years was a radical departure from the traditional concept of the function of government, for it was the first major long-range effort on the part of the Federal Government to provide housing directly—housing for the underprivileged at rents they could afford.

By 1938, the basic machinery was established. The essential legislative tools were now at hand, available to serve a housing policy that had not yet evolved. The FHLBB, FHA, and "Fannie Mae" provided the basis for continuing Federal influence on home finance. The PWA, and later the USHA, engaged the Government directly in the business of putting good roofs over the heads of low-income families. These measures were, generally, emergency measures, measures of expediency, with no grand design other than to bring the Nation's resources to bear in overcoming economic catastrophe. Now, however, the Government was no longer merely an interested bystander, but an active instrument of public welfare. Though the machinery would be refined, sharpened, and even elaborated in the years to come, the Federal Government was in housing to stay.

PROBLEMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

When the Federal Government entered the housing scene in the 1930's, it was immediately confronted with a problem that has been with it ever since: The problem of racial discrimination. Since World War I, when Negroes first moved north in significant numbers, discrimination against them in residential areas had been fairly common in roughly its present form.[35] By 1933, racial discrimination had become an operating practice of the private housing industry. But the Constitution and statutes of the United States imposed different standards on Government—Federal, State, and local—from those followed by private enterprise.

More than 60 years before, Congress had passed the Civil Rights Act of 1866.[36] Part of the United States Code, it provided that: [37]

> All citizens of the United States shall have the same right, in every State and Territory, as is enjoyed by white persons thereof to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property.

The 14th amendment was a guaranty that this right could not be denied on the State or local level. As early as 1917, the Supreme Court of the United States, in *Buchanan* v. *Warley* [38] had ruled unconstitutional a city zoning ordinance requiring racial segregation in housing. This principle had become firmly established through other Supreme Court rulings by the time the Federal housing program got in full swing.[39] But what the Supreme Court had declared unconstitutional when attempted through municipal zoning, the private housing industry practiced at will.

Federal policy in the housing field reflected and even magnified the attitudes of private industry. The FHA indeed encouraged racial discrimination. Its explanation for doing so was the widespread belief that property values of a residential neighborhood suffered when the residents were not of the same social, economic, and racial group. Thus the FHA in its "Underwriting Manual" of 1938 declared: "If a neighborhood is to retain stability, it is necessary that properties shall continue to be occupied by the same social and racial groups." [40] The Manual carried this principle a step further by recommending the use of restrictive covenants to insure against "inharmonious racial groups." [41] It even contained a model covenant and thereby gave great impetus to the spread of racial discrimination in residential areas throughout the country—for the inclusion of the restrictive covenant in real estate sales contracts became almost a prerequisite of FHA mortgage insurance.[42] When land was sold to Negroes or Mexican-Americans, under FHA policy, adjoining land generally would be classed as undesirable.[43]

One housing expert has concluded that FHA's discriminatory policy widened the gap between the living conditions of whites and Negroes and increased the concentration of racial minorities in the older, more deteriorated neighborhoods.[44] It did this, he has said, by aiding the increase of the total supply of new housing, particularly in the suburbs, while denying the minority groups access to it, thus forcing them into existing, substandard housing. Another observer has characterized the FHA policy as "separate for whites and nothing for blacks." [45]

Other Federal agencies dealing with the private housing industry adopted similar attitudes. The FHLBB and HOLC openly followed policies favoring the homogeneity of racial groups in residential neighborhoods.[46] When HOLC acquired homes in white neighborhoods and offered them for sale, Negroes could not buy them. And when this agency made loans, its policy was to do so only if they were used to preserve racial segregation.[47]

In public housing, however, the Federal Government adopted a different policy—one based on the equitable participation of minorities, not only as tenants, but also in construction and management.[48] Fourteen of the 49 projects built by PWA were for Negroes and 17 were for joint occupancy by Negroes and whites. As a result one of every four tenants housed by PWA was a Negro.[49] When USHA was established in 1937 to take over the Federal public housing program, PWA's racial policies were continued and expanded. The USHA created a racial relations service with responsibility to review public housing programs to promote racial equity.[50] By May 1940, about 48,000 of the 140,000 USHA-aided housing units under contract were for Negro occupancy as were one-fourth of the 75,000 dwelling units provided by the program in urban areas of the North.[51] It is true that the majority of the public housing projects were either all Negro or all white. This was, and still is, treated as strictly within the jurisdiction of local public housing authorities. However, the Federal Government's public housing program did provide decent housing for Negroes which they could rarely get elsewhere and it was a breach, however small, in the wall of discrimination which the Federal Government had helped to erect.

RESPONSE TO WAR

By 1940, the thrust of the Federal Government into housing had slackened and the trend was toward withdrawal from this field. The FHA had become a self-sustaining institution with no need for further direct appropriations. The Federal Home Loan Bank System had reason to hope that soon it, too, would be self-sustaining. HOLC was being liquidated and Congress had ignored urgent requests from the USHA for additional authorization. In 1940, however, the Nation was girding itself for war.

The defense effort required a sudden expansion in industry which in turn required an expansion of the housing supply. This reversed the trend of Federal withdrawal from the housing scene. On October 14, 1940, the Lanham Act,[52] the basic war-housing law, was passed. Funds were appropriated directly for both temporary and permanent housing for war workers, and for related facilities. On March 28, 1941, Congress amended the National Housing Act to authorize more liberal mortgage insurance to private builders or buyers of new homes in critical defense areas.[53] The Nation needed housing quickly and the Federal Government assumed much of the financial obligation of providing it.

In 1942, the housing agencies of the Federal Government—the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, the FHA, the USHA (now called the Federal Public Housing Authority), and the newly born wartime housing agencies—were combined by Executive order into a new super agency, the National Housing Agency (NHA).[54] A unique function given this new agency during the war emergency was that of "programing," *i.e.*, of determining the location, amount, price-range, and ratio of rentals to sales for all new residential construction to be undertaken, as well as the method, whether public or private, by which the construction was to be done. As economic crisis was replaced by war, the criterion for government activity in the housing field was no longer one of stabilizing the Nation's economic system, but of providing houses as fast as possible.

The end of the war did not end the housing emergency. There had been an enormous wartime migration of workers to the cities and these people had come to stay. There had been a high marriage and birth rate during the war years. Moreover, servicemen were coming home. As a result, the housing shortage continued and so did the emergency powers of the Federal Government in the immediate postwar period. The principal concern was with veterans. On June 22, 1944, Congress passed the Servicemen's Readjustment Act,[55] or GI bill, providing Veterans Administration guarantees for financing homes and business ventures at low interest rates. In contrast to the FHA method of reimbursing an insured lender with long-term debentures, the GI loan plan provided for cash payment in case of default. The GI loan was, like the FHA-insured mortgage, a device to encourage mortgage lending through Government guaranty against loss. But there was a difference. The purpose now was not to stimulate the economy but to provide housing for veterans.

Further measures in this early postwar period, such as the creation of the office of Housing Expediter[56] (to formulate plans and programs for dealing with the emergency housing shortage) and the Veterans' Emergency Housing Act of 1946[57] (which extended and strengthened

Federal control over rents and housing supply) meant continued intimate participation by the Federal Government in housing. In July 1947, Congress accepted the President's plan for reorganizing the housing agencies.[58] The plan established the Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA) under a single administrator and made permanent the centralized direction of Federal housing activities which had first been effected through the wartime National Housing Agency.

NATIONAL GOAL IN HOUSING

After the early postwar years America struggled with the need for a long-range Federal housing policy. But the piecemeal approach of earlier days lingered on through 1948. In that year, Congress passed the Housing Act of 1948 [59] and also enacted a measure [60] giving explicit legislative authorization for FNMA and authorizing it to purchase and sell VA mortgages.[61] Until then there had been the possibility that private mortgage associations would be established, as the National Housing Act of 1934 had hopefully contemplated. The 1948 act, in constituting FNMA as a Government corporation, expressly extinguished this possibility. Other housing programs were also extended, but no major reorganization occurred.

The Housing Act of 1949

With the opening of the Eighty-first Congress, the legislative battle for a master housing program was joined again. In his State of the Union message to Congress on January 5, 1949, President Truman underlined the need for new Federal action by calling attention to the fact that "five million families were still living in slums and fire-traps" [62] and that "three million families share their homes with others." [63] On July 15, 1949, slightly more than 15 years after the enactment of the National Housing Act of 1934, Congress passed the Housing Act of 1949,[64] and stated for the first time an overall national goal in housing: [65]

> The Congress hereby declares that the general welfare and security of the Nation and the health and living standards of its people require housing production and related community development sufficient to remedy the serious housing shortage, the elimination of substandard and other inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas, *and the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family,* thus contributing to the development and

> redevelopment of communities and to the advancement of the growth, wealth, and security of the Nation.

The policies to be followed in attaining this goal were also set forth:[66] (1) Private enterprise shall be encouraged to serve as large a part of the total need as it can; (2) governmental assistance shall be utilized where feasible to enable private enterprise to serve more of the total need; (3) appropriate local public bodies shall be encouraged and assisted to undertake positive programs of encouraging and assisting the development of well-planned, integrated residential neighborhoods, the development and redevelopment of communities, and the production, at lower costs, of housing of sound standards of design, construction, livability, and size for adequate family life; (4) governmental assistance to eliminate substandard and other inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas, to facilitate community development and redevelopment, and to provide adequate housing for urban and rural nonfarm families with incomes so low that they are not being decently housed in new or existing housing shall be extended to those localities which estimate their own needs and demonstrate that these needs are not being met through reliance solely upon private enterprise, and without such aid.

The Housing Act of 1949 not only set these goals and policies but established new programs to achieve them. It initiated a program of Federal assistance to localities for redevelopment and slum-clearance projects to be executed by the administrator of the HHFA. A fund of $1 billion was made available for loans to assist localities in financing slum-clearance and redevelopment projects. The public low-rent housing program was revived and expanded and HHFA was authorized to start a broad program of technical and economic research in the field of residential construction and finance. In addition a decennial census of housing was authorized in conjunction with each decennial census of population.

For the first time Congress had declared that the general welfare demanded that "every American family" have "a decent home and a suitable living environment" and had committed the Federal Government to massive action in achieving this goal. Housing was no longer incidental to some other national purpose, nor was the goal merely to build more houses. The Government started also to attack the larger problem of community redevelopment. Here was a new concept of housing that demanded imagination and daring. Housing and Home Finance Administrator Robert C. Weaver restated this concept 12 years later:[67]

> When we talk of housing we are talking of more than simply shelter. We are talking of cities, we are talking of transportation, we are talking of the various facilities that make up the communities in which we live. And of course we are also talking of people.

The act provided a basic framework for the long-range comprehensive plan toward which the Nation, through experimentation, had been moving. The task of the Government in the years since the Housing Act of 1949 has largely been to expand this framework and to embody it with sinew and substance.

During the years following the Housing Act of 1949, the Federal Government continued to institute specialized housing programs to cover new and special needs as they arose. In 1950, the Community Facilities Administration (CFA) was created and authorized to administer a college program "to assist educational institutions in providing housing for their students and faculties. . . ." [68] Later CFA was authorized to make loans to municipalities for public works planning (1954) and for public works in small cities (1955).

In 1950 the VA was authorized to lend money directly to veterans for home purchase or repair in areas where the administrator found that private capital was not available for such financing.[69] In 1954 FNMA received authority to engage in direct Government lending by purchasing certain types of home mortgages under special housing programs for "segments of the national population which are unable to obtain adequate housing under established home-finance programs." [70] Categories for which special assistance has been authorized by Congress or the President include housing for victims of major disasters, housing in Guam and Alaska, urban renewal, defense and military housing, and cooperative housing.[71] In addition, special assistance has been authorized in connection with housing for the elderly, a program instituted in 1956.[72]

Similarly in 1954 the Voluntary Home Mortgage Credit Program (VHMCP) was instituted [73] with the specific purpose of making FHA-insured or VA-guaranteed loans available to minority groups, as well as to people in small communities. This program has consisted of an informal arrangement between Government and private financial institutions by which the Government offers its encouragement and the use of certain facilities to enable financiers to meet a demand that is not being otherwise satisfied. The VHMCP constituted the first legislative recognition of the lack of equal opportunity in home financing for minority citizens and the first legislative attempt to rectify this inequality. It also signaled recognition by the private financial community of its responsibility in this regard.[74]

The advent of urban renewal

Urban renewal in the Housing Act of 1949 was a pioneering concept in housing. Soon, however, it became obvious that the scope of the 1949 program, with its emphasis on slum clearance and rebuilding, was too limited to meet the needs of the Nation's cities. In 1953, therefore, President Eisenhower appointed a citizen's committee to study and make recommendations for "a new and revitalized housing program. That program should meet the problems of housing and sound community development through a series of related actions." [75] In December 1953, the committee rendered its report. The first recommendation was that: [76]

> The program of Federal loans and grants established by Title I of the Housing Act of 1949 should be broadened. It should provide assistance to communities for rehabilitation and conservation of areas worth saving as well as for the clearance and redevelopment of wornout areas. It should make Federal loans and grants available for well-planned neighborhood projects at any stage of the urban renewal process provided they will clear blight and establish sound healthy neighborhoods.

The report suggested the establishment of urban renewal services in an "Urban Renewal Administration," as a new constituent of the HHFA, "to provide technical and professional assistance to communities for the planning and development of programs for urban renewal." [77] The committee further recommended that FHA be empowered to insure loans on liberal terms for the rehabilitation of existing properties and for the construction of new dwellings in renewal areas.[78] The key to the report, however, lay in the following statement: [79]

> To see to it that Federal assistance as related to local programs which actually face up to the local problems, the Committee recommends that extension of Federal financial assistance and the insurance of mortgages in urban renewal areas be conditioned upon submission by the local communities of a *workable program* to attack the problem of urban decay.

This was a broadened concept from that of the 1949 act. The committee observed, "there is no justification for Federal assistance except to cities which will face up to the whole process of urban decay and undertake long-range programs." [80] In effect, it recommended a shift of emphasis to overall planning rather than "project planning on a limited, piecemeal, few-blocks-at-a-time basis." [81]

All of the committee's recommendations, and more, were enacted into law in the Housing Act of 1954.[82] This was a direct response to the urgent need for rehabilitation of our cities. It was a major attempt to achieve comprehensive, long-range planning in a tremendous Federal-local cooperative venture. Each community was given the responsibility of developing an overall "workable program" that would include a master city plan, housing codes, rehousing of displaced families, along with financing, administrative organization, and citizen participation.

Special FHA mortgage insurance terms were authorized to stimulate housing construction in project areas with special regard for displaced families within or outside such areas.

The Housing Act of 1949 had been the initial attempt to meet the problems of increasing urbanization. The 1954 act carried it beyond slum clearance and redevelopment to include the total community. Subsequent legislation has aimed principally at refinement and more effective implementation. The implications of this legislation for all Americans are profound and still largely unrealized.

THE CHANGING POLICY

World War II brought the first hints of a change in Federal policy toward the housing needs of minorities. War turned what had been a stream into a great river of Negro migrants moving to urban production centers. In August of 1942 the newly created National Housing Agency announced its basic policy that "no discrimination shall be made on account of race, creed, color, or national origin." [83] In 1943 the War Manpower Commission noted a steady increase in the employment of Negroes in war industries and a trebling of Negro enrollment in war training programs over a 12-month period. Recognizing the necessity of providing adequate housing to meet this new demand, NHA observed: [84]

> Every effort is to be made to assure that the housing programs to be developed reflect the viewpoints and war housing needs of all representative elements in the community. It is to be continuously kept in mind that the selection of sites and the provision of war housing without undue delay for all eligible war workers is the war-time job of the NHA.

Such directives were by no means antisegregation orders. War housing was still programed separately for whites and nonwhites. Rather, they were aimed at assuring equitable shares for Negroes in housing as it became available. Some administrative machinery was established within the NHA organization to execute this policy, but it was entirely inadequate. Nonetheless, a degree of success was achieved in public war housing, where Negroes ultimately received about 15 percent of all the units—although only on a segregated basis.[85] This represented almost 6 times as many units as were provided for Negro occupancy under the larger FHA program of private war housing—84,000 as compared with 15,000 units.[86] The "racial equity" policy of public housing, which has existed from the beginning, at least succeeded in securing for Negroes a semblance of an equitable share of low-rent housing, although principally on a segregated basis.[87]

The national emergency caused no appreciable change in FHA policy. Throughout the war—while the NHA was attempting to satisfy the need for adequate housing for Negroes—FHA adhered to the segregation policies of its "Underwriting Manual." Economic considerations remained the principal criteria governing FHA policy and the significant decisions on financing were still made by private financial institutions over which there was no government control.[88] Of the total private, priority war-housing planned, under construction, and completed during the war, only 4.3 percent was for Negroes.[89] By the end of 1944 they had only 2.4 percent of the private, nonpriority war housing.[90] Thus, although the NHA expressly recognized the housing needs of Negroes, its failure adequately to implement its new policy and the failure of both the NHA and the FHA to encourage nonsegregated, privately financed housing for war workers restricted Negro participation in the war housing program and further institutionalized residential segregation.[91] Still, the Government's policies during World War II represented a significant change in outlook. If the NHA policy of nondiscrimination was only a response to the urgent requirements of war, it was a beginning.

Prompted by criticism from various groups, the FHA in 1947 took some hesitant steps in the same direction. It established a Racial Relations Service to serve the minority group segment of the housing market.[92] The 1947 edition of its "Underwriting Manual," substituting terms such as "user groups" and "incompatible groups," carried no direct reference to race. Statements on the relation of user group changes to property values were couched in more cautious and qualified language, and the manual stressed the physical, social, and economic, rather than the racial, factors in the decline of property values. In addition restrictive covenants were no longer recommended. Appraisers were advised to study the significance of "a mixture of user groups" or a change in occupancy from one user group to another, but the revised manual added that "additional risk is not necessarily involved in such change." [93] The impetus for a vital alteration in FHA policy, however, would come from outside the executive or legislative branches of government.

In August 1945, just before the close of World War II, a Negro family in St. Louis named Shelley purchased some real estate from a white owner named Josephine Fitzgerald. The property was subject to a 50-year racially restrictive covenant agreed to in 1911. By 1961, Negroes and orientals would be eligible to own property there. The Shelleys were 16 years early. A Mr. and Mrs. Kraemer, who owned other property subject to the same restrictive covenant, brought suit to enforce it. (In 1926 the United States Supreme Court in *Corrigan* v. *Buckley* [94] had ruled in effect that such restrictive covenants were not constitutionally invalid, but the Court had never ruled on their *enforceability*.) For nearly 2 years the Shelley case made its slow progress through the Missouri State courts in the cautious manner of the judicial process. During this period, Congress did nothing and the executive branch did very little with respect to housing discrimination. Then on June 23, 1947, the U.S. Supreme Court agreed to review the decision of the Missouri Supreme Court which had declared that the covenant was enforceable.

On May 3, 1948, the U.S. Supreme Court announced its unanimous decision in *Shelley* v. *Kraemer*.[95] It ruled that the Missouri State courts could not enforce the restrictive covenant. To do so, the Supreme Court held, would constitute State action in violation of the 14th amendment of the Federal Constitution.[96] The Court did not disturb the earlier *Corrigan* ruling, but rested its decision on a distinction between validity and enforceability of restrictive covenants.[97]

The *Shelley* decision brought a gradual but real change in Federal policy.[98] In December 1949, a year and a half after the Supreme Court decision, FHA ruled that it would not provide mortgage insurance for property on which restrictive covenants were recorded after February 15, 1950. At the same time it announced that the racial composition of a neighborhood "is not a consideration in establishing eligibility."[99] The agency was still a long way from sponsoring a policy of open occupancy, but if an application should happen to be made for the insurance of a mortgage on an open occupancy development, FHA would be willing.

In 1951 FHA announced that all repossessed FHA-insured housing would be administered and sold on a nonsegregated basis.[100] In 1952 in connection with the programing of housing for nonwhite defense workers during the Korean War, it directed its field offices to give "some preference" to proposals for open-occupancy developments as against all-minority projects.[101] Two years later, the FHA commissioner announced the intention of taking "active steps to encourage the development of demonstration open-occupancy projects in suitable key areas."[102] Thus, in the 7 years from 1947 to 1954, FHA had moved from a policy requiring segregation to one expressly encouraging open occupancy. Despite these changes it remained a fundamental principle of FHA that builders and lenders should be entirely free to make their own decisions on who could buy or rent houses built with the aid of Federal mortgage insurance. The discriminatory practices of the private real estate-home building industry and the financial community have continued for the most part unabated. Huge FHA-insured projects, for example, have been built with an acknowledged policy of excluding Negroes. Thus the governmental policy in favor of open occupancy has clearly emerged but it awaits full implementation. More recently, however, in States that have enacted antidiscrimination laws, FHA has adopted a policy of refusing to insure loans for discriminatory builders.[103]

VISION OF THE FUTURE

There is now no question that housing is a matter of governmental concern. The Housing Act of 1949 settled this with renewed purpose and committed the Federal Government to massive action. "A decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family" is the national housing goal and the legislative tools created in the context of depression and war have been reshaped in an effort to achieve it. The goal has not yet been achieved; 14 million American families currently live in substandard or deteriorating homes.[104] It is a declaration of legislative purpose awaiting fulfillment. But it is a vision of the Nation's future.

Alongside this legislative program, developing tardily but with increasing sureness, has been the recognition of an overall Federal responsibility to insure that this goal is achieved for *all* Americans, on a basis of equal opportunity. It, too, has thus far failed of achievement. Of the 6 million nonwhite households, one-third live in substandard housing.[105] Discrimination is still widespread—often with governmental indifference, sometimes with governmental help. Equality of opportunity is short of fulfillment. But it has developed with increasing clarity as governmental policy.

A total housing policy has emerged: "A decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family." This is the solemn pledge of the Federal Government. There is a depth of meaning to this pledge for it rests upon the firm basis of equal opportunity. And there is a nobility to the reaffirmation declared by President Kennedy before Congress 12 years after it was made: "We must still redeem this pledge." [106]

NOTES: HOUSING, Chapter 2

1. Act of July 20, 1892, 27 Stat. 399 [no longer in effect].
2. See H.R. Doc. No. 532, 82d Cong., 2d Sess. 1 (1952).
3. Quoted in 6 Report of the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership 199–200 (1931).
4. Act of March 1, 1918, ch. 19, 40 Stat. 438 [no longer in effect].
5. Act of May 16, 1918, ch. 74, 40 Stat. 550 [no longer in effect].
6. Act of June 4, 1918, ch. 92, 40 Stat. 594 [no longer in effect].
7. This haste is exemplified by the decision, after the Armistice was signed, to abandon all projects not in an advanced construction stage. Chiefly as a result of this decision, a large deficit was incurred by the United States Housing Corporation, which, on its liquidation in 1945, had a final deficit to the Government of nearly $34 million or 44.5 percent of the total investment. See U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency, *1st Annual Report* II–3, 4 (1947).
8. For example, there were proposals for the establishment of a central mortgage bank with the power of loan and discount, the discount of home mortgages by Federal Reserve Banks, and for the expansion of the Land Bank System to cover urban as well as farm mortgages. See Colean, *The Impact of Government on Real Estate Finance in the United States* 92 (1950).
9. Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932, ch. 520, 47 Stat. 709 [no longer in effect].
10. Report of the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership (1931).
11. 6 *id.*
12. *Id.* at 115.
13. Federal Home Loan Bank Act, ch. 522, 47 Stat. 725 (1932), 12 U.S.C. sec. 1421 (1958).
14. Through the years, the Treasury stock was gradually retired, until completely retired in July 1951.
15. Home Owners' Loan Act of 1933, ch. 64, sec. 5(a), 48 Stat. 132, 12 U.S.C. sec. 1464 (1958).
16. National Housing Act, ch. 847, secs. 402(a), 403, 48 Stat. 1256–57 (1934), 12 U.S.C. secs. 1725(a), 1726 (1958).
17. It has been estimated that at the time HOLC was established, foreclosures of homes were taking place at the rate of 1,000 a day. H.R. Doc. No. 532, *supra,* note 2, at 5.
18. 48 Stat. 129 (1933) [no longer in effect].
19. Act of April 27, 1934, 48 Stat. 643 [no longer in effect]. Also under this act, HOLC invested $223 million in purchasing the shares of savings and loan associations which were members of the Federal Home Loan Banks. This sum has been completely repaid.
20. H.R. Doc. No. 532, *supra,* note 2, at 5.
21. *Ibid.*

22. In addition to the creation of HOLC and the Federal Home Loan Bank System, Congress, in 1933, had also created the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (48 Stat. 168), designed to insure depositors in State and national banks which became members. The Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation (FSLIC) was similarly constituted to insure accounts in approved associations.
23. 48 Stat. 1246 (1934), 12 U.S.C. sec. 1701 (1958).
24. Private "mortgage guaranty companies had flourished briefly and collapsed spectacularly in the years just past." Colean, *op. cit. supra* note 8, at 97.
25. National Housing Act, ch. 847, sec. 301(a)(1), 48 Stat. 1253 (1934) [no longer in effect]. The background and development of the secondary mortgage market is discussed in detail in Haar, *Federal Credit and Private Housing,* ch. 4 (1960).
26. Act of January 31, 1935, ch. 2, 49 Stat. 3 [no longer in effect].
27. Between 1935 and 1938, Congress enacted such measures as easing the capital requirements and providing tax exemptions for these private associations in an unsuccessful attempt to induce their organization.
28. FNMA was originally called the National Mortgage Association of Washington.
29. See note 9, *supra.*
30. Moreover, the World War I housing measures had been in terms of providing housing for war workers.
31. National Industrial Recovery Act, 48 Stat. 195 (1933) [no longer in effect].
32. National Industrial Recovery Act, ch. 90, sec. 202, 48 Stat. 201 [no longer in effect].
33. H.R. Doc. No. 532, *op. cit. supra,* note 2, at 6.
34. United States Housing Act of 1937, 50 Stat. 888, 42 U.S.C. sec. 1401 (1958). The USHA was succeeded in 1942 by the Federal Public Housing Authority, which was in turn succeeded by the Public Housing Administration (PHA), a constituent agency of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.
35. See Weaver, *The Negro Ghetto,* ch. 4 (1948).
36. Act of April 9, 1866, ch. 31, sec. 1, 14 Stat. 27, reenacted in act of May 31, 1870, ch. 114, sec. 18, 16 Stat. 144.
37. 42 U.S.C. sec. 1982 (1958).
38. 245 U.S. 60 (1917).
39. *Harmon* v. *Tyler,* 273 U.S. 668 (1926); *City of Richmond* v. *Deans,* 281 U.S. 704 (1930).
40. FHA Underwriting Manual, sec. 937 (1938).
41. *Id.,* sec. 980.

42. Abrams, *Forbidden Neighbors* 235 (1955).
43. *Id.* at 236.
44. Weaver, *op. cit. supra* note 35, at 72.
45. Abrams, *op. cit. supra* note 42, at 237.
46. "Neighborhood Rating" (Suggestions drawn up by Division of Research and Statistics of Federal Home Loan Bank Board), *Review of the Society of Residential Appraisers,* Aug. 1940.
47. Abrams, *op. cit. supra* note 42, at 237. Various reasons have been advanced to explain this unique adoption of discrimination policies on the part of the newly created public agencies. One reason was that these new agencies enlisted "experts" from private fields where discrimination was an operative business practice. Perhaps the principal explanation is that the focus of the New Deal housing legislation was primarily on improving economic conditions by concentrating on the Nation's credit machinery, and only secondarily on improving housing conditions. The FHA and the Home Loan Bank Board were, above all, concerned with creating business volume for their agencies. Their concern was with financial success and not with insuring equality in the marketplace. The path of least resistance did not lead to experimentation in interracial harmony.
48. Weaver, *op. cit. supra* note 35, at 158.
49. *Id.* at 73–74.
50. McEntire, *Residence and Race* 317–18 (1960).
51. Weaver, *op. cit. supra* note 35, at 74.
52. 54 Stat. 1125 (1940).
53. Act of March 28, 1941, 55 Stat. 55, 12 U.S.C. sec. 1737 (1958).
54. Exec. Order No. 9070, 7 *Fed. Reg.* 1529 (1942).
55. 58 Stat. 284; 38 U.S.C. sec. 1801 (1958).
56. Exec. Order No. 9686, 11 *Fed. Reg.* 1033 (1946).
57. 60 Stat. 207 [no longer in effect].
58. Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1947, 61 Stat. 954, 5 U.S.C. sec. 133y–16 note (1958).
59. Act of July 1, 1948, ch. 784, 62 Stat. 1206, 12 U.S.C. sec. 1716 (1958).
60. 62 Stat. 1268, 12 U.S.C. sec. 1716 (1958).
61. During the period from 1948 to 1950, FNMA made widespread use of the "advance commitments" procedure principally in connection with VA mortgages. Under this procedure, the builder and lender secured a commitment from FNMA to purchase mortgages at a specified price, before construction started, thus effectively eliminating any risk to the lender. This FNMA activity helped to make more lower-priced housing available during this period. In

1950, however, Congress repealed this "advance commitment" authority.

62. 95 *Cong. Rec.* 74 (1949).
63. *Ibid.*
64. 63 Stat. 413 (1949), 42 U.S.C. sec. 1441 (1958).
65. *Ibid.* [Emphasis added.]
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Hearings on the Nomination of Robert C. Weaver To Be Housing and Home Finance Agency Administrator Before the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency,* 87th Cong., 1st Sess. 9 (1961).
68. Act of April 20, 1950, ch. 94, tit. IV, sec. 401(a), 64 Stat. 77, 12 U.S.C. sec. 1749(a) (1958).
69. Act of April 20, 1950, ch. 94, tit. III, sec. 301(h), 64 Stat. 75, 38 U.S.C. sec. 1811 (1958).
70. Housing Act of 1954, ch. 649, tit. II, sec. 201, 68 Stat. 612, 12 U.S.C. sec. 1716 (1958).
71. Significantly, recognized spokesmen for minority groups have been unenthusiastic about authorizing special assistance programs for members of minority groups, apparently not wishing to confuse their campaign for equal rights with special governmental assistance on the basis of race. Bills introduced to accomplish this have not been enacted. McEntire, *op. cit. supra* note 50, at 310–11.
72. 70 Stat. 1104 (1956), 42 U.S.C. sec. 1402 (2) (1958).
73. Housing Act of 1954, ch. 649, tit. VI, sec. 603, 68 Stat. 637–38, 12 U.S.C. sec. 1750aa (1958).
74. The VHMCP is more fully discussed in ch. 3 B at 53, *infra.*
75. *A Report of the President's Advisory Committee on Government Housing Policies and Programs: Government Housing Policies and Programs 1* (*1953*).
76. *Id.* at 5.
77. *Id.* at 6.
78. *Id.* at 7.
79. *Ibid.* [Emphasis added.]
80. *Id.* at 112.
81. *Id.* at 123.
82. 68 Stat. 590 (1954), 42 U.S.C. sec. 1450 (1958).
83. NHA, Administrator's Order No. 9, Aug. 10, 1942, sec. 12, p. 10.
84. NHA Memorandum, 15–1, issued July 21, 1943.
85. McEntire, *op. cit. supra* note 50, at 318. For a detailed account of the experience of public housing during the war, see Weaver, *op. cit. supra* note 35, ch. X.
86. McEntire, *op. cit. supra* note 50, at 318.
87. See ch. 5 *infra* for a full discussion of public housing.
88. Weaver, *op. cit. supra* note 35, at 143–44.

Notes: Housing, Chapter 2—Continued

89. *Id.* at 144.
90. *Id.* at 145.
91. *Id.* at 148.
92. In 1958, the Racial Relations Service was changed to Intergroup Relations Service in order to avoid the connotation of racial separateness.
93. Federal Housing Administration, Underwriting Manual, 1947, sec. 1320(2).
94. 271 U.S. 323 (1926).
95. 334 U.S. 1 (1948).
96. In a companion case involving covenants written in the District of Columbia, the Court reached the same conclusion on the principal basis of the Civil Rights Act of 1866. *Hurd* v. *Hodge,* 334 U.S. 24 (1948).
97. In 1953, the Supreme Court extended the *Shelley* decision in holding that money damages could not be recovered for breach of a racial restrictive covenant. *Barrows* v. *Jackson,* 346 U.S. 249 (1953). But although such covenants are now clearly unenforceable either by way of injunction or money damages, they are still apparently valid. See, for example, *Rice* v. *Sioux City Memorial Park Cemetery,* 60 N.W. 2d 110 (1953), cert. granted, 347 U.S. 942, aff'd per curiam by evenly divided Court 348 U.S. 880 (1954), vacated and cert. denied as improvidently granted, 349 U.S. 70 (1955).
98. The policy of the VA has been similar to that of FHA, with perhaps greater emphasis on a neutral position. See ch. 3 *infra,* for the discussion of VA policies.
99. FHA *Underwriting Manual,* sec. 303 (Dec. 1949).
100. See ch. 3C at 67, *infra,* for a discussion of the effectiveness of this policy.
101. See McEntire, *op. cit. supra* note 50, at 305.
102. *Ibid.*
103. See ch. 3C at 63, *infra,* for a discussion of FHA's relation to State antidiscrimination laws.
104. President Kennedy's Special Message on Housing and Community Development, 107 *Cong. Rec.* 3408 (daily ed. Mar. 9, 1961).
105. *Ibid.*
106. *Ibid.*

EXECUTIVE ORDER

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

WHEREAS the granting of Federal assistance for the provision, rehabilitation, or operation of housing and related facilities from which Americans are excluded because of their race, color, creed, or national origin is unfair, unjust, and inconsistent with the public policy of the United States as manifested in its Constitution and laws; and

WHEREAS the Congress in the Housing Act of 1949 has declared that the general welfare and security of the Nation and the health and living standards of its people require the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family; and

WHEREAS discriminatory policies and practices based upon race, color, creed, or national origin now operate to deny many Americans the benefits of housing financed through Federal assistance and as a consequence prevent such assistance from providing them with an alternative to substandard, unsafe, unsanitary, and overcrowded housing; and

WHEREAS such discriminatory policies and practices result in segregated patterns of housing and necessarily produce other forms of discrimination and segregation which deprive many Americans of equal opportunity in the exercise of their unalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and

WHEREAS the executive branch of the Government, in faithfully executing the laws of the United States which authorize Federal financial assistance, directly or indirectly, for the provision, rehabilitation, and operation of housing and related facilities, is charged with an obligation and duty to assure that those laws are fairly administered and that benefits thereunder are made available to all Americans without regard to their race, color, creed, or national origin:

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States by the Constitution and laws of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

PART I - PREVENTION OF DISCRIMINATION

Section 101. I hereby direct all departments and agencies in the executive branch of the Federal Government, insofar as their functions relate to the provision, rehabilitation, or operation of housing and related facilities, to take all action necessary and appropriate to prevent discrimination because of race, color, creed, or national origin -

(a) in the sale, leasing, rental, or other disposition of residential property and related facilities (including land to be developed for residential use), or in the use or occupancy thereof, if such property and related facilities are -

(i) owned or operated by the Federal Government, or

(ii) provided in whole or in part with the aid of loans, advances, grants, or contributions hereafter agreed to be made by the Federal Government, or

(iii) provided in whole or in part by loans hereafter insured, guaranteed, or otherwise secured by the credit of the Federal Government, or

(iv) provided by the development or the redevelopment of real property purchased, leased, or otherwise obtained from a State or local public agency receiving Federal financial assistance for slum clearance or urban renewal with respect to such real property under a loan or grant contract hereafter entered into; and

(b) in the lending practices with respect to residential property and related facilities (including land to be developed for residential use) of lending institutions, insofar as such practices relate to loans hereafter insured or guaranteed by the Federal Government.

Section 102. I hereby direct the Housing and Home Finance Agency and all other executive departments and agencies to use their good offices and to take other appropriate action permitted by law, including the institution of appropriate litigation, if required, to promote the abandonment of discriminatory practices with respect to residential property and related facilities heretofore provided with Federal financial assistance of the types referred to in Section 101 (a) (ii), (iii), and (iv).

PART II - IMPLEMENTATION BY DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

Section 201. Each executive department and agency subject to this order is directed to submit to the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing established pursuant to Part IV of this order (hereinafter sometimes referred to as the Committee), within thirty days from the date of this order, a report outlining all current programs administered by it which are affected by this order.

Section 202. Each such department and agency shall be primarily responsible for obtaining compliance with the purposes of this order as the order applies to programs administered by it; and is directed to cooperate with the Committee, to furnish it, in accordance with law, such information and assistance as it may request in the performance of its functions, and to report to it at such intervals as the Committee may require.

Section 203. Each such department and agency shall, within thirty days from the date of this order, issue such rules and regulations, adopt such procedures and policies, and make such exemptions and exceptions as may be consistent with law and necessary or appropriate to effectuate the purposes of this order. Each such department and agency shall consult with the Committee in order to achieve such consistency and uniformity as may be feasible.

PART III - ENFORCEMENT

Section 301. The Committee, any subcommittee thereof, and any officer or employee designated by any executive department or agency subject to this order may hold such hearings, public or private, as the Committee, department, or agency may deem advisable for compliance, enforcement, or educational purposes.

Section 302. If any executive department or agency subject to this order concludes that any person or firm (including but not limited to any individual, partnership, association, trust, or corporation) or any State or local public agency has violated any rule, regulation, or procedure issued or adopted pursuant to this order, or any nondiscrimination provision included in any agreement or contract pursuant to any such rule, regulation, or procedure, it shall endeavor to end and remedy such violation by informal means, including conference, conciliation, and persuasion unless similar efforts made by another Federal department or agency have been unsuccessful. In conformity with rules, regulations, procedures, or policies issued or adopted by it pursuant to Section 203 hereof, a department or agency may take such action as may be appropriate under its governing laws, including, but not limited to, the following:

It may -

(a) cancel or terminate in whole or in part any agreement or contract with such person, firm, or State or local public agency providing for a loan, grant, contribution, or other Federal aid, or for the payment of a commission or fee;

(b) refrain from extending any further aid under any program administered by it and affected by this order until it is satisfied that the affected person, firm, or State or local public agency will comply with the rules, regulations, and procedures issued or adopted pursuant to this order, and any nondiscrimination provisions included in any agreement or contract;

(c) refuse to approve a lending institution or any other lender as a beneficiary under any program administered by it which is affected by this order or revoke such approval if previously given.

Section 303. In appropriate cases executive departments and agencies shall refer to the Attorney General violations of any rules, regulations, or procedures issued or adopted pursuant to this order, or violations of any nondiscrimination provisions included in any agreement or contract, for such civil or criminal action as he may deem appropriate. The Attorney General is authorized to furnish legal advice concerning this order to the Committee and to any department or agency requesting such advice.

Section 304. Any executive department or agency affected by this order may also invoke the sanctions provided in Section 302 where any person or firm, including a lender, has violated the rules, regulations, or procedures issued or adopted pursuant to this order, or the nondiscrimination provisions included in any agreement or contract, with respect to any program affected by this order administered by any other executive department or agency.

PART IV - ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

Section 401. There is hereby established the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing which shall be composed of the Secretary of the Treasury; the Secretary of Defense; the Attorney General; the Secretary of Agriculture; the Housing and Home Finance Administrator; the Administrator of Veterans Affairs; the Chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board; a member of the staff of the Executive Office of the President to be assigned to the

Committee by direction of the President, and such other members as the President shall from time to time appoint from the public. The member assigned by the President from the staff of the Executive Office shall serve as the Chairman and Executive Director of the Committee. Each department or agency head may designate an alternate to represent him in his absence.

Section 402. Each department or agency subject to this order shall, to the extent authorized by law (including § 214 of the Act of May 3, 1945, 59 Stat. 134 (31 U.S.C. 691)), furnish assistance to and defray the necessary expenses of the Committee.

PART V - POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

Section 501. The Committee shall meet upon the call of the Chairman and at such other times as may be provided by its rules. It shall: (a) adopt rules to govern its deliberations and activities; (b) recommend general policies and procedures to implement this order; (c) consider reports as to progress under this order; (d) consider any matters which may be presented to it by any of its members; and (e) make such reports to the President as he may require or the Committee shall deem appropriate. A report to the President shall be made at least once annually and shall include references to the actions taken and results achieved by departments and agencies subject to this order. The Committee may provide for the establishment of subcommittees whose members shall be appointed by the Chairman.

Section 502. (a) The Committee shall take such steps as it deems necessary and appropriate to promote the coordination of the activities of departments and agencies under this order. In so doing, the Committee shall consider the overall objectives of Federal legislation relating to housing and the right of every individual to participate without discrimination because of race, color, creed, or national origin in the ultimate benefits of the Federal programs subject to this order.

(b) The Committee may confer with representatives of any department or agency, State or local public agency, civic, industry, or labor group, or any other group directly or indirectly affected by this order; examine the relevant rules, regulations, procedures, policies, and practices of any department or agency subject to this order and make such recommendations as may be necessary or desirable to achieve the purposes of this order.

(c) The Committee shall encourage educational programs by civic, educational, religious, industry, labor, and other nongovernmental groups to eliminate the basic causes of discrimination in housing and related facilities provided with Federal assistance.

Section 503. The Committee shall have an executive committee consisting of the Committee's Chairman and two other members designated by him from among the public members. The Chairman of the Committee shall also serve as Chairman of the Executive Committee. Between meetings of the Committee, the Executive Committee shall be primarily responsible for carrying out the functions of the Committee and may act for the Committee to the extent authorized by it.

PART VI - MISCELLANEOUS

Section 601. As used in this order, the term "departments and agencies" includes any wholly owned or mixed-ownership Government corporation, and the term "State" includes the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and the territories of the United States.

Section 602. This order shall become effective immediately.

/s/ John F. Kennedy

THE WHITE HOUSE

November 20, 1962

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
Office of the Administrator
Washington 25, D. C.

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF EXECUTIVE ORDER ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

The preamble of the proposed Order points out that discrimination, because of race, color, creed, or national origin in Federally-aided housing is unfair and unjust and inconsistent with the public policy of the United States as manifested in its Constitution and laws, and thwarts the goal expressed by Congress in the Housing Act of 1949 -- to provide a decent home and suitable living environment for all American families. It asserts that discrimination in housing results not only in substandard housing conditions for many Americans, but also furthers discrimination in other fields. The preamble states that it is the obligation of the Executive Branch of the Government to administer all laws providing Federal financial assistance for housing and related facilities so that benefits under these laws will be available to all Americans without discrimination.

PART I - PREVENTION OF DISCRIMINATION

Section 101. Directs all departments and agencies in the executive branch of the Federal Government, in so far as their functions relate to the provision, rehabilitation, or operation of housing and related facilities, to take all action necessary and appropriate to prevent discrimination because of race, color, creed, or national origin, in the sale, leasing, rental or other disposition of residential property and related facilities, which are:

(1) owned by the Federal Government; or

(2) provided with future loans, advances, grants, or contributions from the Federal Government; or

(3) provided by loans hereafter insured or guaranteed by the Federal Government; or

(4) provided by the development of urban renewal project land obtained from a public agency receiving Federal assistance under future urban renewal loan or grant contracts.

This Section also prohibits discrimination in lending practices with respect to Federally insured or guaranteed loans on residential property and related facilities.

Section 102. Directs the Housing and Home Finance Agency and all other affected departments and agencies to use their good offices and to take other appropriate action, including litigation where necessary, to promote the abandonment of discriminatory practices with respect to residential property and related facilities previously provided with certain Federal assistance.

PART II - IMPLEMENTATION BY DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES

Section 201. Directs the affected departments and agencies to submit a report to the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing within thirty days, outlining current programs affected by the Order.

Section 202. Charges the affected departments and agencies with primary responsibility for compliance and directs them to cooperate with the Committee and furnish it with information and assistance as requested.

Section 203. Directs the affected departments and agencies to issue such rules and regulations, adopt such procedures and policies, and make such exemptions and exceptions, within thirty days from the date of the Order, as may be consistent with law and necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of the Order.

This Section also directs the affected departments and agencies to consult with the Committee to achieve consistency and uniformity.

PART III - ENFORCEMENT

Section 301. Authorizes the Committee, any of its subcommittees, and any officer or employee designated by the affected departments and agencies to hold public or private hearings for compliance, enforcement or educational purposes.

Section 302. Directs the affected departments and agencies to use informal means, including conference, conciliation and persuasion to cure violations by any person, firm, State or local public agency. In addition, this Section authorizes each department and agency to take such action as may be appropriate under its governing laws, including the following:

(1) cancel Federal aid contracts in whole or in part; or

(2) withhold further aid under any program affected by the Order; or

(3) refuse to approve, or withdraw approval from, lending institutions or any other lender as beneficiary under any program affected by the Order.

Section 303. Directs executive departments and agencies, in appropriate cases, to refer violations to the Attorney General for civil or criminal action. This Section also authorizes the Attorney General to furnish legal advice concerning the Order to the Committee and any department or agency on request.

Section 304. Authorizes the heads of affected departments and agencies to debar private persons and firms which have violated the rules, regulations, or procedures of other departments and agencies affected by this Order.

PART IV - ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

Section 401. Establishes the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing, which shall be composed of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Defense; the Attorney General; the Secretary of Agriculture; the Housing and Home Finance Administrator; the Administrator of Veterans Affairs; the Chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board; a member of the staff of the Executive Office of the President to be assigned to the Committee by direction of the President; and such members from the public as the President shall from time to time appoint. This Section further provides that the member assigned by the President from the staff of the Executive Office shall serve as Chairman and Executive Director of the Committee. Each department or agency head may designate an alternate to represent him in his absence.

Section 402. Directs each department or agency subject to the Order to furnish assistance to and defray the necessary expenses of the Committee to the extent authorized by law.

PART V - POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

Section 501. Directs the Committee to recommend general policies and procedures to implement the Order, make reports to the President as required, but at least annually, and to adopt rules for its own deliberations. It also authorizes the Committee to provide for the establishment of subcommittees whose members shall be appointed by the Chairman.

Section 502. Directs the Committee to promote the coordination of the activities of departments and agencies under the Order, taking into consideration both the over-all objectives of Federal legislation relating to housing and the right of every individual to participate without discrimination in the benefits of programs providing Federal aid to housing.

This Section also authorizes the Committee to confer with representatives of Federal departments and agencies, State or local public agencies and interested private groups. It further authorizes the Committee to examine the rules, regulations, procedures, policies, and practices of any departments or agencies subject to the Order, and make appropriate recommendations to effectuate the purposes of the Order.

In addition, it directs the Committee to encourage educational programs by civic, educational, religious, industrial, labor, and other non-governmental groups to eliminate the causes of discrimination in housing and related facilities provided with Federal assistance.

Section 503. Provides for an executive committee consisting of the Committee's Chairman and two other members designated by him from among the public members, and directs that the Committee's Chairman shall serve also as Chairman of the Executive Committee. This Section charges the Executive Committee with primary responsibility for carrying out the functions of the full Committee between meetings of the full Committee and authorizes the Executive Committee to act for the full Committee to the extent authorized by it.

PART VI - MISCELLANEOUS

Section 601. Defines "departments and agencies" to include wholly-owned or mixed-ownership Government corporations, and defines "State" to include the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and the territories of the United States.

Section 602. Provides that the Order shall become effective immediately.

November 21, 1962

THE NONWHITE POPULATION
A Summary of Salient Statistics

I. Population Trend

	TOTAL		WHITE		NONWHITE	
Year	Millions	% Chg. Since 1920	Millions	% Chg. Since 1920	Millions	% Chg. Since 1920
48 States						
1920	105.7	-	94.8	-	10.9	-
1930	122.8	+16%	110.3	+17%	12.5	+15%
1940	131.7	+25	118.2	+25	13.5	+24
1950	150.7	+43	134.9	+42	15.8	+45
1960	178.5	+69	158.5	+68	20.0	+84
50 States						
1960	179.3	-	158.8	-	20.5	-

II. Regional Distribution of Nonwhites
(Percent distribution)

	1950			1960		
	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
North	27.3	40.9	5.4	33.1	43.1	6.6
South	64.0	49.3	87.6	56.1	45.1	85.1
West	8.7	9.8	6.9	10.8	11.8	8.3

III. Where Nonwhites Live

	1950		1960	
	Millions of Persons			
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Total	135.1	16.2	158.8	20.5
Urban	86.9	10.0	110.4	14.8
Central cities	42.0	6.3	47.6	10.3
Urban fringe	19.9	1.0	36.1	1.7
Other urban	24.9	2.7	26.7	2.8
Rural	48.3	6.2	48.4	5.7
	Percent distribution			
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Urban	64.3	61.7	69.5	72.4
Central cities	31.1	39.2	30.0	50.5
Urban fringe	14.7	6.1	22.8	8.4
Other urban	18.5	16.4	16.8	13.5
Rural	35.7	38.3	30.5	27.6

III. Where Nonwhites Live (Continued)

	Percent Increase, 1950 to 1960			
		White		Nonwhite
Total		17.5%		26.7%
Urban		27.1		48.7
Central Cities	13.3		63.3	
Urban fringe	81.8		75.0	
Other urban	6.9		3.9	
Rural		0.2		-8.8

IV. Major Concentrations of Nonwhite Population

Localities with largest Number of Nonwhites in 1960

	Area	Millions	%
1	New York	1,141	15%
2	Chicago	878	24
3	Philadelphia	535	27
4	Detroit	487	29
5	Washington	419	55
6	Los Angeles	417	17
7	Baltimore	328	35
8	Cleveland	253	29
9	New Orleans	235	37
10	Houston	218	23
11	St. Louis	216	29
12	Honolulu	214	73

Localities with highest percentage of Nonwhites in 1960

Area	Millions	%
Honolulu	214	73%
Washington	419	55
Richmond	92	42
Jacksonville	83	41
Birmingham	135	40
Gary	69	39
Atlanta	187	38
Nashville	65	38
New Orleans	235	37
Memphis	185	37
Winston-Salem	41	37
Savannah	53	36

V. Regional Net Migration During 1950's

	Thousands of Persons		
	Total	White	Nonwhite
United States	+2,660	+2,685	+ 25
Northeast	+ 336	- 206	+ 541
North Central	- 121	- 679	+ 558
South	-1,404	+ 52	-1,457
West	+3,850	+3,518	+ 332

VI. States with Largest Nonwhite Net Megration - 1950-1960

	Number of Persons
California	354,000
New York	282,000
Illinois	189,000
Ohio	133,000
Michigan	127,000
New Jersey	112,000
Florida	101,000
Pennsylvania	77,000

VII. Increase in Metropolitan Area Population

	Percent Increase 1950-1960 Total	White	Nonwhite
U.S. Total			
In SMSAs	26.4%	24.1%	47.1%
Central Cities	10.8	4.7	50.6
Outside c.c.	48.5	49.3	35.5
Northeast			
In SMSAs	13.0	10.5	51.8
Central cities	- 3.1	- 8.5	52.2
Outside c.c.	34.7	34.2	50.3
North Central			
In SMSAs	23.5	20.3	59.2
Central Cities	4.3	- 3.0	62.4
Outside c.c.	56.4	56.9	39.8
South			
In SMSAs	36.2	37.2	32.2
Central Cities	28.5	25.7	37.2
Outside c.c.	47.9	52.8	19.3
West			
In SMSAs	48.5	46.6	72.3
Central Cities	31.4	26.9	72.6
Outside c.c.	66.4	66.1	71.6

VIII. Occupations

Percent distribution in 1960

	White Total	 Urban	 Rural	Nonwhite Total	 Urban	 Rural
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Household & Service	8.9	9.3	7.9	30.5	32.7	22.6
Operatives	18.3	17.6	20.2	19.2	20.3	15.3
Laborers	4.0	3.6	5.1	12.1	11.7	13.5
Farmers & Farm Laborers	5.9	0.7	19.7	8.4	1.3	33.8
Craftsmen	14.3	14.4	14.1	6.4	6.9	4.6
Clerical	15.3	17.7	8.9	6.4	7.8	1.3
Professional & Technical	11.9	13.3	8.1	5.3	5.9	3.3
Other	21.4	23.4	16.0	11.7	13.4	5.6

IX. Family Income - Median

	1950			1960			Nonwhite as % of White in 1960
	Total	White	Nonwhite	Total	White	Nonwhite	
United States	$3,073	$3,216	$1,426	$5,660	$5,893	$3,711	63%
Northeast	3,365	NA	NA	6,191	6,318	4,371	69
North Central	3,277	NA	NA	5,892	5,994	4,320	72
South	2,248	2,638	1,168	4,465	5,009	2,322	46
West	3,430	NA	NA	6,348	6,444	4,937	77

X. Tenure

	1950		1960	
	Percent of occupied units			
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Owners	57%	35%	64%	38%
Renters	43	65	36	62

XI. Housing Quality

	1950		1960	
	Percent of occupied units			
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
All dwellings				
Standard	68%	28%	87%	56%
Substandard	32	72	13	44
Owner occupied				
Standard	71	33	90	63
Substandard	29	67	10	37
Renter occupied				
Standard	65	25	81	52
Substandard	35	75	19	48

XII. Extent Of Overcrowding

1960

	Percent of dwelling units with:			
	1.01-1.50 persons per room		1.51 or more persons per room	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Owner Occupied				
Urban	5.6%	11.2%	1.1%	5.8%
Rural	7.7	14.6	2.7	17.3
Inside SMSA	5.9	11.5	1.2	5.8
Outside SMSA	6.9	13.1	2.3	14.0
Renter Occupied				
Urban	7.9	15.2	3.2	13.8
Rural	12.9	17.4	7.0	31.0
Inside SMSA	8.1	15.2	3.3	13.4
Outside SMSA	11.1	16.6	5.6	26.7

XIII. Extent of Doubling

1960

	Thousands of Families					
	White			Nonwhite		
	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
Married couples with own households	36,356	25,279	11,077	3,090	2,303	787
Married couples doubled up	708	474	234	155	113	43
Total	37,064	25,753	11,311	3,245	2,416	830
	Percent					
Married couples doubled up	2.1%	1.9%	2.1%	4.8%	4.7%	5.2%

XIV. Characteristics of Urban Housing

	1960 Percent Distribution			
	White		Nonwhite	
	Owner	Renter	Owner	Renter
a. Type of structure				
1 Family	90%	36%	88%	41%
2 Family	6	16	7	14
3 or more family	3	48	5	45
Trailer	1	*	*	*
b. Year built				
1955 - 1960	19	NA	9	5
1950 - 1954	18	NA	10	8
1940 - 1949	16	NA	16	12
1939 or earlier	47	NA	65	75
c. Number of rooms (median)	5.5	3.8	5.3	3.6

* Less than 1 percent

XV. Financial Characteristics of Housing

	1960 White	1960 Nonwhite
	(medians)	(medians)
Value, owner occupied housing		
Total	$12,230	$6,700
Urban	13,088	7,800
Rural	8,695	5,000
Gross rent, renter occupied housing		
Total	$75	$58
Urban	76	61
Rural	66	27

Prepared by
Statistical Reports Staff
Office of Program Policy
HHFA - OA
November 1962

FACTS ABOUT THE HOUSING OF THE NONWHITE POPULATION

A Digest of Bureau of the Census Data

Population: The Nation's nonwhite population has increased at a rate only slightly faster than the white population. In 1920 nonwhites made up 10 percent of the total; in 1960, 11 percent.

Place of Residence: More than two-fifths of all nonwhites live outside the South; in urban areas the proportion is 55 percent. In contrast with whites, who increasingly tend to live outside central cities, more than half of all nonwhites and 70 percent of urban nonwhites live in central cities. Less than 10 percent of nonwhites live in suburban fringes.

Home Ownership: Less than two-fifths of nonwhites are homeowners, compared with nearly two-thirds of whites.

Overcrowding: The rate of doubling of nonwhites, about 5 percent, is more than twice that of whites. Six percent of urban nonwhite homeowners, 14 percent of renters, are badly overcrowded. Comparable figures for white families are 1 and 3 percent respectively.

Condition of Housing: About half the nonwhite renters and two-fifths the nonwhite homeowners live in substandard dwellings. Only one-fifth the white renters and one-tenth the white homeowners have substandard quarters.

Age of Houses: Only one in ten nonwhite homeowners lives in a house built since 1955; about two-thirds are in units standing in 1940. Less than half of white homeowners live in prewar housing.

Value of Houses: The median value of $6,700 for homes owned by nonwhites is only 55 percent of the nearly $12,230 figure for white-owned houses.

Rents Paid: The gross rent of nonwhite renters, $58 is roughly 80 percent of the $75 paid by white renters.

November 20, 1962

House & Home EDITORIAL REPRINT

The challenge of open occupancy

At this writing, in mid-October, almost everyone in housing—and in politics—expects President Kennedy to sign an executive order aimed against bias in the sale and rental of housing. This article is written on the assumption that such an order will be issued and that it will be sweeping in scope—affecting all builders, brokers, and lenders and covering both new and existing homes.

The challenge is not only to the homebuilding industry but to everyone in America. The President's anti-bias edict will be aimed primarily at the industry, but its effectiveness will depend more on how the public—white and non-white—reacts than on what the builders, sellers, and lenders do. The effect will vary from city to city and neighborhood to neighborhood according to local custom and market conditions. The impact of the executive order will be felt at once in some areas, only a little or not at all in others.

The immediate result of the anti-bias order may be to slow down sales, slightly in some cities, drastically in others. Although very few Negroes will rush to buy houses in white neighborhoods anywhere, white buyers may postpone buying while they wait to see what happens. So some builders, brokers, suppliers, and lenders will suffer temporarily. But others will not be hurt at all—and some may even be helped.

The long-range result of the anti-bias order will not become clear in most metropolitan markets for several months, perhaps not for a year or longer in some. But one result can easily be predicted now, even before the content of the order is known: builders, brokers and lenders who refuse to panic, who get prepared for the new set of ground rules, will be in a position to adjust to the new rules. Those who don't face up to the changes will be at a marked disadvantage.

An astounding ignorance of the facts about desegregated housing pervades all segments of the housing industry. Few industry people have given much time to study the problem, although the possibility of forceful government action in the matter has been realized for many years. Last year NAHB's executive committee asked the President not to issue an order until NAHB could "make an immediate factual study of the economic impact" that would be caused by an integration order. Yet this study turned out only as an opinion survey (H&H, Sept). Its main finding: many—about half—of the builders were scared, and the bigger the builder, the more scared.

Thus at mid-October, on what appeared the eve of a strong anti-bias order, it was not surprising to find builders and lenders very much at sea about what they should do. One heard industry people talk of quitting homebuilding, shifting to remodeling, shifting to conventional financing (on the assumption the order would only affect FHA and VA mortgages), or simply planning to try to get around the order one way or another.

But these comments were in the minority: Most industry people said they planned to accept whatever happens and adapt themselves to the changes. And a few were already well set to sell and lend to minorities, in the South as well as North.

To see what effects an anti-bias order might have on the industry, consider the main questions now being asked—and some of the probable answers.

What bright side is there for the industry?

▶ Uncertainty will be ended by issuance of the order. Some industry leaders feel this has hurt sales as much as would issuance of the order itself. And since most people expect such an order

Continued

to be issued within a year or two at latest, better perhaps to have it come now than hang fire. This view also suggests that the sooner the order is issued, the sooner the industry and public alike will adapt to it and work out solutions that may be necessary.

▸ Issuance of the order will put an end to one aspect of publicity that has hurt homebuilding. Many critics of the industry, including the US Commission on Civil Rights, have said the industry is largely responsible for bias in housing. If industry spokesmen are right in their claims that the public is to blame for discrimination, a sweeping anti-bias order will take them off the hook.

▸ Negro buyers will bring more money into the existing house market which should, in turn, enable owners to trade up to new houses (and increase sales of new houses in the over $15,000 range). Says HHFA's Milton Semer: "Most likely the anti-bias order will work fastest in areas where there are a lot of little two-bedroom postwar houses. Until 1958, inflation built up equities and enabled owners to sell and trade up when they wanted. But now many cannot get their equity out since there is an ample supply of new homes available. The order may tip the owners of these houses to sell to Negroes who heretofore have been unable to get financing."

▸ For the many builders and developers who have long struggled with the extra problems in building for minority groups, an anti-bias order will create a more favorable business climate.

Semer sums up the bright side arguments: "The purpose of the executive order is to provide equal access to housing for all people. It aims to provide equal access to financing for builders who have wanted to build for minorities but haven't been able to so far. There have been artificial barriers created by zoners, banks, and so on. The executive order will let the free enterprise market work. Economics will be the principal motivation. Lenders cannot just sit this situation out. If, after an anti-bias order, the alternative to lending is letting money sit in vaults, lenders will simply lend. However, the order will not immediately produce world-shaking results. The order will facilitate change where economic conditions permit."

Will an anti-bias order offer any escape hatches?

It undoubtedly will. Nobody in government, including President Kennedy or HHFAdministrator Robert Weaver, expects that such an order would revolutionize housing overnight in every nook and cranny of the country. Much depends on enforcement measures. Possibly court tests will delay effective enforcement for a time. Charles Abrams, president of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, points out that state anti-bias laws, "with far broader coverage" than an executive order would have, don't seem to prevent many builders from prospering.

State laws exist in Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Pennsylvania, the Virgin Islands; and New York City, Pittsburgh, and Toledo. Most are relatively ineffective because of poor enforcement by administrative agencies or the need for lengthy court action. However, many of the laws will probably be strengthened. They have all been enacted since 1958, and more areas will very likely follow the trend.

Big escape hatches, however, will probably not exist. If the order applied only to FHA and VA housing, it might cover only 25% of new construction. But such an order would merely erase FHA and VA from the picture, solving none of the discrimination problem. If the order were to include loans made by savings and loan institutions insured by the Federal Savings & Loan Insurance Corp., S&Ls would be severely damaged in their competition with banks. So the order is expected to cover not only S&Ls but federally-insured banks. The government cannot order insurance companies and some savings institutions (i.e. those without federal deposit insurance) to avoid discrimination against minorities, because there is no direct federal tie to them, but this does not worry government officials. They point out that insurance companies need an interstate vehicle like FHA or VA to limit their risk, and the uninsured banks and S&Ls are too few to matter. Mutual savings banks will go along with the executive order. Earl Schwulst, chairman of Bowery Savings Bank (the largest mutual) and former chairman of the Commission on Race and Housing, has asked the President to issue a broad anti-bias order as soon as possible. And Grover Ensley, executive vice president of the Natl. Assn. of Mutual Savings Banks, says: "I support a sweeping order, and I am confident savings bankers generally feel that, if an order is issued, it should be broad."

How many non-whites can afford to buy new houses?

This requires a look at population and income figures. The 1960 Census showed that in urban areas—where most of the demand for new houses exists—12% of the population was non-white (12 out of 13 of the 13,808,000 non-whites were Negroes). The Census figures also showed that 26% of urban non-white families had incomes of $6,000 or more (vs. 52% of urban white families). Extension of these and other figures indicates that about a million non-white families have sufficient incomes to afford new and livable older homes in urban areas. There can be little doubt that if the industry could indeed tap this market, total demand for new housing would be spurred.

However, adequate present incomes do not tell the whole story about non-whites' qualifications as buyers. Many potential buyers cannot pass credit examinations because they have neglected to pay commercial debts in past years (see below).

How many non-whites will buy new houses in the suburbs?

Very few at first will buy houses in new developments in predominantly white neighborhoods. There are several reasons:

1. Low incomes. Although Negro incomes are rising substantially, few can yet afford the prices of most new houses now going up in metropolitan areas. The 1960 Census showed the median income of non-white families was $3,233, only 55% as high as the $5,835 median income of white families. These statistics for the nation mean little, however, in individual markets.

2. Poor credit records. Many Negroes are disqualified by credit checks which show them to be slow payers or non-payers (see above). However, nearly everyone now trying to sell to Negroes agrees that those able and anxious to buy homes should not be penalized for poor credit records over three to five years old or for failure to pay small bills long ago. The effect of FHA's crackdown on credit reports (see NEWS) has drastically decreased sales to Negroes in many markets, including Louisville, Wilmington, Dallas, and Atlanta. (Builders specializing in the Negro market seem to be in agreement that most of their prospects with poor credit records are victims of high-pressure stores and loan companies—and even of credit reporting agencies whose main business is making collections. Some builders and lenders insist that credit reports are deliberately falsified to keep Negroes "in hock" to local merchants. FHA Commissioner Neal Hardy has heard much of this and has directed an investigation.

3. Skepticism. Floyd Covington, the race relations advisor for FHA in Los Angeles, predicts, "Not many Negroes will take advantage of an anti-bias order unless it is well merchandised by the government and Negro leaders. Many poorly educated Negroes will not understand the significance of the order. Many Negroes will doubt its meaning. They have heard of orders before, and state laws, and movements of various kinds, and they will doubt this one is any more effective."

4. Prejudice. In the North as well as South, most Negroes will prefer to avoid the unpleasantness they might expect in white neighborhoods. This can range all the way from violence to subtle daily rejection by white neighbors and local institutions.

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5. Land problems. Most Negroes prefer living relatively close to Negro enclaves, if not within them. But these areas are most often some distance from buildable land. Thus, an anti-bias order may not change the difficulty builders have faced in the past when they have sought to build open occupancy housing in the suburbs.

6. Distrust. Several builders acknowledge that Negroes have been so often bilked by white merchants that they will not buy from a white builder unless and until they become completely convinced of his integrity.

What happens to house values when minorities move in?

This is a critical question. Fear that neighborhood as well as house values will drop has provided one of the main motivations for those who refuse to live side-by-side with minority families and for those who refuse to sell to them. (Various studies have shown that this socio-economic reasoning is a greater cause of discrimination than outright prejudice or fear of losing status, at least in areas outside the South.)

Homebuilders are particularly troubled by this problem, more so than other industry segments. A builder who has tied up a lot of money developing a tract feels he risks everything if even one Negro family buys a house. He fears that white families will stop buying in large numbers and that there will not be enough minority families to buy the remaining houses even if lenders and others throw up no barriers to selling to these families. The bigger the builder, and the more he has tied up in his development, the greater his fear.

NAHB's survey neither proves nor disproves this belief. When NAHB surveyed its 15,000-plus builder members on their views about the effects of an anti-bias order, only 175 replied that they had ever sold houses to Negroes that had been intended for whites—and the survey report does not indicate whether these builders had been hurt or not in doing so.

In existing neighborhoods, considerably more evidence is available on the effect of open occupancy on values. It is generally conceded that prices often drop abruptly as white families hurry to sell "while they can still get their money out." This creates an over-supply temporarily and a consequent drop in market prices.

But what happens to prices over the long run, after the initial panic selling? The best documented answer is contained in a book devoted wholly to this subject, "Property Values & Race," by Dr. Luigi Laurenti (University of California Press, $6). The book is required reading for everyone who faces the problem of selling or financing houses in racially mixed areas. (For other references, see box below.)

Laurenti's exhaustive studies of existing neighborhoods lead to this answer: after non-whites move into previously all-white neighborhoods, prices of houses tend to go up more often than down, in comparison with prices in closely similar areas that remain all-white. Laurenti made 34 detailed comparisons of prices in areas of Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Oakland, and found this to be equally true in areas into which only a few non-whites moved and in areas into which many moved. All the test areas were in suburbs of the three cities. Similar results have been recorded by other researchers in other cities.

Laurenti predicts that, as more areas open to Negroes and other minorities, prices will not be affected so much by race. This will be particularly true of areas where only a few non-whites move in. He says: "A study of several dozen 'infiltrated' neighborhoods in San Francisco and nearby cities supports the conclusion that the presence of one or two non-white families in a neighborhood, after a period of time, usually [goes] unnoticed."

What happens in the future will depend on many factors and local conditions. The available evidence seems to bear out what HHFAdministrator Robert Weaver said 14 years ago in his classic study, "The Negro Ghetto": "The effect of Negro occupancy upon property values varies from one section of the city to another and from one time to another . . . The arrival of a few Negroes may be the signal for a great decline in selling prices or it may lead to an appreciable increase. Much depends upon the state of the total housing market and the manner in which colored people enter an area . . . There is no one universal effect of Negro occupancy upon property values."

But, the fact remains that, because all evidence to date is limited to experience in existing neighborhoods, many builders of new houses still view the executive order with apprehension.

What special techniques are needed to sell to Negroes?

No one knows much what they are. But this much seems sure: the Negro market is many markets, and some techniques are needed that vary sharply from selling to white buyers.

Example: When Arch Hermanns opened his furnished models in Chicago last fall, one model furnished in colonial style simply didn't sell. Prospects didn't indicate why. Later, when new models were added, the colonial furniture was put in another model. Result: the model that hadn't sold before became a best seller and the model with the colonial furniture became a white elephant. Says Hermanns: "It taught us that Negroes don't look back toward colonial times with any great sense of delight." The same finding was made by Joe Bolker in Oxnard, Calif.

Example: Market Researcher Sanford Goodkin has learned from extensive research that upper-income Negro families are extremely concerned about the quality of schools because only through good public school education can their children hope to surmount the barriers their race faces. Thus many of the growing number in the professional class prefer to live in areas where schools are not dominated by Negro attendance—which historically indicates poorer schooling.

Example: Many builders specializing in sales to Negroes agree

Continued

Further reading

▶ Heading the list is the US Commission on Civil Rights' 1961 report on "Housing," No. 4 in a series of five volumes. The 206-page report summarizes the commission's findings since its creation by Congress in 1957, contains considerable material on industry practices, and makes recommendations that sweeping financial controls be established to prevent bias. Superintendent of Documents, Washington 25, D.C. $1.

▶ Of nearly equal importance are several reports published by the Commission on Race and Housing in 1960. They include: "The Demand for Housing in Racially Mixed Areas: A Study of the Nature of Neighborhood Change," by Chester Papkin and William G. Grigsby; "Privately Developed Interracial Housing: An Analysis of Experience," by Eunice and George Grier; "Studies in Housing and Minority Groups," edited by Nathan Glazer and Davis McEntire; "Residence and Race: Final and Comprehensive Report to the Commission on Race and Housing," by Davis McEntire, research director of the 1955-1960 project; and Dr. Laurenti's volume described earlier. Each is available at $6 from the University of California Press, Berkeley 4, Calif.

▶ "Forbidden Neighbors," Charles Abrams, Harper & Bros. 1955. $5.

▶ "But Not Next Door," Harry and David Rosen. Ivan Obolensky Inc., New York. 1962, $3.95. An account of the Deerfield, Ill. case.

▶ "Human Relations in Interracial Housing," Wilner, Walkley & Cook, University of Minnesota Press, 1955. $4.

▶ "Where Shall We Live?", Commission on Race and Housing. University of California Press, 1958. $1.50.

▶ "Trends in Housing," bi-monthly publication of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, 426 W 58 St., New York. $2 yearly.

that a house means more in status and security to Negroes than to whites. Chief reasons: few have had a chance to buy houses, and the home is one place where they are secure from contact with prejudiced whites.

Example: When Builder Matt Jetton and two other builders took over a slow-selling Negro development outside of Tampa last year, they thought they could stimulate sales by the usual device of putting in a $75,000 swimming pool. Luckily, they made a survey and learned that the swimming pool was No. 7 on a list of what the prospects wanted. No. 1 was street lights.

Merchandising aimed at the growing minority market is obviously in its infancy. Builders say there is more need for market research in this area than almost any other area of housing. Acting on this theory, Los Angeles Researcher Goodkin has set up a special market advisory council composed of eight prominent Negroes. He has already undertaken several market surveys in Las Vegas, Los Angeles, and other markets across the country, using Negro pollsters to call on Negro prospects. Among his findings:

- Negro buyers do not want to feel that a "special pitch" is being made to them in a deceptive or insincere manner.
- Negroes do not want to move from one ghetto to another.
- A housing project must be offered as a normal project. They dislike use of terms like "open occupancy" or "unrestricted".
- Negroes are impulsive buyers but insist on quality because they know quality and seek its status. (Comments Arch Hermanns: "Our Negro buyers move in with far better home furnishings, including top-grade appliances, than our white buyers. Half the Negro buyers in our new southside tract own pianos.")

Should quota systems be set up for integrated projects?

This problem still perplexes builders. Says John Tolan of Barrett Construction Co., who builds integrated projects in Richmond, Calif: "Negro leaders are divided among themselves on whether quotas, avowed or invisible, are a good thing. Most of them are against bunching on a street or in a neighborhood, yet it's hard to keep buyers from tending to do this."

In Wilmington, Del., Leon Weiner has changed his mind in recent years from letting an open occupancy development take its natural course to favoring a quota system. He and other builders have proposed an urban renewal project for the city, including 105 townhouses, 170 garden apartments, and 380 high-rise units, but Weiner's group won't go ahead until Negro leaders agree to a quota of about 15% Negro and 85% white (about equal to the proportion of Negroes and whites in the area). Says Weiner: "One Negro leader insists that if we use a quota we'll discriminate against Negroes—but another says that we'll create a Negro ghetto if we don't. There aren't enough Negroes to fill the units, and if we don't announce a quota we can stick to, no white families would move in."

The question of whether quota systems are necessary has been important in the past, but it may not be so after an anti-bias order is signed—or may even be outlawed by the order. Economics may alone determine whether a new open-occupancy tract of houses or apartment projects will fill up heavily with one race or another—or not fill up at all.

All the answers to the major questions about open occupancy seem to add up to this: industry members should not panic and should, instead, learn all they can about this problem that will be with the industry for a long time to come.

And one of the best ways to learn is to take a look at the experiences homebuilders, lenders, and brokers are now having in different markets around the country, which begin at right.

What homebuilders are now doing

Nearly everywhere builders have adopted a wait-and-see attitude, mainly because they don't know what else to do. One eastern home builder association has met with Negro leaders and made a tentative proposal: all association members have agreed to sell to any qualified Negro buyer, and the hope is that Negro leaders will try to find enough buyers in each price class so that competitive builders will all be selling to Negroes at about the same time to start with. St. Louis, Philadelphia, and other local associations are trying to get an agreement from all members that none will try to take advantage of a new anti-bias order at the expense of competitors.

Following is a spot check of industry opinion and activity around the US:

Gainesville, Fla. Perhaps the most exciting and hopeful program to house minority families now under way is in Builder Philip Emmer's 285-acre Lincoln Estates. When Emmer came from Miami two years ago, Census data painted this dreary picture: there were 10,000 Negroes in this city of 50,000, and nearly two-thirds were renting slum dwellings. Only 100 Negro families had been able to buy new houses in the 15 years since World War II. But now the picture is different: Emmer has already transformed 100 ill-housed and usually debt-ridden families into owners of new homes in his well-planned community. The houses sell for $8,750 to $11,500 under FHA Sec. 221 financing with FNMA assistance. So far, only two owners have ever been as late as 15 days in their payments; only 10% have been more than five days late.

Emmer has accomplished this (and expects to sell 100 houses a year from now on) despite seemingly impossible odds. About a quarter of his prospects have had bad credit ratings, often through no fault of their own. Many were up to their ears in debt to finance companies, paying 36% interest a year on what they owed. The unique part of Emmer's work is the help he gives families in working their way out from these debts, straightening out their domestic problems, and setting their sights on the new opportunity of becoming homeowners. Says Emmer: "It's hard to sell this way. But it's satisfying, and it's profitable."

TYPICAL STREET in Phil Emmer's Gainesville community of houses averaging $10,040. Emmer is equipping playgrounds for children.

St. Petersburg, Fla.: No one is building for Negroes. However, since early 1961, more affluent Negroes have been able to buy existing homes in a 72-block area south of 17th Ave., the old "committee line" established by bi-racial agreement. Negroes say that lenders stall on FHA and VA loans, but that white owners offer to take back mortgages with about as good protection clauses and terms as FHA or VA mortgages.

Atlanta: Several leading homebuilders report that they are deeply worried over the President's executive order. Atlanta now has some of the finest Negro subdivisions for higher-priced houses in the country—new, suburban subdivisions where upper-income Negroes can buy houses from $20,000 to $50,000 or more. There are also a number of Negro subdivisions where new housing is priced at around $12,000 and less. "There is good housing here for Negroes who can qualify. We are not worried about the typical Negro buyer as he would rather live in his own areas. What we are worried about are the few Negroes, backed by pressure groups, who will buy a house in a white subdivision. When that happens, our white buyers are going to quit buying," said one prominent builder.

BEST-SELLING MODEL in Bill Kerr's Columbus tract has 1,477 sq ft of living area plus garage, basement. Price: $14,900 on $2,200 lot.

Columbus, Ohio: W. K. Kerr & Sons has sold about 600 houses in a 1,000-unit open-occupancy community in the past three years. The Kerrs make no attempt to count how many whites and Negroes buy but believe the ratio is about 50-50. Until last year sales were at $9,800 to $12,000 financed under FHA Sec. 221 but are now $11,800 to $14,900 under Sec. 203b.

Cleveland: Probably fewer than 200 homes are being built for Negroes this year. Of these, about 115 are built by Bernard Gilman's Federal Homes. Says Gilman: "We are not building 'Negro housing.' We're building for anybody, but virtually all the buyers are Negroes." Albert Taborn, Negro real estate broker, says too-stringent credit requirements are holding down constuction for the Negro market.

Knoxville: Builders here report that incomes among Negro families are so low that few can qualify for new houses now being built. So they believe that almost none will try to buy in existing subdivisions. Builders are worried however about "test cases" where a few Negro families "financed by Negro organizations" will move into new subdivisions.

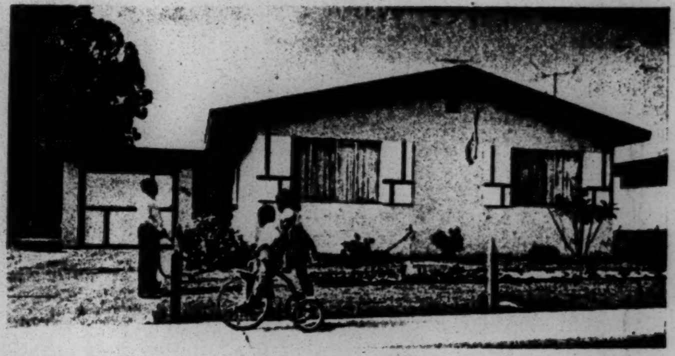
Madison, Wisc.: Builders are unworried about an anti-bias order. Negroes reportedly can buy in various price classes in both Negro and non-Negro neighborhoods, from various builders. Jacob Sinaiko has built about 450 houses since 1949, all having open or mixed occupancy. One tract of 125 homes adjacent to a Negro enclave is 70% occupied by whites. Another of 21 houses has only one Negro family, despite Sinaiko's efforts to find and qualify others. His main problem is to induce Negroes to move into the non-Negro areas.

Chicago: Builder Arch Hermanns, president of the Illinois Home Builder's Association last year, is doing a land-office business selling $14,800 to $20,200 houses to Negroes on Chicago's almost all-Negro south side. Since opening his development a year ago, 223 families have moved in and sales are far ahead of starts. He expects to complete his 1,200-lot tract in three years. Hermanns' only competition in new houses are mostly scattered-lot homes being sold at $5,000 above his. When Hermanns first sought financing, lenders were asking 11 points, but he has obtained adequate VA and conventional financing "at better than average discounts."

St. Louis: There is virtually no new home construction for Negroes in this area. Two or three builders with poor locations—next to slums—are selling very slowly to Negroes. Some expensive houses are going up in scattered and generally isolated areas, and are usually sold for cash. One bank official concedes that loan applications from Negroes are checked "much more carefully" than applications from whites.

Dallas: Vernon and James Smith, the city's biggest homebuilders (723 houses at $9,000 to $25,000 last year), have built 200 houses a year for the past four years around a Negro college on the southeast side of Dallas. Though FHA has recently made its credit requirement so strict that the Smiths' Negro prospects cannot qualify, records show only four foreclosures in the 800-house tract in the four years. Biggest problems: many good risks with inaccurate credit reports and many prospects with adequate income but large debts.

San Antonio: Builder Roy Pletz, a pioneer builder for Negroes and Latin Americans, has recently sold 35 homes to Negroes in a new open-occupancy community planned ultimately for 275 houses priced at $13,700 to $30,000 and expects to sell soon to at least one white family. Says he: "This community of ours offers Negroes the first chance they've had in San Antonio to build or buy a new house and feel protection against encroachment of slums." Pletz' open-occupancy tract provided one of the five sites for the San Antonio Parade of Homes in September.



WELL-KEPT LAWNS are encouraged by Builder Joe Bolker who gives buyers landscaping plans plus a set of garden tools, hose, fertilizer.

Los Angeles: Builder Joe Bolker last fall opened an integrated "All-American" community and by last summer had sold out his first section of 130 houses (at $10,450 to $11,950). His buyers were Negro (45%), Spanish American (35%), and white (15%). Current sales to whites in his second section are running somewhat higher. The tract is in Oxnard, west of the city.

In the north part of Los Angeles, the San Fernando Valley Board of Realtors, headed by Clare Short, has assured Negro leaders that the board will encourage all broker members to treat Negro buyers the same as white buyers in the sale of existing houses. The real estate men say they will not offer a home to a Negro if the seller objects, but this is not expected to be important—in the first two months of the new policy, only two owners are reported unwilling to sell to Negroes—ROBERT MURRAY

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Analysis of Executive Order on Discrimination in the Federal Housing Program

by

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Chairman, Legal Committee
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On November 20, 1962, President Kennedy issued an executive order (No. 11063), barring discrimination in the sale or rental of housing receiving federal assistance. The order has met with a mixed reception. Generally, the civil rights forces have agreed in describing it as only a first step, since many areas that are regarded as within the reach of the executive power were left untouched. Nevertheless, the order as it stands can substantially reduce the extent of segregation and discrimination in federally assisted housing.

This report first describes the order and then discusses what it will do as well as what it will not do. It also covers the basic regulations issued by the Federal Housing Administration on November 30. Similar regulations have been issued by the Veterans Administration.

The Terms of the Order

The purposes of the order are given in a series of "whereas" clauses. They include: achieving the goal set forth in the 1949 Housing Act of "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American"; assuring that benefits made possible by the federal housing program are made available to all Americans, without regard to race, color, creed or national origin; and preventing the segregated patterns of housing that produce other forms of segregation that deprive Americans of equal opportunity.

Section 101(a) contains the basic prohibition of discrimination: all federal agencies involved in housing programs are directed to prevent discrimination in the sale or rental of "residential property and related facilities," including vacant land. However, this provision applies only to four classes of property: (1) property that is operated by the Federal Government; (2) property that is "provided" by loans or contributions which the Federal Government agrees to make after the date of the executive order; (3) property that is provided by loans guaranteed or insured by the Federal Government or otherwise secured by the credit of the Federal Government after that date; and (4) property that is obtained from a state or local government agency receiving aid from the Federal Government under a contract made after that date.

It will be noted that, with one exception, this provision does not apply to any present housing or even to housing built in the future if the contract or other arrangement for federal support was made before November 20. The one exception, housing owned and operated by the Federal Government, is a very small part of the total market.

Section 101(b) deals with lending institutions. It directs all federal agencies to prevent discrimination in lending practices with respect to loans hereafter insured by the Federal Government.

Section 102 covers existing housing. The Housing and Home Finance Agency and all other executive agencies are directed to "use their good offices and to take other appropriate action permitted by law, including the institution of appropriate litigation, if required" to end discrimination in property which has already been provided with the kind of federal financial assistance described in Section 101(a).

what can be done ?

Sections 201 to 203 deal with implementation of the order by the various federal agencies. Primary responsibility for obtaining compliance with the order is placed on the various agencies for whatever part of the federal housing program they administer. Within 30 days after the date of the order, each agency is to adopt rules and regulation and is to "make such exemptions and exceptions" as may be consistent with law and necessary or appropriate to carrying out the order.

The agencies, however, are to work closely with the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing, described below. Within 30 days of the order, the agencies are to submit to the Committee reports outlining their programs. They must give the Committee whatever information and assistance it requests. They are also to cooperate with the Committee to make their various programs as consistent as possible.

Sections 301 to 304 deal with enforcement. Under Section 301, the Committee and any of the housing agencies may hold public or private hearings. Under Section 302, if any agency concludes that any person, company or government agency has violated any rule or regulation adopted under the order or any nondiscrimination provision in any contract, it shall try to correct the violation by conciliation. Thereafter, it may take appropriate action to correct the violation, including (a) cancellation of the contract for federal aid, (b) barri the violator from further aid until compliance is assured, and (c) refusing to approve a lending institution or a lender as a beneficiary under any program. Section 303 directs the agencies, in appropriate cases, to refer violations to the Attorney General "for such civil or criminal action as he may deem appropriate." Under Section 304, any agency may invoke the sanctions described above against any operator that has violated the regulations of another agency.

can a private agency request such a hearing ?

Section 401 establishes the President't Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing. It is composed of the Secretaries of Treasury, Defense and Agriculture the Attorney General, the Housing and Home Finance Administrator, the VA Administrator, the Chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, a member of the staff of the President's Executive Office and "such other members as the Presiden shall from time to time appoint from the public." The representative of the President's office is to serve as the Chairman and Executive Director of the who ? Committee.

Under Section 402, each of the agencies subject to the order is to furnish assistance to and pay the expenses of the Committee.

Section 501 gives the Committee the usual powers to adopt rules, to recommend programs and to report to the President.

Section 502 directs the Committee to coordinate the activities of the various agencies, in order to achieve the over-all objective of equal opportunity in federal housing. It is to examine the rules of the various agencies and to make whatever recommendations it finds desirable. It shall also encourage educational programs by civic groups.

Under Section 503, the Committee is to have an executive committee consisting of the Chairman and two other members designated by him from among the public members. The executive committee is to be primarily responsible for carrying out the functions of the Committee between Committee meetings.

Section 601 makes clear the application of the order to the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and the territories.

Section 602 directs that the order "shall become effective immediately."

We turn now to a discussion of how the order may be expected to operate.

The Cut-Off Date

As to all but federally owned and operated housing, the order creates a cut-off date for the application of the binding provisions of Section 101(a). That provision does not apply to housing covered by contracts already executed on November 20. However, the various agencies have power, under the "exemption" clause, to exclude some housing that was in the "pipe line" on the date of the order.

The new FHA regulations exempt all housing covered by applications for mortgage gurantees that were on file by November 20. This accords with FHA's consistent practice of making rule changes inapplicable to pending applications. Under the public housing program and others discussed below, exemptions will probably be given to those applications that had been processed to the point of awaiting final action by the national office. The exemptions will be drawn in such a way as to prevent a last minute rush to get in under the deadline. (In fact, it was this consideration that dictated making the order effective immediately.)

For convenience in the following paragraphs, the term, "future housing," is used to describe any housing not exempted by the cut-off date regulations.

Federally-Operated Housing

The order bans discrimination in all housing owned or operated by the Federal Government. This means primarily (1) a substantial amount of housing accommodations for personnel at defense bases (in which discrimination has already been effectively banned) and (2) about 34,000 units of housing recaptured by the FHA and other government agencies. Discrimination in the disposition of this housing has been banned in theory but enforcement of this requirement has been spotty.

Public Housing

One of the most serious gaps in the order is the ambiguous way in which it treats existing public housing that was built with federal aid but is not now owned or operated by the Federal Government. This is the bulk of public housing. It is owned and operated by local housing atuhorities established by state and local governments. Its construction was made possible by federal money in the first place and all of it receives continuing support. This takes the form of annual payments by the Federal Government to the local housing authorities. The payments are used to pay their bonded indebtedness. It is these yearly contributions that maintain the low-rent nature of these developments. The program at present includes 472,916 units in more than 1200 towns and cities.

According to the Public Housing Administration which administers this program, over 80 percent of the existing housing is racially segregated. This segregation is clearly unconstitutional under a number of lower court rulings which the Supreme Court has refused to disturb.

The general prohibitions of Section 101(a) of the order do not apply to the public housing already in existence or contracted for. However, it is likely that the provision in Section 102, providing for the institution of appropriate litigation with respect to existing housing, was intended to apply to this area. The Department of Justice has started a number of court actions to halt segregation in public facilities (such as parks, hospitals and schools) receiving contributions from the Federal Government. This would plainly suggest similar lawsuits to halt segregation in federally-supported public housing.

All future public housing supported by the Federal Government will, of course, be covered by the terms of Section 101(a).

Urban Renewal

The Federal Government has had a program since 1949 for assistance to local governments for the improvement of urban areas. In large part, this so-called "Title I" program has resulted in the building of rental and cooperative accommodations owned and operated by private builders. This housing has not been subject to any federal anti-discrimination requirement and much of it is operated on a discriminatory basis.

A more serious problem, however, has been the fact that redevelopment programs have been used by local authorities to reduce the amount of Negro and integrated housing. Programs have tended to be concentrated in Negro and integrated areas. The new housing has often not been open to non-whites. Frequently, the relocation of the displaced families has conformed to existing patterns of segregation, with local authorities maintaining separate lists of accommodations available for the displaced white and non-white families. It has been widely commented that slum clearance is too often "Negro clearance."

Under the broader provisions of the 1961 Housing Act, urban renewal has become the keystone of federal housing activities. It is particularly important, therefore, that non-discriminatory measures be enforced in this part of the federal housing program.

The order clearly applies to discrimination in future redevelopment and renewal housing. However, as in the case of public housing, only the "good offices" provisions of Section 102 apply to existing housing.

As to future housing, the regulations can provide that companies constructing housing in the redevelopment area agree to comply with the executive order. The agreement may be embodied in a covenant in the deed by which the property is transferred.

A serious weakness of the order is that it contains no provision clearly applying to the problem of "Negro clearance," the selection of sites to perpetuat segregation or discriminatory relocation practices. It will probably not be invoked to deal with these problems unless the public interest groups exert sufficient pressure to obtain action. There is no reason to believe that these problems cannot be covered by appropriate regulations.

Urban renewal programs are not limited to residential uses. They may include schools, parks and other facilities, as well as commercial uses. The order applies to "housing and related facilities." The Urban Renewal Administration, under this provision, will have power to prohibit discrimination in parks, schools and other facilities developed in connection with housing projects.

FHA and VA

The best know feature of the FHA and VA (Veterans Administration) programs is the guaranteeing of repayment of mortgages on individual homes. These programs have made it possible for families to buy homes with small down payments (and in some cases no down payment) where conventional financing required payments of 50 percent or more of the purchase price. They have also made possible lower interest rates.

The new order, of course, will not apply to the sale or rental of any of the millions of homes now subject to FHA or VA guaranteed mortgages. Individuals buying homes with FHA or VA financing after November 20, 1962 will not be subject to the order when they resell or rent, even though, technically, such sales and rentals are within the terms of Section 101(a). The new FHA regulations provide that the ban on discrimination shall not apply to "transactions involving any one or two-family dwelling which has been occupied by the seller."

It should be noted that the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, which speaks for most of the civil rights organizations on this subject, never asked for an order covering such sales. The small amount of government control over the individual home owner and the difficulty of proving discrimination in individual resales would make it difficult to enforce such a provision.

The important impact of the order will be on the builders who sell housing eligible for FHA and VA guarantees. These include the developers of whole new suburbs which have in the past been restricted to whites. Application of the order to this type of enterprise is particularly important since this has been the most notorious abuse in the federal housing program. Less than two percent of the new homes insured by FHA have been available to non-whites and much of this scant supply has been in segregated projects.

The new FHA regulations make the order applicable to builders from the earliest point at which they receive FHA assistance. They require that builders agree to comply with the non-discrimination regulations from the time that they are informed by FHA that their project is eligible for FHA guaranteed loans.

FHA also has a substantial program affecting rental housing. For example, there are more than 400,000 units of such housing now in existence as a result of the now expired Section 608 program. FHA maintains a continuing control over this kind of housing. A representative of FHA sits on the board of the corporation owning each facility and FHA has reserved power to take over the corporation if any of its regulations are violated. In addition, there is rental housing in the Section 207 program and cooperative housing under Section 213. In both of these programs, FHA retains a continuing relationship with the property during the life of the guaranteed mortgage.

Only future FHA rental housing will be subject to the binding terms of Section 101(a) of the order. Existing housing will be covered by the "good offices" provision of Section 102.

Other Programs

There are a number of other programs that will be affected by the order. These include the program of housing for migratory farm workers, the program of loans and contributions to universities for dormitories and faculty housing and the program of loans and grants to non-profit organizations for housing for the elderly (which is already subject to a non-discrimination requirement).

All such housing arranged for in the future will come under the provisions of Section 101(a). Housing already built or committed will be covered only by Section 102.

Lending Institutions

The order bars discrimination by lending institutions only as to loans insured or guaranteed by the Federal Government, that is, loans in the FHA and VA programs. Under the order, a bank that discriminatorily refuses to issue a mortgage on a FHA or VA home could be denied approval as a lender for such housing. This would mean that it would not get the benefit of FHA and VA guarantees.

Before the order was issued, a much broader coverage of lending institutions had been urged. In particular, the United States Civil Rights Commission had recommended that the President prohibit discrimination in lending by all institutions supervised by the Federal Government. This would have included all federal and virtually all state savings and loan associations, all national banks and those state-chartered banks that are in the Federal Reserve System and all banks under the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

The order does not touch discrimination in either the lending activities of those institutions or the sale or rental of housing covered by their loans. The result is that the order applies, according to the best estimate, to only about 25 percent of the total amount of new housing.

It should be noted that, on June 1, 1961, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board adopted a resolution stating that it opposes discrimination by financial institutions over whivh it has supervisory authority. (These institutions hold 97 percent ($69.5 billion) of all savings and loan assets. They are responsible for more than 30 percent of all home financing. Most important, they issued 50 percent of the non-FHA and -VA mortgages under

$20,000 in 1960.) However, this order has not been implemented in any way. Civil rights groups will now move to obtain action under the FHLBB resolution.

Procedural Aspects

A number of references have been made above to the rules and regulations that may be adopted by the various agencies to carry out the order. Those regulations will determine the effectiveness of the order in a number of respects.

The agencies are given power to carve out exemptions from the scope of the order. This is an unusual and potentially dangerous provision. As already noted, the FHA has excluded the resale of single homes. However, it could also exempt other forms of housing and it is given no standard on which to base such exemptions.

Presumably, it will be the responsibility of the new President's Committee to supervise this process. Although the Committee is not given power to veto any agency regulations, it can be assumed that it will be able to prevent any serious impairment of the order.

It is not impossible that agency rules and regulations will also extend the prohibition of discrimination beyond the terms of the order. It has been the position of the civil rights organizations that the agencies have power themselves to prohibit discrimination without waiting for a Presidential order. That power presumably continues now that the order has been issued.

The order does not specifically direct that anti-discrimination clauses be placed in the application and contract forms used by the various agencies. (The executive order against discrimination in employment by government agencies and government contractors spells out the requirement of an anti-discrimination clause in government contracts in great detail.)

However, the order does refer at a number of places to such clauses and the new FHA regulations provide for them at a number of points. It may be assumed that they will also be provided for in the regulations of other agencies.

Inclusion of such clauses in all agreements subject to the order is extremely important. The very fact that the order has been couched in generalities makes it essential that the obligations of those who deal with the government be spelled out in detail in the agreement under which they receive government aid.

The sanctions set forth in Section 302 (cancellation of contracts and ineligibility for future contracts and other benefits) are appropriate and effective. The provision for litigation to end discrimination in existing housing has already been commented on. It would be appropriate for the Public Housing Administration to adopt regulations barring segregation by local housing authorities operating existing public housing projects receiving federal grants. Such regulations could require the authorities to report on their practices with respect to race and to present plans for ending existing segregation. They could also provide for the institution of lawsuits if segregation exists and is not halted.

The order does not detail the procedure for enforcement, other than to give primary responsibility to the various agencies and to empower them to hold public or private hearings. The new FHA regulations provide for a complaint procedure under which complaints will be investigated and passed on by the local field office director, with an appeal to the FHA Commissioner. The other agencies can be expected to adopt similar regulations. However, it is not expected that the agencies will confine their enforcement efforts to the disposition of individual complaints.

complaint
procedure

The provision under Section 303, that violators be reported to the Attorney General for "civil or criminal action," has been widely quoted by critics of the order as threatening wholesale jail sentences. However, this provision probably applies only to fraudulent statements by applicants regarding discriminatory practices and similar misconduct.

Probable Impact of the Order

Estimates vary as to the amount of housing covered by the new order. It is probably about 25 percent of the total of the new housing that will come on the market in the future. It should also be noted that a large part of this housing is already covered by fair housing laws now in effect in eleven states -- Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Oregon and Pennsylvania. Those states include 36.4 percent of the population of this country. There are also a number of states and local laws covering various kinds of publicly assisted housing.

Based on experience with executive orders in other areas and with the many state anti-discrimination laws, it can be confidently predicted that the new order will neither ruin the housing industry nor reform it overnight. Predictions like that of Senator A. Willis Robertson, of Virginia, that the order will curtail housing construction "by anywhere from 25 to 50%" are certainly ill-founded. Repeated studies show that there has been no curtailment of construction in the states and cities that have adopted fair housing laws. On the other hand, the beneficial impact of the order will be felt only gradually, judging by the experience under fair housing laws. Much will depend on the vigor of enforcement and also on the scope of demand for good housing from minority groups.

It has been widely predicted that the order will cause a shift by builders away from the various programs of federal assistance. The theory is that, to avoid the anti-discrimination requirement, builders will use conventional financing rather than FHA-guaranteed loans and that they will stay out of urban renewal programs. Here again, the experience with state statutes indicates that that is not a serious threat. Prior to adoption of the present broad fair housing laws, a number of states adopted laws prohibiting discrimination only in FHA and other publicly assisted housing. These laws did not result in a drop in FHA construction compared with other states not having such laws. The reason appears to be that the benefits obtained by builders under the various federal programs are great enough to overcome any reluctance they may have to try to operate under a non-discrimination requirement.

To the extent that there is a shift in the building industry away from federal programs, it will emphasize the need for a broader federal order dealing with housing financed through federally supervised lending institutions. It must be noted, however, that no federal order can reach the entire housing market. Hence, issuance of the order will not end the need for state and local fair housing laws. Many builders and others active in the housing industry have expressed the opinion that, if there is to be an anti-discrimination requirement at all, it should be as broad as possible. Otherwise, it creates a new form of discrimination among builders.

In the eleven states having fair housing laws, the new order will apply to varying amounts of housing not already covered by the state statute. As to housing covered by both statute and order, the order will provide an additional (and perhaps more potent) enforcement procedure. It is expected that efforts will be made to arrive at working agreements between the Federal Government and the various state enforcement agencies dealing with the areas in which they both have jurisdiction.

The only place where a substantial curtailment of federal housing programs may occur as a result of the order is in the Deep South. It is entirely possible that the order will halt public housing programs in the South for a time. However, the South has always had more than its proportionate share of public housing programs. Moreover, it is quite likely that the South will continue to use public housing to take care of persons displaced by urban renewal programs. Such public housing may be technically designated as non-discriminatory but will in fact be used only by Negro families. Urban renewal programs may also be cut down to some extent in the South. FHA developments will probably not be substantially affected because social pressure and other sanctions can be counted on to block the establishment of integrated private housing developments. However, as the order becomes effective in the North, it will gradually be invoked more and more in the South.

While the order is not all that civil rights groups have sought (and will continue to seek), it will certainly achieve positive gains. Discrimination and segregation in federal housing have been formally declared to be illegal and steps have been initiated to end this long-standing abuse. The order establishes a new ethic for federal housing that should have a profound effect on the housing industry and ultimately on the structure of America.

November 30, 1962

REPORT ON THE MEETING WITH ROBERT WEAVER, ADMINISTRATOR, HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY, HELD IN WASHINGTON, D. C. ON JANUARY 23, 1963.

Present from CORE were Farmer, McCain and Carey. Mr. Weaver was present and also the General Counsel of the Agency whose name I did not get.

The purpose of the meeting was to discuss with Mr. Weaver the ways in which CORE might aid in implementation of the president's order barring discrimination in federally supported housing.

Mr. Weaver suggested that CORE could be most helpful first, by encouraging minority group members to move out of the ghettoes and centers of town into suburban areas and particularly into those housing developments covered by the Executive Order. He also suggested that we should urge our groups to establish relations with FHA and VA offices. This would enable us to determine which developments are covered and hence, which developments should receive our primary attention.

Mr. Weaver urged further that complaints should be sent in promptly and that we should make every effort to insure that good solid cases are used as a basis for complaints.

Complaints can be filed in any one of three ways: First, they may go to the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing or secondly, to Weaver himself, or lastly to the particular agency which is responsible for the housing involved. The various agencies which come under the Executive Order and to which complaints can be made are the following: VA, FHA, Urban Renewal, Public Housing Administration, Housing and Home Finance Agency and the Community Facilities Administration.

However, it is not essential that a complaint be filed with the particular agency involved.

The complaint should consist of a diary of as many of the facts as possible. If feasible, there should be witnesses. It is not important that the information or complaint be given in the form of an affadavit.

Upon receipt of a complaint, it will be sent to the proper agency for investigation. This investigation will in turn be referred to the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing. Should there be a violation of the Executive Order, proper action would be taken subsequently. Among other actions, the Administration could refuse to grant further funds or guarantee additional mortgages, etc.

Mr. Weaver indicated that the good offices proviso of the Order would be used only in large scale (608) housing.

Gordon R. Carey
January 31, 1963

January 29, 1963

Mr. Robert Seigel
Associate Editor
The American Builder
30 Church Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Seigel:

I read, with much interest, your article concerning CORE in the February, 1963 issue of The American Builder.

Essentially you have presented a fair picture of CORE's current activities in the field of housing desegregation. I would quarrel, however, with a few relatively minor points in your article.

"Forcing" is a word with many unhappy connotations when used in connection with integration or any other goal in a free society. What we really seek to do is to achieve integration through the use of the tools available to all citizens in a democracy. These tools include investigation, negotiation, protest and non-cooperation with discrimination where we find it. The builder or broker is not forced to do anything; he may keep his discriminatory practices if he chooses, but only at the risk of losing something which he may value more, namely, his image in the community as a man of goodwill dedicated to the democratic principles upon which our society is based. Nor do we seek to "humiliate" him. What we say is that he has no right to conceal from public knowledge any of his practices which may not meet with the approval of that public. What we do then, rather than threatening "humiliation", is to offer public enlightenment.

It is not quite accurate to say that our members do not acknowledge the "economic dilemma" that builders may face if they seek open occupancy. The dilemma does, in many cases, exist and it is indeed a creature of society.

But builders and brokers are a part of that society too, not its compliant victims. Many of them have helped, by their policies, to create the pattern of residential segregation which makes the dilemma for the open occupancy builder. None of us is guiltless in our society and we share the responsibility for breaking up the evil pattern of segregation.

Sincerely,

James Farmer
National Director

JF/lr

Memo from

JAMES FARMER

Write letter to Mr. Segal (letter to ed.)

~~CORE members~~

Rarely if ever, do CORE members attach ~~give~~ much weight to the economic dilemma builders face in treating open occupancy. In fact Farmer minimizes this dilemma. ~~He acknowledges that segregation~~ He sees segregation as something furthered by the policies of builders and brokers -- not foisted upon them by society.

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American Builder

CHANGE

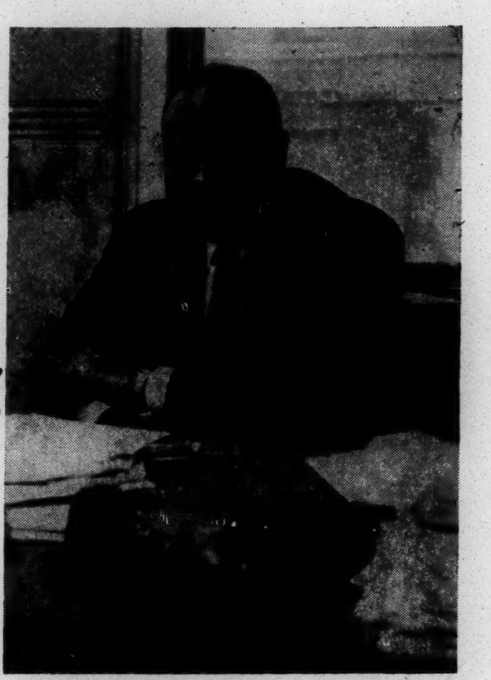
~~embarrassment~~ ? exposure ? JAN 2 2 1963

Picketing, sit-ins, humiliation . . . ?, how CORE forces integration ?,

pushes

achieves

"We turned up at his home, front and back. When he came out he found a small crowd of men and boys . . . picketers with signs . . . He made a dash for the back lawn, only to find the same situation there . . . He ducked into the back door of the closest temple, ran through and out the front door, only to find two pickets waiting for him, so he sprang back to his house and sulked for a few hours . . . Finally ?, about noon he called us in and promised to give Mrs. ~~Hunter~~ the apartment and sign the lease." (From a CORE report on a Brooklyn apartment house owner)



JAMES FARMER, national director of CORE, at his office in New York.

The organization that sponsors freedom rides into the South is hammering out an aggressive campaign to push integration in housing.

This is CORE, the Congress of Racial Equality.

But the word "core" carries more meaning. It signifies that the group eschews time-consuming lobbying and strikes at the core of discrimination problems with picketing and sit-ins. (The sit-in, incidentally, is CORE's oldest tactic. It was used originally to open restaurants to Negroes in Chicago.)

In its housing work, CORE functions as a sort of private law enforcement agency, often taking fair housing laws into its own hands.

Where it has been most active, in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Los Angeles, state laws already prohibit discrimination. Now, with the Executive Order, there is a national regulation barring discrimination in all federally supported housing. But CORE does not consider these efforts effectual. Indeed, CORE looks upon state laws and federal regulations as providing only a base for its own operation.

"The President's order has made our job a little easier," says Norman Hill, CORE staff worker, "but it has not made it unnecessary."

CORE is both judge and policeman in carrying out its campaign for open occupancy.

First, it decides for itself if discrimination exists. It does this by "testing" a builder with a team of Negro and white buyers. If the Negro is refused a sale and the white is not, CORE has found its discrimination.

It then confronts the builder with the evidence and states its demands; this is called Negotiation. If the builder does not submit, CORE takes another tack—Direct Action. CORE may, however, omit the Negotiation stage and jump immediately to Direct Action (when, for example, it conducted its first sit-in in Philadelphia last June).

The sit-in is not the only way in which CORE achieves its demands.

It may turn to picketing, to sleep-ins, or to distributing leaflets in a model home area.

But when it is frustrated there, it may shift the action to a more vulnerable spot. One Brooklyn apartment house owner, for example, was harrassed at his home by a battery of CORE members. When even this failed, CORE threatened the man with publicizing "humiliation" (picketing) in front of his synagogue. ?,

The penalty CORE imposes on builders who discriminate may

(Continued on page 11)

AMERICAN BUILDER
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Mr. James Farmer

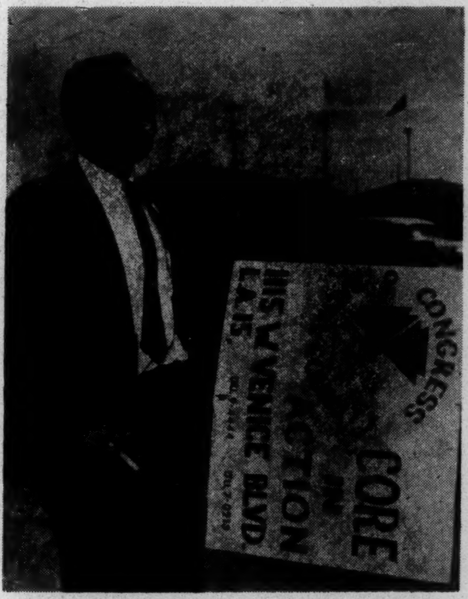
how CORE forces integration

have little relation to the degree in which they have discriminated. On the other hand, it may have a great deal to do with how much a builder resists CORE.

"If we meet a builder who is particularly hard to crack," says Hill, "we may insist on a policy statement indicating that he no longer discriminates."

Even that may not be enough. CORE sometimes won't call off its Direct Action until an entire association of builders issues a pledge of open occupancy. Its first such association agreement was in Philadelphia, where all builders in the city's northeast section agreed to accept CORE's demands—"but not before we went through a few sample sit-ins," notes Hill.

When CORE first became active in housing, about two years ago, it was satisfied with helping individual Negroes who complained of discrimination. Now it no longer waits for complaints.



CORE PICKETS Dominguez Hills tract near Los Angeles. Drive, started in July, continues today.

CORE will strike at a builder who has had no experience with Negro buyers. And it will do this even though no qualified Negro has ever expressed interest in the builder's development.

CORE simply makes its own "tests," using disinterested CORE members, "finds" discrimination, and then begins pressure for open occupancy.

This approach was begun in Columbus last year, and will be tried this year in Brooklyn, and in Long Island, N. Y.

●

CORE—Congress of Racial Equality—maintains headquarters in offices near New York's city hall, where most of its 33 staff members work.

Nationally, CORE has 68 chapters, 31 in the South and 37 in the North. Its 53,000 members contributed $715,000 this year, providing an impressive budget which has doubled every year for the past five years.

CORE is stepping up its drive for more sweeping results because it has become impatient with the tedious house-by-house approach to open occupancy.

"What does winning one house for one Negro mean," a Core director commented in Los Angeles, "when there are Negroes all over the country still living in ghettos."

Even if CORE successfully answered every complaint, it would not, it feels, achieve impressive gains. What CORE wants is to give expression to the Negro's desire for better housing even before he expresses it himself.

"This does not mean finding homes in fringe areas," says James Farmer, CORE's national director. "That would be just widening the ghettos. What we want is to open new housing for Negroes in all-white areas."

Individually, CORE has dissuaded Negroes from looking for housing in fringe areas. On a broader scale, it has shepherded hundreds of Negroes (in Los Angeles, Grand Rapids, Philadelphia, and in Long Island) through new suburban developments, to acquaint them with new housing opportunities. This is called Operation Windowshop, and was developed at a housing institute CORE held in Columbus last year.

CORE is motivated in its campaign by the belief that segregation is a national ill that hurts everyone and must be cured.

Its members demonstrate little patience for legal remedies. (In Los Angeles, for example, CORE chose to picket, rather than report, a discriminating builder.)

CORE's ethics, moreover, do not prevent its members from violating the law to reach their goal, as long as the law-breaking is non-violent. Farmer reports, for example, that CORE members were arrested for trespassing during a Brooklyn bank sit-in. (This was CORE's first step in a campaign to win mortgage money for integrating Negroes.)

Rarely, if ever, do CORE members acknowledge the economic dilemma that builders face in treating open occupancy. In fact, Farmer repudiates this dilemma. He sees segregation as something furthered by the policies of builders and brokers—not as something created by society.

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NOBODY COVERS AMERICAN BUILDING LIKE THE AMERICAN BUILDER

30 Church St.
New York 7, N. Y.
Tel: WOrth 4-3060

December 19, 1961

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress on Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

We are soliciting comment on integrated housing.

It would be extremely helpful to us if you could give us your reaction to an enclosed American Builder article on this subject.

Builders all over the country are anxious to know how the trend toward integrated housing will affect them--particularly in view of the anticipated Presidential order prohibiting discrimination in Federally supported housing.

Your views of this problem would receive wide dissemination in American Builder. May we ask that you send us your comments before December 29--so that we may include them in the next monthly issue of our publication?

Sincerely,

Robert L. Siegel

RLS:anv

Robert L. Siegel
Associate Editor

American Builder, December 1961

CHANGE

Open occupancy—a hot issue

Integrated housing is shaping up as the most crucial issue that will face builders in 1962. On the horizon: a Presidential order to force open occupancy in FHA and VA housing.

Builders everywhere are talking about open occupancy and what it will mean to the housing industry.

The recent report by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights brought the issue to the fore. In this report, the Commission flatly stated that the Federal government was not living up to its promise to end discrimination in its housing programs.

The Commission recommended to President Kennedy that he issue an executive order directing all Federal agencies to promote equal opportunity in housing. The Commission also called on the President to direct FHA and VA to take appropriate steps to eliminate discrimination in housing built with FHA and VA aid.

The Commission also recommended Federal or Congressional action to end discrimination by mortgage loan institutions that are supervised by Federal agencies.

Law gives builders the jitters

At the moment, there are 17 states and several cities (including New York and Pittsburgh) that prohibit discrimination in housing. In Pennsylvania, where an anti-discrimination law went into effect last September, builders are concerned about its influence on market conditions. Some have even slowed down on construction. They don't want to leave themselves open to minority home-seekers during the winter with an inventory of unsold houses.

Other Pennsylvania builders have tried the usual trick of stalling Negro buyers to keep them out of their developments. And if they take an application, they try to avoid accepting a deposit.

These jittery builders are no different from builders in other states where anti-discrimination laws obtain. In Connecticut, where such a law became effective in 1959, builders were fearful of the mass infiltration of non-whites. But they have learned to live with open occupancy—if only because few Negroes have followed through.

Social reform—a bankruptcy risk?

As many builders see it, they are being asked to carry out a social reform at the risk of bankruptcy if they fail. There seems to be little consolation in the thought that legislation is putting all competing builders in the same boat.

Leonard L. Frank, NAHB's first vice president, says the state and Federal governments are shifting too much responsibility to the builder. He recently told AMERICAN BUILDER that these authorities should invest some money in trying to educate the public to the needs of open occupancy, instead of pressuring the builders into accepting it.

On the other hand, U.S. Senator Jacob K. Javits (N. Y.) recently made an assembly of home manufacturers feel as if they were an arm of the State Department trying to impress the free world—two thirds of which is non-white. "As a Senator, I tell you there is no single element of domestic policy that hurts the United States more than discrimination," Javits pointed out. He hopes "the homebuilding industry will support and make effective non-discrimination in housing."

There are still some natural obstacles that impede any real progress toward fully integrated housing. For one, many non-whites are not in a financial position to move into new houses—except for public housing. Second, non-whites often hesitate to enter developments where they may be unwanted. In time, housing experts insist, both these factors will be overcome.

Unfounded beliefs: the real obstacle

Of greater importance are the beliefs of builders, homeowners, realtors, mortgagors, and others on the effects of non-white infiltration in white developments (new or old). These beliefs seem paramount:

- That once a non-white enters a development it will eventually become all non-white.
- That once a non-white enters a development, property values always fall.

Studies by the Commission on Race and Housing conclusively show, however, that both these beliefs are unfounded in real life.

FOLLANSBEE TERNE ROOF

The "crowning touch" on the "House of Ideas."

as selected by
'62

Architect: Chloethiel Woodard Smith, FAIA, Washington, D. C. Builder: Urban Farms, Inc., Franklin Lakes, N. J. Roofer: Edward J. Koehler, Paterson N. J.

Designers who specified components for the HOUSE & GARDEN 1962 "House of Ideas", chose Follansbee Terne for the roof.

Its choice is a natural one for a structure like the "House of Ideas", which incorporates scores of architectural and decorating ideas using many materials of proven quality.

Follansbee Terne is also very much at home among products of architectural significance. Architects and builders everywhere are recognizing the design and sales potential of this roofing material which allows the roof to be a distinctive part of a structure's appearance.

That's why it is no surprise to find Follansbee Terne being specified for many new and modern buildings and homes. As it is on the "House of Ideas", Terne is being used to give them a "crowning touch" — a colorful and attractive roof which will last a lifetime.

See the "House of Ideas" at the Follansbee Booth (1156-57), Home Builders' Show.

FOLLANSBEE IS THE WORLD'S PIONEER PRODUCER OF SEAMLESS TERNE ROOFING

FOLLANSBEE STEEL CORPORATION
Follansbee, West Virginia

A-1-39

MAY 6 1963

May 14

THE SOCIETY FOR ETHICAL CULTURE

Member of the American Ethical Union

2 West 64th Street · New York 23, N. Y. · TRafalgar 4-5200

OK — Done

May 3, 1963

Dear Mr. Farmer,

An Emergency Office to Rescue Ohio's Fair Housing bill now dormant in the Government Operations committee has been established in Cleveland. A mass meeting and demonstration is to be held on May 22 at Columbus at the Veterans Memorial Auditorium.

To secure wide public support for this program we are collecting spot announcements, urging people to attend the state wide-meeing and to participate in the demonstration. The 20 second spot announcement would say something like this,

> I am James Farmer, and I am for Freedom of residence for every American citizen. If you agree with me, as a good American, won't you come to Columbus, May 22, at 1 p.m. at the Veterans Auditorium and help get fair housing for Ohio?

Roger Pryor, Jr., a member of the New York Society for Ethical Culture, and a radio engineer is prepared to come to your home or office at your convenience, and within a couple of minutes, with his equipment, record your statement. He can be reached thru Inez Bordner, public relations director of the New York Society at TR 4-5200.

Will Call 5/14 11:30AM

The anouncement would be duplicated, and sent to many stations thruout Ohio, and would give us tremendous engouragement for the success of our efforts.

I would deeply appreicate your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Harold J. Quigley

Leader, Cleveland EthicalSociety
Coordinator ofFair Housing, Ohio

BOARD OF LEADERS: ALGERNON D. BLACK · DR. HORACE L. FRIESS · HENRY B. HERMAN
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MAY 27 1963

Reply Today 5/27

New address:- Suite 111
7750 Roosevelt Blvd. Phila. 15, Pa.
Code 215-DE 8-7333

May 25, 1963

MCD
Modern Community Developers Inc.
84 NASSAU STREET, PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY
WAlnut 4-0701

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ROY WILKINS
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CATHERINE BAUER WURSTER
CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN

Dear Jim —

Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., our chief counsel in the Deerfield freedom of residence case today secured an extension to May 27 to file our petition for rehearing in the U. S. Supreme Court. The extension of time came just after the New York Herald Tribune front page story on Deerfield, May 24, headed "A Kennedy's deaf ear in well-to-do integration."

We would like to send the following telegram promptly to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy bearing signatures of some of American's key citizens. Will you be one of the signers?

Please wire your reply to me at suite 111, 7750 Roosevelt Blvd., Phila. 15, Pa. We need your response by this Monday evening, May 27.

Cordially,

Morris Milgram

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy
Washington, D.C.

Today Deerfield petition for rehearing was filed. As some of us informed you earlier, we feel your participation in this case is of major importance to show that government stands for full citizenship, North as well as South. In absence of administration stand, white suburbia smugly assumes government approval.

How can you expect the South to heed your efforts to end segregation in education when you remain silent on total exclusion of Negroes from Deerfield, the Little Rock of housing? Time called Deerfield decision "segregation by condemnation."

Deerfield's action under unwritten law that new and decent housing in suburbs is for whites only effectively negates Supreme Court's 1954 education decision. Segregated housing reenforces segregated education. Retiring Presbyterian moderator Marshal Scott cited Deerfield in calling all-white suburban communities, not the deep South, the core of the nation's racial problems.

In Deerfield Modern Community Developers' two separate sites, including two models, and 51 lots with sewer and water were taken for parks when news of integration reached village officials who inflamed voters by raising false property value issues. Illinois Supreme Court upheld condemnation indicating it didn't matter whether the purpose was to keep Negroes out, so long as sites would be used for parks.

Deerfield case requires your bold Jeffersonian leadership now, for a decade or two may pass before any builder battles another such case to U. S. Supreme Court.

A decisive stand by Department of Justice in this case will serve as a deterrent to other towns. We urge you to file amicus curiae brief immediately lest impression spread that this administration is unwilling to move against all-white suburbs.

(Signatures to hour of mailing)

Roy Wilkins
Dr. Dorothy B. Ferebee
Dorothy S. Montgomery
Louis Martin

A. Philip Randolph
Rev. Benjamin J. Anderson
Adrien Ringuette
Pauli Murray

James Farmer
William L. C. Wheaton
James H. Slater
Rev. Leon H. Sullivan

NOTE: Your additional personal messages to Attorney General and to the President, as well as wires from your friends are most essential. In addition phone friendly journalists and urge them to discuss the issues.

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Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a fast telegram	
TELEGRAM	X
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

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WESTERN UNION
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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1211 (4-55)

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			CORE (Congress of Racial Equality)	5/27/63

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

MR MORRIS MILGRAM
SUITE 111
7750 Roosevelt Blvd.
~~Philade~~x Philadelphia, Pa

MAY ~~XX~~ USE MY SIGNATURE ON DEERFIELD TELEGRAM TO ATTORNEY GENERAL

JAMES FARMER
Congress of Racial Equality

cc/

JLC
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

ATRAN CENTER FOR JEWISH CULTURE
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JUN 17 [illegible]

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June 13, 1963

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. James Farmer
Executive Secretary
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Jim:

In a report received today from Bill Becker, the following item appears, which I feel will give you some concern.

> "The Fair Housing bill is still in the Senate Committee and will require a few more weeks of tough fighting in the Senate to get it out. CORE is hurting some with a sit-in in the Capitol which is a unilateral publicity oriented action".

Would you want to be in touch with Bill direct at #2940 - 16th Street, San Francisco, California, or should we talk about it?

Yours,

Manny
Emanuel Muravchik

cc - Rich
EM/eb

ISIDORE AXELROD, Cleveland
HARRY BERGER, Philadelphia
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Policies and Procedures to Implement Integration in the Housing and Redevelopment Board's Housing Program

1664

THE CITY OF NEW YORK
ROBERT F. WAGNER, MAYOR

HOUSING AND REDEVELOPMENT BOARD

Date 6/11/63

From the desk of:

Dr. Frank S. Horne

Mr Farmer

The City of New York
Mayor Robert F. Wagner

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Samuel Ratensky, Project Development
Robert C. Seaver, Community Affairs

May, 1963

"We are dedicated to the cause of an open city.....a city without ghettos of any color or kind. This can be achieved only by planned programs which positively undertake to bring this about. A color blind government policy carried out in a color conscious housing market can only entrench and aggravate the segregation of racial and ethnic groups."

From the Statement of Mayor Robert F. Wagner submitting the Annual Report of the Mayor to the City Council and the People of the City of New York, June 19, 1962.

As a matter of policy, the Housing and Redevelopment Board seeks actively to include in the projects and developments under its jurisdiction an equitable distribution of eligible families from the various racial and ethnic groups that make up the City's population.

In accordance with the Mayor's "open city" policy, aimed at overcoming longstanding racial barriers in the housing market, the Housing and Redevelopment Board goes beyond a pledge that the doors of its projects are open to all on the same terms. The Board accepts, in addition, joint responsibility with other public agencies for positive administrative action to assist families of varied racial and ethnic background obtain occupancy of dwellings in HRB-aided middle income housing developments. This necessitates close working cooperation by the Housing and Redevelopment Board with sponsors, sales and management agents on the one hand, and community-wide and neighborhood civil rights leadership on the other. The following specific steps constitute Housing and Redevelopment Board policy and procedure.

Milton Mollen

Milton Mollen
Chairman
Housing and Redevelopment Board

Policies and Procedures to Implement Integration in the Housing and Redevelopment Board's Housing Program

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1. SITE SELECTION

The favorable rents and other advantages of City-aided developments are--like good schools--powerful assets to achieving varied racial occupancy. This asset value can best be realized through an appropriate site selection policy. Among the more important criteria to be considered is whether the location will serve to attract and retain eligible families of various ethnic groups.

2. SPONSOR SELECTION

Potential sponsors shall be checked with both the City Commission on Human Rights and the State Commission for Human Rights regarding their record under the City's Fair Housing Practices Act and pertinent State legislation. Further, a record of successful accomplishment in including minority families in their properties will be favorably weighed in processing sponsors' current applications.

3. MARKETING PROGRAMS

We shall assist and advise on sponsors' marketing plans to make better use of advertising media and other channels that effectively reach racial and ethnic minorities as well as other types of families. Early and continuing study of the characteristics of applicants of each project will serve as a guide to the Board. Based on the findings of these surveys, the Board will endeavor to take steps to achieve an equitable representation of various racial groups in the final tenancy of each project. Among these steps may be re-direction of the channels and media of advertising and sales promotion. Such positive action shall be applied not only to the renting of new projects but also to the re-renting of vacated apartments in existing projects.

4. COORDINATION WITH OTHER AGENCIES

The earliest possible notice on the availability of cooperative and rental units, as well as of impending vacancies is crucial to sound marketing strategy. There shall be a systematic flow of such information from the Housing and Redevelopment Board to its Citizens' Advisory Committee, the City Commission on Human Rights and other City departments; private civil rights organizations, labor, religious and other public interest and neighborhood groups. The widest possible dissemination of this information shall be made through the cooperation of the Bureaus of Community Affairs and Neighborhood Conservation of the Housing and Redevelopment Board.

5. INFORMATION ON POTENTIAL APPLICANTS

The Housing and Redevelopment Board will undertake, with other public and private organizations, to collect information on potential applicants for apartments and will make such data available to sponsors, sales and management agencies and Boards of Directors of all projects.

6. STUDIES OF TENANT CHARACTERISTICS

The Housing and Redevelopment Board will conduct studies of racial and other characteristics of tenants in all its projects as a guide in effecting its policies.

7. COMPLAINT AND INVESTIGATION

The Housing and Redevelopment Board will review a sample of applications of families who fail to gain admission to a project. The Housing and Redevelopment Board will continue to investigate any complaint filed with the Board by any person or organization who feels that there has been denial of occupancy or subjection to different conditions for any reason, including race, religion or national origin.

8. COOPERATION WITH DEPARTMENT OF RELOCATION

There shall be early notification to the Department of Relocation of the availability of units as resources for the housing of displaced middle-income families. Priority in tenant selection will be given to eligible families displaced by Housing and Redevelopment Board developments and other public action.

9. ADVISORY WORK WITH SPONSORS AND AGENTS

The Bureau of Community Affairs and the Consultant on Human Relations of the Housing and Redevelopment Board shall be available to sponsors, management and sales agents, and public interest groups for assistance in facilitating the policy of equitable distribution of various racial and ethnic groups. These services may include consultation, marshalling of helpful resources, and development of techniques and training programs. The full implications of the open-city and open-occupancy policy shall be interpreted to sponsors and community organizations.

10. IMPLEMENTATION

Although the members of the Board and its staff each has individual responsibility in attaining the above goals, the office of the Consultant on Human Relations will be responsible for the implementation and coordination of the specific policies and procedures.

FOR RELEASE
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 5, 1963

CITY OF NEW YORK
OFFICE OF THE MAYOR

Mayor Robert F. Wagner today made public a report setting forth a program to foster integration, open occupancy and equal opportunity in housing developments under the jurisdiction of the City's Housing and Redevelopment Board.

The report summarized policies and procedures which have been adopted by the Board in the past year, and promised further action. The Mayor said that he expects the move to be the first in a series of similar actions by all City agencies in furtherance of the general goal of equal rights and opportunities.

In the report, Milton Mollen, Chairman of the Housing and Redevelopment Board, said: "The Housing and Redevelopment Board goes beyond a mere pledge that the doors of its projects are open to all on the same terms. We also accept joint responsibility with other public agencies for positive administrative action to assist families of varied racial and ethnic background to obtain occupancy of housing in our developments.

"Our program today consists of policies and procedures developed and put into effect by the Board over the past year, in response to the Mayor's call in June, 1962, for programs to advance the cause of an open city, and to give affirmative meaning to the guarantees against discrimination which are embodied in present law.

"The Mayor's continuing leadership and support in these efforts, from passage of the original Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Law under his personal leadership in 1956, and its subsequent strengthening to cover 95 percent of all housing in the City, has provided a model for the State and the Nation. While we believe that our present program represents a milestone of accomplishment, we intend to continue our efforts to improve our present policies and find new ways of implementing Mayor Wagner's open city policy," Mr. Mollen's report stated.

The report was made public in both English and Spanish today. The statement sets forth the ways in which the Board implements integration through sponsor and site selection, marketing of housing, investigation of complaints, and cooperation with other agencies. It emphasizes the need for close working cooperation between the Board and other City agencies, sponsors and their agents, public interest groups and community leaders. Overall coordination of the program is charged to the Board's Consultant on Human Relations, Dr. Frank S. Horne.

# # #

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM
W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1220
R-4-60

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
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A33CC 5R NL PD NEWYORK NY JUL 28 1963

JAMES FARMER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR CORE
38 PARK ROW NYK

ERNESTLY PROTEST PICKETING ROCHDALE COOP CONSTRUCTION RATHER THAN INFINITELY MORE VONERABLE SITES. ALL UNITED HOUSING FOUNDATION DEVELOPMENTS ADHERE TO OPEN OCCUPANCY PRINCIPLE AND ROCHDALE IS MAKING EXTRAORDINARY EFFORTS TO GET WIDE MINORITY TENANCY BUILDING DELAYS WILL SERIOUSLY HURT COOP HOUSING FINANCES AND WILL ALSO HANDICAP PROSPECTIVE INTERGRATED TENANTS. SURELY YOU RECALL BIG COOP VILLAGE FREEDOM RALLY LETS IT OUR FOWS HARD BUT NOT INJURE OUR FRIENDS

SAMUEL H FRIEDMAN
300A JUL 29

AB.C.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

THE NEW LOOK IN PUBLIC HOUSING--TOO LITTLE AND TOO LATE? by David B. Carlson
(Reprinted by permission from
the July 1963 issue of
Architectural Forum and
1963 Time, Inc.

Public Housing is being drastically overhauled in answer to growing criticism. Next year, Congress will decide its fate.

Six years ago, FORUM provided a blue-ribbon panel of experts with an opportunity to explore solutions to what it called "The dreary deadlock of public housing." Today, the dreary deadlock has become an out and out crisis -- public housing must change or die.

The present Administration realizes this, and the program is being overhauled. In fact, the changes that are now being effected are the most radical in its 25-year history. Many of the very notions that were argued in FORUM a short half dozen years ago--more use of the existing inventory of housing, direct rental subsidies to families, subsidies to private builders to build public housing, and eventual tenant ownership--are all being tried, at least experimentally, under the current program. At the same time, new design concepts are being encouraged and the Public Housing Administration is actively seeking the finest architects in the nation to design public housing. But despite the many modifications underway, the question remains--is it too little, and is it too late?

Within the next six months, the federal public housing program will have exhausted its authorization for new construction. The last of the 100,000 units authorized under the act of 1949 are now being allocated, on a priority basis, to cities which have special needs, usually for relocation. About 620,000 will then have been built since 1937. Next year, the Administration is expected to ask for at least 500,000 more units, probably to be spread over a ten-year period.

Congress is sure to give such a request closer scrutiny than the program has ever had before. It is fully aware that many localities (some as large as Los Angeles) have stopped their public housing programs altogether. Others, like St. Louis, are in deep trouble (see page 5). And it cannot help but be impressed by criticism not only from public housing's traditional foes--real estate boards and apartment builders--but also from many of the staunchest advocates of federal aid for low-income housing, most of whom feel the present program is largely a failure. Most of all, Congress will be impressed by the opposition to public housing from the very low-income families it is designed to serve. Many of these families, even though seemingly desperate for good housing, stoutly refuse to be moved into "a project." Only four years ago, over one-third of all low-income families displaced by government action accepted the opportunity to move into public housing. Today, less than 15 per cent choose public housing, and the experts see the percentage continuing to decline.

Catherine Bauer has noted that "the public housing program has never called forth the kind of pervasive and persuasive popular support that oils the wheels of change in democratic countries." It could be too late to hope that such support might still be forthcoming, even given the current overhauling of the program. But the need is still very much there (see box, page 6) and the nation still is endowed with the capacity to foot the bill. Whether it will remains to be seen.

RECENT CHANGES ARE TO MAKE THE PROGRAM MORE FLEXIBLE

With the full realization that "change or die" is no idle threat, the Kennedy Administration has been working hard to change public housing. The changes are pointed toward making the program a more flexible instrument for the provision of low-income housing, while at the same time making public housing more acceptable to localities. Some of the changes are quite frankly pointed toward winning over long-time foes, such as the effort to enlist private homebuilders into the construction of public housing. Others, such as the recently announced concerted social services effort with the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, are directed at solving some of the knotty problems of poverty in the urban environment. All told, the innovations are making public housing a very different sort of program than it has been--and bringing it closer to what it must be if it is ever to succeed.

PUBLIC HOUSING MUST MAKE USE OF EXISTING DWELLINGS

Undoubtedly, one of the keystones of next year's housing act will be an expanded program of rehabilitation for public housing. Such a program has been tried in several cities, notably New York and Philadelphia, both of which opened rehabilitated units last year. The Philadelphia experiment was aimed at getting large dwellings for 5-person or more families. About one-third of all families displaced by code enforcement alone were found to need four or more bedrooms, and the housing authority had between 300 and 400 families waiting for vacancies in the 749 units of existing public housing with four or more bedrooms. The used-house program offers a solution to this problem--and, as it turned out, at costs considerably lower than new construction.

The housing authority bought 40 houses in the Haddington area at an average price of $5,960 apiece. (Prices ranged from $3,500 to $8,000 each). Renovations cost as little as $1,027 (on a $6,300 house) to as much as $5,292 (on a house bought for $5,400). Only in six instances did costs exceed the $10,000 per unit ceiling that had been set, and overall, total costs averaged out to $8,864. This is less than half the average cost of new public housing construction in Philadelphia, which now runs to over $18,000 per unit.

Since the first Haddington houses were finished, the authority has filed for higher cost limits--up to $13,500 for three-story houses, and $11,750 for two-story units. The authority now plans to buy and renovate 500 houses in the Midtown area at an average cost of about $14,000, if it gets necessary approvals from federal and city governments.

In New York, 40 units of low-income housing were carved out of four old brownstones on the West Side. The New York Authority had already rehabilitated over 300 units in areas outside renewal neighborhoods, but these were the first done in a renewal area. The authority spent from $14,000 to $20,000 per unit (compared to an average cost of a little under $20,000 for a new public housing unit) to convert the brownstones.

REHABILITATION ALONE CANNOT ANSWER CURRENT HOUSING NEEDS

Rehabilitation has great potential for use as low-income housing. It has been estimated that at least 7 million substandard units could be rehabilitated for public housing use; and, not surprisingly, this is just about how many urban families are eligible for subsidized housing. PHA Commissioner Marie McGuire is a strong backer of rehabilitation, even given the many economic uncertainties involved in such a program. She says: "In each case, we must determine that acquisition and rehabilitation costs will be lower than those of new construction," and so far at least, this seems to be possible.

There is still the question, however, of whether or not rehabilitation, at the relatively low economic level public housing demands, can do much to alter the character of a decaying neighborhood. Catherine Bauer has put it this way: "If there were no vast backlog of outright slums, little or no urban growth, and no racial discrimination, then a strong program of enforcement and rehabilitation might actually do the job of housing low-income families." This is not the only reservation the experts have about rehabilitation. They also point out that it adds nothing to the existing stock of housing, and the deficit of sound housing for low-income families is already so severe that only a great deal more new building can really make a dent in it.

In another effort to explore rehabilitation of existing homes for public housing, the housing authority of Washington, D.C., working under a demonstration grant of $194,470 from the Housing & Home Finance Agency, is leasing private homes for sublease to low-income families. HHFA Administrator Robert C. Weaver says, "This demonstration is designed to test a method for rapidly housing and rehousing large low-income families in private, subsidized housing and within a non-institutional environment. At the same time, such a program will restore large houses to their original use, thus facilitating enforcement of occupancy standards..."

HIGH COSTS PERPETUATE THE CONSTRUCTION OF HUGE PROJECTS

Another long-discussed notion is being tried experimentally in New Haven, Conn. This involves the direct payment of a rent subsidy to low-income families who then are housed in existing units in the private market. The tenant pays about 22 per cent of his income as rent, and the housing authority pays the difference between that and the total rent directly to the head of the family. Yale University social scientists will analyse the results of this program over a three-year period weighing the experimental method against conventional public housing for large, low-income families.

One of the primary reasons for using the existing inventory of housing rather than relying solely on new construction is to get away from "projectitis"--the continual building of massive, high-rise apartment complexes. But the experiments involving low-income use of existing houses should never delude anyone into believing that projects are out for good. PHA Commissioner McGuire says, with some sadness, "The day of the massive project is not finished--high costs keep it in existence."

But PHA also recognizes that even though it might have to keep building projects, it can at least demand a higher level of architecture and planning. (And it might even do something to trim current costs, which average over $9,000 per unit for buildings and over $5,000 per unit for land throughout the U.S.--and higher in most cities. (Pratt Institute is currently working under an HHFA demonstration grant to develop lower cost construction methods for high-rise apartments.) Assistant PHA Commissioner for Development Thomas B. Thompson is spearheading a federal effort to inspire better design in public housing. Thompson is uniquely qualified for the job, as he helped create San Antonio's much admired Victoria Plaza, a 185-unit high-rise apartment building for the elderly. Working closely with Thompson in the program to get better design is veteran housing architect Albert Mayer, who has been making a tour of PHA regional cities with a special message on public housing design.

Mayer's approach is modest, and directed as much to cost-conscious local authority heads as to architects. He speaks toward the better use of open space and community areas, night lighting, and the more aesthetic treatment of parking space. Mayer himself is somewhat skeptical of rehabilitation and efforts to build small units scattered throughout urban areas. ("Are existing neighborhoods so good that we should attempt to conform to them?" he asks.) At the same time, he is convinced that high-rise buildings are essential and can be better designed. Mayer advocates tall apartments "used in justified proportion with row housing and other lower elements, rather than their present use as a quick and indiscriminate universal cliche."

Mayer does not duck the sorest point in public housing architecture--the painfully low fee schedule. He says bluntly "The architects' fees--always a very minor percentage of the first cost of any building--have been kept too low to permit the kind of imaginative study that results in original and stimulating work. Most of the architects who do public housing have, for this reason among others, settled for more or less standardized plans, and this pattern has fitted in well with the attitude of most housing agency staffs, whose preference is for the more or less repetitive design that hews closely to the house rules." PHA Commissioner McGuire said last month that "Once we can find a basis for it, some adjustment is called for in the fee schedule." Some critics feel the basis for higher fees is already there for all to see, in the form of most existing public housing projects.

Mayer is equally unhappy with what he calls "false economies" in the program. He means specifically that, in the name of economy and because of "high costs," authorities demand too tight interior spaces and make a virtue of low land coverage in high-rise projects without really utilizing open space in a sensible manner. Mayer points out that as much as 10 per cent more space can be added for an over-all cost increment of only 2 per cent and that "the total cost of development of the outdoors is a small percent of total land and development costs."

Despite the fine work of men like Mayer and Thompson, it is still too true that, as Charles Abrams once observed, "design in public housing is more the product of finance and legislation than the drawing board."

THE PROGRAM SHOULD PROVIDE SOME FORM OF HOMEOWNERSHIP

One of the most curious public housing experiments now underway involves a group of Tulsa, Okla. homebuilders who will build 100 units under FHA's Section 221d3, and then lease the houses to low-income families. These families will also have the option to purchase the houses, with a 3 per cent down payment under an FHA-insured mortgage. In cases where the economic rent of the units is more than 20 per cent of the family's income, the authority will pay a direct subsidy. If the family later elects to purchase the house, it must repay the subsidy to the authority. This experiment will be especially applicable in communities where normal public housing is not available--and it is a first step toward providing eventual ownership of homes for low-income families.

Home ownership is considered by many observers to be essential to the ultimate success of public housing. URA Assistant Commissioner James Banks, who has had long experience in relocation and urban renewal, says flatly that "Any program ... we have must be an incentive program...we must be able to provide the incentive for homeownership even among low-income families." Banks believes that most cities can start such a program using existing housing at first, and, once the economics are established, build new housing for eventual ownership by low-income families. At the same time, however, Banks realizes that "it will still be necessary to have some institutional type housing. Many low-families need this sort of care."

The problem of providing social services to low-income families is finally getting some meaningful attention in the midst of the new programs, and in many respects this is the most significant approach of all. Several months ago, HHFA and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare announced a set of guidelines for "concerted social services" for families in public housing. The first specific trial of this approach will come in St. Louis, where the huge (12,000 unit) Pruitt-Igoe developments will be served by a vastly expanded staff of social scientists and welfare workers. There had been such a bad record of crime and vandalism in the project that low-income families balked at living there; the vacancy rate rose to 15 per cent.

PUBLIC HOUSING: A WEAPON IN THE FIGHT AGAINST POVERTY

A special Mayer's committee investigated conditions and made these observations:

** Unemployment and economic discrimination, (because of race, primarily) were at the heart of most of the problems. Over half the families in the project received public assistance, and an equal number had no male head of the family. About 70 per cent of the families had incomes of under $3,000 a year.

** An all-out attack on all the problems, economic as well as social, could yield real gains "in spite of the difficulties inherent in the physical environment of these high-rise apartments." But, the committee made clear, the solution to the economic problem must be paramount.

** The ultimate objective of the program must be to integrate low-income families more thoroughly into the community at large, in terms of jobs and social contacts. The latter will, of course, be made more difficult by the physical isolation of these families due to the size of the project itself.

The St. Louis experiment is just getting underway, but guidelines have been established for such a concerted program wherever it is needed--and it is needed just about everywhere. For the problems of public housing boil down, basically, to meeting the problem of poverty. As Author Michael Harrington has said, "We can and should build decent housing for the poor. But if at the same time we leave the job situation the same, and the people isolated from contact with society at large, then we shall have vitiated most of what we have done."

Public housing, then, should be used as a weapon in the all-out attack on poverty and discrimination. The forms public housing takes--whether rehabilitated housing or high-rise projects--are important, in most instances, but represent only part of the problem. Until local authorities fully realize this simple fact, progress will be slow indeed. And this program can not afford many more mistakes, or any less progress.

The changes that the current program is undergoing are instrumental to its survival. That public housers are engaged in experiments is in itself most encouraging; but the question is--can the program do enough, and what more must it do? The concerted services approach points one direction: All federal programs must be coordinated to a much higher degree than ever before, and must at the same time be integrated with state and local housing and social service efforts. Whether this is accomplished via a Department of Urban Affairs or by some other device, the problem is too big to be nibbled at piece-meal as under the present system. Slum clearance, community facilities, social services and public housing are all needed to battle poverty. None of these alone will do, and all must be fully coordinated. Most important, the total program cannot be administered as a branch of public welfare--the "welfare attitude" toward public housing is a chief source of failure.

Public housing's role, as William Wheaton has said, should be not only "the maintenance of decent, safe and sanitary dwellings, but the rehabilitation and encouragement of people." It must not enforce economic and racial segregation, but rather become a key instrument for destroying these patterns. It must, as James Banks says, provide incentives for low-income families to advance, in the American tradition. "None of these families wants to be comfortable in its low status," Banks observes, "Each wants to get out of it."

--END--

THE NEED FOR HOUSING

Only the lunatic fringe can argue that there is enough decent housing in the U.S. to go around. Over 19 per cent of our housing inventory--almost 11 million units--is judged substandard or lacks plumbing according to 1960 Census. Most of this is in the big cities and occupied by families of low income. The present total housing production is at least half a million units too small for our total needs, according to conservative estimates. More new construction, even of higher-priced homes (the average price for new FHA-insured housing is nearly $15,000), is necessary to filter older housing down at a much faster pace and generate the faster demolition of obsolescent units.

The problems of deficient housing supply really pile up in the city, where most of the least privileged families live. Here are some 8 million families with incomes under $5,000 (for a five-person or more household). Most of these 8 million families are probably eligible for subsidized housing of some sort. But there are only about 600,000 units of federally subsidized housing available--and these are almost all occupied. The problem is particularly acute for non-white families--about half the nonwhite renters and 40 per cent of nonwhite home owners live in substandard housing, whereas only 20 per cent of white renters and 10 per cent of white home owners occupy substandard housing.

What makes the need more acute is the relocation load that looms on the horizon. About 150,000 families have been displaced by urban renewal alone since 1949, and experts guess that highways and other programs have displaced at least 300,000 more than this in cities alone. (This year, Philadelphia estimates that all government programs will displace at least 3,250 families in the city.) James Banks, head of Urban Renewal Administration's relocation division, estimates the peak relocation load hasn't even been reached yet. By 1966, and for at least the following five years, demands for relocation housing will far exceed anything in the past, Banks believes.

PROBLEMS IN NEW YORK

In public housing, as in everything else, New York City is a special case. It has already absorbed about 15 per cent (around 70,000 units) of the total federal public housing program, and has an additional 50,000 or so units of state-and city-subsidized units for low-income families. But the city, like the federal government, is about out of authorization for new public housing--the housing authority has just requested nine more projects totaling 4,749 units, and this will exhaust its federal authorizations. At the same time, Mayor Wagner has been rebuffed by the state government in his plans to get $300 million of state bonds for low-income housing; as it is, New York City already has absorbed 82 per cent of all state housing aid.

The state, for its part, is studying the whole problem, with a special commission appointed several months ago. But while the studying is going on, the political tug-of-war between the Republicans upstate and the Democrats in the city continues, with public housing very much under pressure. A few weeks ago, James Gaynor, State Commissioner of Housing and Community Renewal, told the city flatly that "we are not meeting the demands of families displaced by demolition, nor are we meeting the requirements of families still remaining in substandard units."

Gaynor figures that three quarters of the families in substandard city housing are eligible for public housing--indicating that 400,000 more units are needed to house over one million persons. At current New York City land and building costs (which have risen 20 per cent in the past five years) this would mean an $8 billion program. And just to keep things in perspective, Gaynor adds: "The cost of a continued....commitment to (public housing) is already a subject of taxpayer concern...this is evidenced by the increasingly narrow margins of approval given to public housing...or by their outright defeat."

Gaynor knows full well it is not the cost of public housing alone that has brought down the opposition of voters upon the program. Antisocial behavior in projects has scored headlines so often that New Yorkers hardly pay attention--except when they get to the polls. Mayor Wagner this year asked for expansion of the Housing Authority's police force from 650 to over 1,500 to combat what critics call "wall-to-wall muggings" in projects.

The opposition of low-income families has already become critical--while the shortage of available low-rent housing keeps applications bulging, resistance from dislocated families to public housing is growing fast. Negro leaders have long despaired of the public housing ghetto (at densities of as high as 560 persons per acre) that has been created in East Harlem, but the city doggedly goes on retracing the mistakes of the past. (Gaynor says that one of the chief missions of the new commission is "to determine ways of breaking away from the present pattern of economic and racial segregation that is one of the distinguishing characteristics of low-rent housing...")

So far, the city authority seems hopelessly trapped by high costs, the massive backlog of demand, and its own inertia. If New York City, with all its vast resources if not resourcefulness, cannot produce better results, the whole nation's public housing program will feel the impact of its failure.

AN ASSESSMENT OF
HOUSING AS A CIVIL RIGHT

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HOUSING AS A CIVIL RIGHT

Discrimination in housing stands as one of the major problems affecting the status of the Negroes in the United States. This is neither a new or novel concept. In application, it has threaded the history of this country's social and economic development. What is new is the clarity in which housing now stands forth as a civil right. This emergence has been slow, tortuous, and constricted by prejudice, confusion, and misconception.

When the President of the United States by his "stroke of the pen" on November 20, 1962, brought to long-sought reality the "EXECUTIVE ORDER ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING," he lifted a complex of social systems into "Go" status. This circumstance was the product of a continuum of economic and social processes which, in combination, have shifted the emphasis of concern about the housing of Negroes from "quantity, quality, and quota"--important though these may be--to the basic issue of the "right" of all citizens to compete on equal terms for a "decent home and a suitable living environment."

Exhibit A

> "...even the phrase 'Equal Opportunity in Housing' is confusing to many people and ... many conflicting things are understood by it.
>
> "It is like many such phrases in our language --it was coined by someone trying to telescope a complicated idea into a few words, and it has become vague and ill-defined through frequent usage.
>
> "To me 'Equal Opportunity in Housing' means freedom of access to housing. It is an idea which has its roots in the fundamental principles of our economic and political philosophies.
>
> * * *
>
> "Freedom and equality, in this context, refer to the right to buy, to sell, to trade, and to bargain--the right to engage in the essential activities of a free market." (1)

At this point in history, marking the most dramatic forward thrust in the whole struggle for civil rights since the Reconstruction Era, an assessment of this one of its major goals--free access to housing--presents a startling picture:

---It is acknowledged to be one of the major aspects of discrimination--sharing importance with education, employment, public accommodations, and voting--and interacting with each and all of them in the constellation of forces restricting the full citizenship of minorities;

---Its importance as an essential goal in the attainment of full civil rights for all American citizens is widely proclaimed; it has been the subject of widespread legislative, administrative, and community action of various kinds--all directed toward breaking through restrictive barriers and facilitating not only access, but dispersion of minorities throughout the housing supply;

---Its attainment progress--in comparison with that of its companions in the civil rights field--is notably unspectacular.

The question may be raised: "What, specifically, is the picture herein referred to as 'startling'?"

I. It is manifest that Negroes are attaining increasing opportunities to compete for housing.

Among the most significant factors in this ascent have been:

1. The President's Executive Order and the implementation actions attendant upon it, such as the
policy revisions of the Urban Renewal Administration; Exhibit B
the memorandum issued by the Secretary of Defense to the Secretaries of the Army, the Navy, and the Air Force; Exhibit C
and establishment of the "President's Committee" in accordance with the provisions of the "Order." Exhibit D

2. State and Local Legislation and Administrative actions.

At the time the Executive Order was signed--in November 1962, 18 states, the Virgin Islands, and over 50 municipalities had adopted statutes, ordinances, or resolutions limiting in varying degrees some of the discriminatory practices in housing. These laws may be classified in three groups: 1) those applicable to publicly owned and administered housing, 2) those affecting urban renewal areas and housing assisted by public loan insurance or guarantees, and 3) those covering privately owned housing not assisted through public programs.

While there is no official or generally accepted definition of the term "Fair Housing Practices," it is most aptly applied in usage to coverage comprehending not only public and publicly assisted housing and urban renewal developments, but also some part of the private housing supply. By June 1963, legislation of this kind had been enacted in eleven states,* the Virgin Islands, and seven municipalities.**

3. Federal Actions (2)--Legislative and Judicial--including

---the U. S. Housing Act of 1949 in which the United States Congress declared the National Housing Policy--"to realize as soon as feasible the goal of a decent home and suitable living environment for every American family"; (underline supplied)

---decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, in Shelly v. Kraemer (1948), which declared racial restrictive covenants to be judicially unenforceable; and in Buchanan v. Warley (1917), which held racial zoning ordinances invalid. Note that in both instances the Court found government action--the first legislative and the second judicial--which was prohibited by the Constitution;

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* Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, and Pennsylvania.

**Berkeley, California; Albuquerque, New Mexico; New York City and Schenectady, New York; Toledo, Ohio; Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

---the U. S. Civil Rights Act of 1866, which is still a part of the United States Code, in which it is declared that

> "All citizens of the United States shall have the same right, in every state and territory, as is enjoyed by white citizens thereof, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold, and convey real and personal property."

4. Activities of voluntary organizations and groups, including the major organizations in the field of housing such as the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, the "big" Human and Race Relations agencies, smaller local organizations among which are the ± 250 Fair Housing Committees throughout the nation, 230 of which are reported to have come into existence during the past three years. (3)

II. With regard to the quantity and quality of the homes actually occupied by Negroes, it has been discovered that:

"The general picture in housing, as in other fields, shows Negroes in a less advantageous position than whites, but improving their situation faster on the whole....

"Despite discrimination, Negro housing has improved, largely owing to the rise in Negroes' incomes. Provision of new low-rent housing has been of some assistance also.

"Negro ownership of homes has become more extensive. In 1940, only about 24 percent of nonwhite families lived in homes they owned, compared with 46 percent of white families.... By 1960, the rates had risen to 38 and 64 percent. The 1940-50 decade was a period of active home buying, especially for nonwhites. Nonwhites in nonfarm areas doubled their home ownership in 10 years (while their total number of occupied dwelling units in the nonfarm area rose 36 percent). During the 1950's although home buying was less extensive, nonwhites increased their home ownership by nearly 50 percent. The total rise in the two decades was well over 150 percent; the number of nonwhites increased 48 percent in that time." (4)

Quality

"One of the brighter aspects of the change in the housing status of nonwhite families between 1950 and 1960 is the improvement that took place during the decade in the physical condition of housing they occupied.... Nonwhite renters gained somewhat more relative to white renters than did nonwhite to white owners probably reflecting to a large extent the effects of the migration of nonwhite to urban areas where housing conditions are generally better than in rural areas." (5)

See Appendix A (Population data) and (Appendix B (Housing data)

BUT . . .

"On a relative basis units occupied by nonwhites in the South were most improved during the decade. Despite this the quality of nonwhite housing in the South still lagged far behind that in any other region." (6)

A different and alarming trend is shown in the state of overcrowding--the most devastating of all slum creators:

"...among nonwhite families the number of overcrowded units increased over the decade from nearly 1 million in 1950 to 1.3 million in 1960, while the number of overcrowded white families decreased by about .2 million....

"The contrast between white and nonwhite families is sharper when the comparison is limited to seriously overcrowded units--units with 1.51 or more persons per room. Between 1950 and 1960, seriously overcrowded, nonwhite units decreased from 18 to 13 percent of all nonwhite units, but seriously overcrowded white units fell from 4.3 to 2.4 percent of all white units. At the end of the period there were 85,000 additional seriously overcrowded nonwhite housing units. On the other hand there were 380,000 fewer seriously overcrowded white units." (7)

"...of the 3.7 million nonwhite families who moved between 1950 and 1960 only 843 thousand or 23 percent were able to move into units built during that decade. In contrast, out of roughly 19 million white families who moved into owner units during this period nearly 11 million or 58 percent moved into a house or apartment built between 1950 and 1960." (8)

This analysis suggests among the possible reasons for the difference, "unquestionably, another factor involved was the general lack of open occupancy during the 1950's in most of the new housing built in the suburbs." (9)

"Because of limitations in the availability of housing to nonwhites, the rents and values of units they occupy often tend to run well above the levels at which houses of comparable quality can be obtained by white families." (10)

III. All of the seeming gains in the housing situation of Negroes must be weighed in consideration of the fact that racial stratification throughout the metropolitan centers of the nation is outpacing formation of heterogeneous residential areas--whether stable or in transition. In the central city are the expanding concentrations of Negroes and, in some instances, Puerto Rican and other minorities distinguishable by physical characteristics, language, or both. Outside of the central cities, frequently in ethnic formation, are the concentrations comprised of white persons discretely exclusive of those whites still handicapped by "newcomer" status.

> "Despite some tinkering here and there and a near flood of pious hopes and wishes, the urban population patterns of the past three decades have not changed....unless heroic measures are taken, the metro-urban complex of the next few decades will display its current face of nonwhites expanding toward dominance in the central city and either growing rapidly in, or being almost excluded from, satellite cities while suburban residential areas are given over to overwhelming white occupancy....
>
> "The Negro population is concentrated in defined areas of every major city, as is the case with other nonwhite and Latin nationality groups...." (11)

In this situation, reality is obscured not only by the increasing incidence of ephemeral interracial areas splayed at the fringes of minority concentrations but also by newer formation of scatter-cluster dispersion patterns.

For the most part, the few demonstrations of positive, planned residential integration have sustained their unique role by recourse to tokenism.

It is for example paradoxical that racial quotas, so benevolently rationalized by some champions of "integrated housing" are at one and the same time vociferously indicted by the arbiters of equal opportunity in employment.

IV. Discrimination in housing continues not only to provide the basic structure upon which many other forms of institutional segregation rest but also obstructs and confounds efforts directed toward desegregation and integration in many areas.

Probably the most emphatic indication of the important role of housing restriction in relationship to other forms of racial discrimination has been brought to public attention by the growing conflict in communities throughout the nation, but especially in the North, with respect to school integration. Here it has been found, repeatedly, that residential concentrations have resulted in de facto segregation of schools, confounding the efforts to achieve significant compliance with the decisions of the Supreme Court, state and local policies, or sometimes even the interest of the locality with regard to "desegregated" schools, to say nothing of an "integrated" learning situation. It may be permissible to note at this point that, while racial residential concentration is generally recognized as the root evil, actions directed toward achievement of the integration goal, tend generally to circumvent this key issue. On the one hand, minorities insist that their children cannot wait for solution of the housing segregation problem. On the other hand, efforts to artificially integrate schools, in the language of one official, "end up as puny efforts in the face of this pattern of residential segregation." (12)

This problem, prevalent in all of the major northern cities, is exemplified by the situation in New York City. One of the first documents pertaining to this situation, a report of a study, provides numerous findings including "As long as the principle of neighborhood schools persists, in the central areas of homogeneous ethnic communities, it is immaterial, from the point of view of the composition of the school, where school districts are drawn. A school in the center of Harlem will be a Negro school." (13)

The NYC Board of Education, after attempts to work through the problem, made its own report of the difficulty, including the statement: "During the two year period 1957-1959, the percentage of Negro and Puerto Rican children in elementary schools increased from 35.7% to 40.9%....The bulk of the increase occurs in areas already ethnically homogeneous or, since such neighborhoods are likely to be very much overcrowded, in 'fringe' areas....Sometimes, the total pattern of community change negates our best efforts to establish integrated schools through improved zoning practice." (14)

That statement was made three years ago. In the intervening period, the composition of the Board itself has been changed, completely: new members have dealt with the problem. There have been changes in the top paid administration of the system. As this is written, it appears highly probable that the threatened boycott of the city's public schools by an impressive number of minority families, growing out of their displeasure over the persistent *de facto* segregation, will become a reality when the school doors open in September.

---the Church

The school is not the only institution which is affected by housing discrimination and segregation. There is the *church*. "There is no aspect of American life which has not been affected by the divisive patterns and practices of segregation and discrimination....We are all inheritors of the sin of racial pride which has been built into the warp and woof of our social order.

"In addition, we are forced to live with these practices, even as we attempt to redeem the life within the Church and the life within society. *A church which desires to open its doors to all regardless of race may find that in reality it cannot do so because it is located in an all white neighborhood*." (underline supplied) (15)

---the Armed Forces

Another example may be found in relationship to the democratization of the Armed Forces of this country. A Counsellor to the Department of Defense reports that over the years he has continued "to denominate racial discrimination in off-post housing as the greatest single impediment to the smooth functioning of racial integration in the Armed Forces.

Exhibit E

"....Daily we are confronted with morale problems in schooling, transportation, recreation and elsewhere *which derive directly from segregated off-post housing*." (underline supplied). (16)

---the Political System

Housing discrimination, and its consequence--racial segregation--are tied--sometimes overtly, sometimes subtly--to the cherished American Right to Vote.

This is a relationship which is sometimes missed in the appraisals of the function of housing discrimination in a democratic society. There are situations in which this tie-up is overt: the racially "compressed" area is particularly susceptible of gerrymandering, for the purpose of completely denying, or diluting the strength of, the "solid vote." Thus, it is reported that the State of Alabama made an effort to gerrymander Negro voters out of Tuskegee--an attempt which was "struck down by the Supreme Court as violating the 15th amendment." (17)

The question may be raised as to the number of successful devices operative throughout the cities and states in those areas where the racial composition threatens the desired political result. That this is of no mean significance with reference to the central cities has been recognized and "smacked head on" by a Professor of Political Science, who writes:

> "In the long run, it is highly unlikely that the white population will allow Negroes to become dominant in the cities without resistance. The cultural and economic stakes are too high. One countermeasure will surely present itself to the suburbanites: to annex the suburbs, with their predominantly white populations, to the cities..."(18)

A more subtle "countermeasure" becomes readily apparent when the voting district lines controlling the voting strength of some of the "ghettos" of some of the large "liberal" cities are examined.

---International Relations

There is incontrovertible proof that housing discrimination has a direct effect on this country's international relations.

"There can be no doubt that the Diplomatic Corps is affected by discrimination in the Nation's Capital.

* * *

"Because of discrimination the representatives of African nations, and of Asian nations as well, have had great difficulty repeatedly in finding suitable accommodations in the Nation's Capital. And in many instances they have been unable to find what they needed.

* * *

"It is clear that this problem in housing, one of the last areas in which discrimination has not been banished by law from the Nation's Capital, brings serious hardships and repeated embarrassment to an important segment of the Diplomatic Corps. ...Here it is that other nations send their representatives, and here it is that those representatives will acquire their strongest and most lasting impressions. When they are humiliated and unnecessarily encumbered; when their impressions of America and our good will toward them are distorted, it must be obvious that we cannot afford discrimination."(19)

"A. The amount of housing available to African diplomats in North-West Washington west of Sixteenth Street is not at the present time sufficient to satisfy current needs and those which are expected to develop over the next two years....

"B...The locus of resistance to making more apartment facilities available for African diplomats is difficult to locate, but it is suspected that it lies in two factors: the definition of the attitudinal situation in the Washington community (and especially among apartment house tenants) on the part of agents and owners, and the problem encountered in renting to diplomats as such.

"C. ...the closer the living situation approximates a permanent arrangement, in which integrated social systems would have a chance to develop among tenants, the less willing are people to accept African diplomats as tenants...." (20)

V. Housing is accorded low priority as a civil rights issue, not only in public opinion, but also within the organisational structure of the civil rights movement itself.

Taking public opinion first, this "low position" is demonstrated in the findings of a recent public opinion poll released July 15, 1963.

"If the American people have come to a consensus of approval about past action in civil rights, then they express in most cases even more unanimity of views about what ought to be done today. We probed in considerable depth about the key areas of Negro rights in voting, jobs, public accommodations...and in housing."

The reported findings are:

Attitudes Toward Federal Action on Negro Rights Today

(Nation-wide)

Federal Action to Insure:	Approve %	Disapprove and no opinion %
Voting opportunities	91	9
Job opportunities	86	14
Public Accommodations	74	26
Mixed lunch counters	68	32
Mixed housing	52	48

For the South Only, "Mixed housing" remained at the bottom rung with 29% approval and 71% disapproval and no opinion.

The concluding commentary noted:

"It is also apparent that the people are ready to move on the legislative front only in the voting, jobs, and public accommodations areas today. Housing legislation would provoke a deep and searing division. This would be considered moving too fast at this time." (21)

Within the framework of the Civil Rights Movement, the low priority status of housing is reflected in program emphasis and deployment of resources. A sound assessment of this situation would require considerable fact finding and study: it is beyond the scope of this paper.

Symbolic of this entire situation is the fact that the one national organization--The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing--devoted entirely and specifically to this field of social action is notably unsuccessful in competing with other organizations in the intergroup relations field for financial support. Operating on an annual budget of $50,000, it maintains a professional staff of two persons; one to two clerical workers; and a bi-monthly publication. The staff, however, may be regarded as "part-time" insofar as its nation-wide services are concerned; for it also functions as the staff of the New York State Committee Against Discrimination--in effect, parent body of the National Committee and the source of a substantial part of its financial support.

The National Committee is composed of 32 religious, civic, labor, and minority group organizations which rely upon it for clearing-house and consultative services. In addition, it serves to coordinate the network of some 250 Fair Housing Committees throughout the nation.

VI. There is uneven, "spotty" recognition of the basic goal to be attained as opening the total housing supply, without distinction as to cost, condition or location, to qualified candidates without limitations based solely upon skin color.

That this is the real "target" to be reached within the framework of an evolving body of legislative, administrative, and voluntary actions supporting the fundamental approach to housing by Negroes and other minorities as a civil right seems sometimes obscured by other--secondary--considerations. There are many ramifications to this point: not always is it clear, within the programs and efforts in this field that it is the right of the minority group member to compete, whether there is too much or too little housing; whether it is publicly or privately assisted; whether it is approved or disapproved by other competitors in the market. It is his right to compete for access to all housing in the supply--"luxury," "middle" or "slums"--under the same conditions and terms--economic and social--that are available to others.

Exercise of this right does not necessarily mean that the end result will be "racially integrated" residential areas, "racially balanced" neighborhoods, "interracial housing" or any of the varied conditions involving dispersions of different ethnic groups in a mosaic pattern.

The civil rights issue in housing is not identical with the issue of the "ghetto," closely associated at the present time though it undeniably is. It is conceivable that--given free choice--there are those who would elect, as some minority sub-groups now do, to live in an ethnically homogeneous neighborhood. The essential difference is that residence within such a locale would be truly voluntary, not imposed by exclusion from other types of locations.

The civil rights issue in housing is not identical with the issue of "slums" though these two, also, now are interrelated. The disproportionate occupancy of slums by minority people, though accurately identified as one of the consequences of restrictions on the right to compete in the total housing market, is not the essence of the civil rights issue: at this stage it is a concomitant.

The question of whether to build better, more attractive, more desirable private or public housing within the ghetto is not the crucial point. It is highly controversial at this juncture. As a matter of fact, the challenge may be raised as to the efficacy of denying decent standard housing to those who are confined involuntarily to the segregated area: of imposing a second indignity--the denial of a desirable physical housing unit--upon him while he waits for the social forces to free him from the unnatural restraints of discriminatory treatment. Indeed, a further examination of this approach may well be indicated--to determine the potential function of a volume of attractive, well-maintained housing, in areas of racial concentration, in breaking the persistent association of minorities with slum conditions, in breaking the stereotype of all Negroes as "preferring sub-standard conditions" and/or as "destroyers of property and property values."

If slums and ghettos were the crucial issues, rather than equal opportunity for access to all housing, it would be possible to resolve the problem of minority group housing within the framework of a racially restricted housing market. The Republic of South Africa proudly boasts of achievements in its slum elimination program:

"...homes have been built," it reports, "for 1,200,000 black men, women and children who formed the great majority of workers living in 'shanty town' slums crowding around South Africa's centres of industry. The slums whose ill-fame made headlines throughout the world have virtually disappeared in the biggest revolution in living standards achieved anywhere in Africa....A disordered mass of black, brown, and white industrial manpower has been sorted out into happy, well-housed communities in a score of brand new cities and towns inhabited by nearly three million people.

"In ten brief years 200,000 Bantu families who lived in hovels on the outskirts of Johannesburg, Durban, Pretoria, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, and around scores of smaller towns throughout South Africa have been given houses, flats and hostels with running water, electric light, sanitation and streets, served by hospitals, schools, churches, creches, recreation centers and shops." (22)

There is yet to be found a better definition of the true civil rights issue in housing than that of the late Charles S. Johnson, written in 1956:

> "The issue is not how unsanitary some enforced racial slums and ghettos may have become, but how to improve the health and welfare of the nation without regard to race or sex or national origin; not how much a person thinks his property loses in value if a Negro moves into his neighborhood, but how to achieve a free market for living space for the people of the nation.
>
> "The issue today is human equality and national civil rights, and the touchstone is the racial segregation that prevents this human equality...."(23)

Housing is the very keystone of civil rights; yet it has been and still seems to be difficult to gain recognition, understanding and action commensurate with its role. This is not simplified by the fact that this civil rights function is actually as complex as the larger housing problem with which the minority sectors are inextricably involved. The obvious reasons are the excessive pressures of need for housing among minorities, the life and death urgency of alleviating the effects of slums upon them, and the identification of housing deficiencies with poverty and low-income status. These compelling considerations have beclouded the fundamental civil rights issue and have, in effect, obstructed a frontal attack upon discrimination and segregation in housing, *per se*.

Essentially, the sharpest outlines of racial discrimination in housing emerge when minorities attain the economic capacity to compete in the total market for standard housing. Here is to be found--quite distinguishable from the problems of slums or poverty--the whole matrix of the racially discriminated housing market.

ASSESSMENT

Implicit and explicit in much that has been expressed in the foregoing are judgments of the present situation. However, no appraisal of the problem can be found competent as long as it ignores the complex of factors and forces--economic, social, and institutional--which have been casually related to the presently emergent situation.

Identification of responsibility for the policies, practices and customs that have entrenched residential restriction has received a great deal of analytical attention. The underlying cause is usually attributed to the social pressure from white Americans. Accordingly, racial segregation has been an integral part of the trend toward class stratification that has engulfed the real estate market in this country. This force, identified by real estate market analysts as "the mind of the market" is a major factor in the valuation as well as the merchandising of properties. While it is not clear as to the extent to which this "mind of the market" has been influenced by the industry itself, it is clear that its force is pervasive. Its potence is reflected in every phase of real estate operations: mortgage finance, land acquisitions, brokerage practices, property appraisal and informal transactions. Carefully scrutinized, they corroborate the conclusion of the Commission on Race and Housing that "It is the real estate brokers, builders, and mortgage finance institutions, which translate prejudice into discriminatory action." (24)

It is cruelly significant that the entire matrix of racial discriminatory practices in the real estate industry was made part of the function of National Government as it moved into a major role in housing in the 1930's. Government's responsibility is described most trenchantly in the findings of the United States Commission on Civil Rights:

> "A number of forces combine to prevent equality of opportunity in housing. They begin with the prejudice of private persons, but they involve large segments of the organized business world. In addition, Government on all levels bears a measure of responsibility--for its supports and indeed to a great extent it created the machinery through which housing discrimination operates." (25)

During the thirty year span of the Federal Government's rapidly expanding operations in housing and urban redevelopment programs, it has served directly and indirectly as a major contributor to the intensification of racial residential segregation. Its influence has pervaded the entire housing industry and it must be held largely responsible for the actual increase not only of areas of Negro residential concentration but also of areas of white residential segregation, most dramatically exemplified by suburban developments and numerous corporate cities. Thus, in 1961, one year prior to the issuance of the "Executive Order..." the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights summarized as follows:

> "In the 27 years since passage of the first National Housing Act, Federal agencies have been created, Federal programs have been established and Federal funds and credit have been committed in an effort to achieve the goal articulated in the Housing Act of 1949—'a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family.' The goal has not been achieved either in terms of supply, or equal opportunity. The President has declared before Congress: 'We must still redeem this pledge.'
>
> "There has been significant governmental action in recent years aimed at increasing the general supply of low-cost housing....But there has been little effort on the part of the Federal Government to insure equal housing opportunities.... Thus the Commission again has found that Federal housing assistance has been denied to some Americans because of their race. The Commission's 1959 findings—'Housing...seems to be the one commodity in the American market that is not freely available on equal terms to everyone who can afford to pay'—is still an urgent fact. (underline supplied)
>
> "Of the many Federal agencies concerned with housing and home mortgage credit, none has attempted to exert more than a semblance of its authority to secure equal access to the housing benefits it administers, nor to insure equal treatment from the mortgage lenders it supports and supervises. Many have taken no action whatsoever in this connection." (26)

This, then, was the official finding two years ago: these were the cumulative conditions to be "upset" by the now-famous "stroke of the pen" one year later, in 1962.

But, at the same time, the Federal Government is to be credited with a significant role, particularly during the past ten years, in operations that 1) have facilitated improvements in the condition of housing occupied by Negroes, and 2) have provided demonstrations of racially integrated living in developments and neighborhoods. These operations are reflected in some of the experience in public housing projects; some in other publicly-assisted private housing developments; and an indeterminate amount of the "break through" in the single parcel housing supply that has decisively increased the living space available to Negroes, particularly in the central urban areas. In the process these operations have brought about varying degrees of residential dispersion. In appraising these, however, it is necessary at points to distinguish between the judicial and the legislative and administrative arms of the Government: the latter accomplishment is more a direct result of the Supreme Court decisions, previously referred to, than of direct, purposeful action by the Congress or the Federal Housing Agencies.

The character of demand in the housing market itself has made many shifts within the racial picture. The pent-up demand, in all housing price categories--resulting from the curtailment of construction during the Depression and World War II, has been considerably relieved. There is now mounting evidence of near-saturation at the top "luxury" level and approximate equilibrium in the high middle levels. Demand pressure, if anything, has increased in the middle-middle and lower middle [income] sectors; and there is continued intense demand in the lowest levels embraced within the so-called "economic market" for private housing. Below the level of economic demand into the area of housing need, it is significant to note that the rise in housing costs, coupled with increased codification of housing standards has forced the relentless pressure for standard housing to meet the need of those who cannot afford "economic" costs--into a state of crisis.

Housing replacement and rehabilitation have gone through an unprecedented phase of activity under the stimulus of heightened operations in urban renewal and redevelopment, slum clearance, and conservation--including a measure of code enforcement. Interacting with these operations has been the volume of public improvements, particularly the building of inner-urban expressways as well as nationwide highway systems. These, too, have contributed to the construction of replacement housing; accelerated movement of families within the available supply of homes; and--of course--given force to the impact of household displacement and relocation.

Spatial accommodations of residential development--geographic spread, design, and specific location--have undergone revolutionary changes during this period. There has been movement "in"--to the central cities--and "out" to the suburbs and satellite cities, as well as "up" in high rise structures. These have occurred in response to the steady rise in land costs, and to competitive demand for strategic locations. Tenure concepts have multiplied way beyond the elementary, familiar "ownership," "rental" and "cooperative" to such outer reaches as "condominium" and others whose definitions are still disputed by housing economists.

The interplay of these--with other related changes--has affected the living situation of Negroes and other minorities far more than all of the forces of social action combined.

Major here is the controversial process of relocation. The questions arising from the spectrum of practices, with particular reference to the concentration and dispersion of minority families have induced--in many localities--a low rumble that is growing into a loud roar. Charges and counter-charges, many of them clearly substantiated, assert that this is a major factor in the increase in segregated living patterns. Recourse has been taken to negative slogans, such as "urban renewal means Negro removal" and the like.

There can be little doubt that some of the negative trends in the housing of Negroes--particularly serious overcrowding of homes in "fringe" areas and already-densely populated Negro neighborhoods--are attributable to lack of planning, indifference, and the low value placed on equal housing opportunity by some of those in control positions.

Out of these changes have come conditions forming a completely new constellation in the ethnic residential pattern of American cities. They have had potent--possibly a determining role--in altering the extent and manner in which

Negroes enter the market: whether conditions become favorable or unfavorable to maintaining racially integrated residential areas; whether "blockbusting" is welcomed or resisted; whether emphasis in a given situation is upon encouraging Negroes to "move in" or on seeking to stave off "inundation." They determine, in large measure, the rate and pace of whatever transition--from segregation to integration--may be underway. In a broader context, the forces and counter-forces which have been released by these developments now seem posed for a crucial conflict: an encounter which may yield the definitive answers not just to the question of "Where shall they live?" but to matters of even greater magnitude, such as:

---What kind of regional and metropolitan planning will they engender?

---What will be the economic and political moves of municipalities which see themselves "threatened" as former minorities become statistical majorities?

---What shape and form will political systems and structures evolve to "protect" long-vested interests and controls?

These questions become especially provocative when they are reflected upon in the light of the "new" social era now emerging, of the new "social climate" in which minorities no longer are willing to wait for others to "grant" them their rights, but are moving--in unison with segments of the dominant majority--to achieve the democratic ideal now.

* * * * *

While the changes summarized here have been in the making, other forces affecting the ethnic patterns of residential occupancy also have been working. These may be "briefed" as: Some of the "positive" movements in the direction of minority residential dispersion have been successful: there are islands of truly integrated living across the country. Others appear to be caught up in a snarl of confusion. Many--if not all--of the methods and techniques encouraged and stimulated by some of the general practitioners operating under the aegis of "fair housing practices" or "equal opportunities in housing" are obsolete, impractical, and inconsequential in relationship to the establishment of access to housing as a basic civil right. In many instances, they disguise basically discriminative objectives in the garb of benevolence. With few exceptions, these techniques really serve to manipulate minorities into strategic responses to the exigencies of the overall housing market. A house is sold to a Negro family without the inconvenience of brokers fees, for example. The family is "screened" according to standards more exacting than any which have been met by the "majority" group neighbors and it is regrettably true in repeated situations that the seller "trades off" his older home--at a good price--for a "new" one, at the same or even a lower price, in what may be a totally segregated white "exclusive" new neighborhood. Not all of these transactions are deliberate or conscious. Nor does every participant recognize the danger that--with the best motivations--he may be taking part in a new method of carrying out an old demand: namely, that minorities bear the burden of integration even as they have borne the burden of segregation.

It is not only the "sellers." A few Negro families who have been party to these methods--functioning of necessity outside the basic channels of the overall real estate market--have confided to the writer their "finding" that "some of the welcoming white neighbors were--even at their peak of neighborliness--discovered to be planning 'flight' and to be so unself-conscious about their plans as to solicit the aid of the Negro 'newcomer' in finding 'another nice Negro family to move in here and keep you company.' " There is no documentation, at this time, that provides reliable evidence as to the extent to which this experience is a-typical.

Responsibility for community education, technical guidance, interpretation, negotiation and execution of an array of programs designed to alleviate discrimination in housing--to induce "desegregation" and to stimulate "integration" under vastly dissimilar conditions--to say nothing of the obligation to "watchdog" public operations--falls within the province of an assortment of understaffed public and voluntary agencies associated with civil rights. It is no wonder that the findings of a recent study on this subject were reported under the sub-heading: "Jack vs. The Giant: The Professional Manpower Devoted to Improving Intergroup Relations in Housing."

"The manpower resources with which state, municipal and private intergroup-relations agencies presently are struggling to eliminate racial inequities and tensions in housing are very limited. This is evident whether one analyses the resources on a nationwide basis, in any region or local area, or for any individual agency.

"For the nation as a whole, the 233 returned questionnaires indicate only 71 agencies within the definition of the sample which report at least one staff worker spending at least half his time on housing....The total number of staff personnel involved in housing in all these agencies combined is only 119. A few agencies with substantial programs in housing may have been inadvertently omitted from the sample. However, there is considerable evidence, both internal and external to this study, that this comes close to representing the total number of personnel on a half-time-or-more basis, assigned specifically to intergroup relations in housing by all state, municipal, and private social-action agencies in the entire United States....

"In many cities of over 100,000 population, the only agency indicating active housing work was an Urban League affiliate, Municipal Intergroup Commission, or settlement house with a single paid professional worker. These people often combined housing programs with a host of other activities....

"The Background of the Workers

"Intergroup workers now involved in housing have come to the field by a variety of routes, but few come from a building or real estate background. Typically, workers have been trained in social work or sociology. Many were initially hired for work in other areas of group relations, but have been drafted into the housing field because of the sheer apparent urgency of the problem.

* * *

"The lack of specific housing experience is probably inevitable under the circumstances. But there is no question that a better foundation in housing would benefit many workers. Some indicate by their questionnaire responses ignorance of some of the more fundamental technical aspects of real estate transactions and mortgage financing....!"(27)

On the whole, the legislative provisions as well as the administrative machinery directed toward the elimination of housing discrimination are weak, inadequate, and in most instances ineffectual. At best, these instruments provide but little more than a gesture of morality in public policy. At worst, they are misleading and deceptive. Having adopted the individual--case by case--complaint procedure--long since established as obsolete in the employment field--they have failed to tool a single instrument that is strong enough to penetrate the tremendous and powerful structure of the real estate industry, aided and abetted by some members of the legal profession. Indeed, in most instances, there is no evidence that implementation procedures for the fair housing practices laws have penetrated even the operations of the local governments to which they have been attached, as these governments function in relation to housing, relocation, city planning and a variety of services crucially involving the real estate market.

The Executive Order

While it is indeed highly significant that the President's Executive Order signals reversal of the Government's role in the crystallization of racial residential segregation, the cheers are already beginning to drown in a growing din of criticism.

Its coverage only of public and publicly assisted housing immediately limits its meaning in terms of "fair housing practices"--as this may be interpreted to embrace at least part of the private housing supply. As a mandate, it is not retroactive. In the President's own words:

> "With regard to existing housing facilities constructed or purchased as a result of direct loans or grants from the Federal Government, or under Federal Guarantees, or as a result of the urban renewal programs, I have directed the Housing Agency and other appropriate agencies to use their good offices to promote and encourage the abandonment of discriminatory practices that may now exist." (28)

In many other respects, technical deficiencies of the Order have been criticised. Another array of attacks hase been launched against the laggard pace of its implementation, including the absence of an effective committee and staff to supervise enforcement and to review actions and decisions taken under it.

These criticisms were, in effect, the theme of the April 1963 conference of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, bringing together the leadership of the organized proponents of equal housing opportunities.

The validity of some of the critical points was conceded shortly after this conference by the staff director of the United States Civil Rights Commission, according to a newspaper report:

This spokesman was reported to have said he attended some of the conference sessions and agreed with "those very knowledgeable of housing that [a] simple educational process was not sufficient..."

He said the "valid" criticisms included:

"Lack of knowledge where to file complaints; lack of knowledge of the various rules and interpretations under the executive order; and failure to form a committee to speed these processes...."

He continued:

"I think that the very issuance of the order...[was] an act of great courage and of leadership, because I think it sets the power and moral suasion of the President's office behind fair housing.

"I mean, there are all kinds of declarations of goodness and intention....I think that what is really needed is to see that we really begin to have a program of open, fair housing made available to all our people without discrimination.

"And I think there were some deficiencies uncovered at that meeting last week."(29)

Here we may come to the heart of this assessment: there is only a "beginning" to be found in every phase of the crucial processes of coming to grips with the keystone problem of segregation and discrimination in housing: this is the stage in government--Federal and local, executive and administrative, and legislative; in the structure, policies, and programs of the national and local organizations in the social action and civil rights orbit; in the ranks of the professionals as well as the volunteers comprising the cadre of the anti-discrimination forces.

URGENCIES

As the problem itself is involved in a complex, so is the potential of its solution. Once the imperative of that solution is acknowledged in the substance of resources, direction, and action, all systems will signal "Go" despite the long--and too frequently halted--"count down."

Clearly at this point, the nature and extent of progress toward the goal raise provocative questions--for now and for the future:

What are the immediate possibilities for extending the resources for broad-scale, extensive and intensive activity in this field; for strengthening and recasting existing programs or for creating new ones at the required competency levels? Many of the things that are now being done call for change--not because they have made no contribution to progress, as most of them, indeed, have, but because the phase of their usefulness has passed. Some measures may need only to be reinforced, while others need to be completely discarded and replaced.

What new "training grounds" are needed to ensure a flow of soundly-oriented, technically "ready" professionals into the increasing number of staff and consultant openings in this field? Many strategic housing posts are filled at this time by former members of "Race Relations" and related departments in governmental agencies. At the same time, many of those who came along this route have moved on to high-level "non-racial" responsibilities. As anti-discrimination measures increase the demand for the unique combination of social and technical experience required in this field, the skill pool is rapidly dwindling. It follows, that numbers of new workers are sent on "tough" housing assignments with only partially applicable skills and tools, usually developed for other professional fields having different requirements and objectives--such as community organization. Too often, generalists are subject to harsh evaluations for their inability to handle responsibilities demanding a range of theory and technique which they have had no opportunity to learn.

Are there acceptable ways of improving the equipment of members of boards or commissions in command of policy and implementing machinery? Here again, the need for apt experience and skill, as well as good-will, is heightened by the expansion of anti-discrimination measures in the housing field. It may be of special significance that membership of the boards of voluntary organizations frequently is the recruitment base for appointment to comparable posts in public agencies; that here lies opportunity for developing a new kind of "training and testing ground" before the strategic nominations are made. The commissioner who ultimately may direct the processing of a complaint in housing discrimination holds a crucial role in the implementation machinery as it is generally administered.

How are the pressing needs for minority leadership training to be met? Here a distinction is made between the housing professional and the hundreds of lay leaders who are ready to be tapped. These comprise members of the myriad organizations--civic, professional, educational, social, fraternal et al--many of whom are capable of significant leadership activity in relation to housing opportunity. They need training: potential trainers need to be trained: when? how? with what resources?

What channels are to be opened to afford well-motivated lay groups the kind of guidance and assistance which are mandatory if they are not to become disenchanted and discouraged to the point of withdrawal in defeat from their democratic purposes? Fair Housing Committees and other comparable groups need information and help to conduct their programs in accordance with the best available knowledge in this field. Their growth in number is accompanied by multiplying need for such service: how is this to be made available?

What is the depth of inquiry needed to determine the role of minorities in taking full advantage of their "equal opportunities" in housing? What is this to mean for those who question the equality of a process that proscribes the conditions of "integration" on the terms of the dominant group; what is this to mean for those who already have blazed the trails into areas of transition--for those whose premium dollars already have bound them to new areas of minority concentration; for those who are unwilling to subordinate their sense of pride and dignity to the "unreadiness" of their white compatriots? There are many Negroes who regard the "tipping" point with the same contempt they hold for other manifestations of prejudice--and who feel quite competent and willing to undertake the responsibilities of becoming the dominant group in a building, a neighborhood, or a political jurisdiction. Preoccupation with the feelings, attitudes, and fears of white people in relationship to residential living has resulted in a dearth of knowledge about the feelings, attitudes, and fears of Negroes. Their positive role in response to equal housing opportunities is unlikely to be recast in a new mould of old customs. It is, indeed, remarkable that so many are now willing to take the arduous route of the complaint procedure to enter the legally opened doors.

Are there resources for developing dramatic demonstrations to focus attention upon the interrelationship between housing and employment? This is needed to bring greater understanding of the fact that the movement of Negroes into employment opportunities especially in new industrial locations is frequently impeded by housing discrimination.

Is it possible to develop as a resource for all agencies and organizations in the field a "laboratory" for the discrete analysis and testing of the validity of many concepts that undergird the action front in the conquest of civil rights in housing? Many activities, into which emotion, sincerity, and conviction--on the part of individuals as well as organizations--are carried out in relationship to housing require searching scrutiny as to their efficacy and soundness. Many measures are advocated, by layman and expert alike, that fail to reflect the new values continuously being injected into the scene.

And, last--but far from least--is the all-pervasive question--When and how are the critically needed dynamic combinations of action and study in this field to be undertaken? If it is recognized that the old devices--persuasion, education for "tolerance," and the like--have little, if any, possibility for effectiveness in this "new day" of opening opportunity, it follows that those which are to be substituted must be soundly rooted: that blind trial and error is too costly for planning into the fabric. It would seem no sacrifice to lessen the number of descriptive investigations directed toward the kind and type of housing supply available to minorities, for example, or even to "who lives where?" The clearly indicated demand seems to be for study on action, study directed toward action, study accompanied by action, study facilitating action to evolve, experiment with, and evaluate new approaches and methods consonant with the climate and conduct of Fair Housing Practices Laws, products of the long struggle--to make a true democratic reality of Equal Opportunity in Housing.

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President's Executive Order 11063

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

November 24, 1962

EXHIBIT A

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.—Price 10 cents

President's Executive Order 11063
EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

WHEREAS the granting of Federal assistance for the provision, rehabilitation, or operation of housing and related facilities from which Americans are excluded because of their race, color, creed, or national origin is unfair, unjust, and inconsistent with the public policy of the United States as manifested in its Constitution and laws; and

WHEREAS the Congress in the Housing Act of 1949 has declared that the general welfare and security of the Nation and the health and living standards of its people require the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family; and

WHEREAS discriminatory policies and practices based upon race, color, creed, or national origin now operate to deny many Americans the benefits of housing financed through Federal assistance and as a consequence prevent such assistance from providing them with an alternative to substandard, unsafe, unsanitary, and overcrowded housing; and

WHEREAS such discriminatory policies and practices result in segregated patterns of housing and necessarily produce other forms of discrimination and segregation which deprive many Americans of equal opportunity in the exercise of their unalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and

WHEREAS the executive branch of the Government, in faithfully executing the laws of the United States which authorize Federal financial assistance, directly or indirectly, for the provision, rehabilitation, and operation of housing and related facilities, is charged with an obligation and duty to assure that those laws are fairly administered and that benefits thereunder are made available to all Americans without regard to their race, color, creed, or national origin;

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States by the Constitution and laws of the United States, it is ordered as follows:

PART I—*PREVENTION OF DISCRIMINATION*

SECTION 101. I hereby direct all departments and agencies in the executive branch of the Federal Government, insofar as their functions relate to the provision, rehabilitation, or operation of housing and related facilities, to take all action necessary and appropriate to prevent discrimination because of race, color, creed, or national origin—

(a) in the sale, leasing, rental, or other disposition of residential property and related facilities (including land to be developed for residential use), or in the use or occupancy thereof, if such property and related facilities are—

(i) owned or operated by the Federal Government, or

(ii) provided in whole or in part with the aid of loans, advances, grants, or contributions hereafter agreed to be made by the Federal Government, or

(iii) provided in whole or in part by loans hereafter insured, guaranteed, or otherwise secured by the credit of the Federal Government, or

(iv) provided by the development or the redevelopment of real property purchased, leased, or otherwise obtained from a State or local public agency receiving Federal financial assistance for slum clearance or urban renewal with respect to such real property under a loan or grant contract hereafter entered into; and

(b) in the lending practices with respect to residential property and related facilities (including land to be developed for residential use) of lending institutions, insofar as such practices relate to loans hereafter insured or guaranteed by the Federal Government.

SEC. 102. I hereby direct the Housing and Home Finance Agency and all other executive departments and agencies to use their good offices and to take other appropriate action permitted by law, including the institution of appropriate litigation, if required, to promote the abandonment of discriminatory practices with respect to residential property and related facilities heretofore provided with Federal financial assistance of the types referred to in Section 101 (a) (ii),(iii), and (iv).

PART II—*IMPLEMENTATION BY DEPARTMENTS AND AGENCIES*

SEC. 201. Each executive department and agency subject to this order is directed to submit to the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing established pursuant to Part IV of this order (hereinafter sometimes referred to as the Committee), within thirty days from the date of this order, a report outlining all current programs administered by it which are affected by this order.

SEC. 202. Each such department and agency shall be primarily responsible for obtaining compliance with the purposes of this order as the order applies to programs administered by it; and is directed to cooperate with the Committee, to furnish it, in accordance with law, such information and assistance as it may request in the performance of its functions, and to report to it at such intervals as the Committee may require.

SEC. 203. Each such department and agency shall, within thirty days from the date of this order, issue such rules and regulations, adopt such procedures and policies, and make such exemptions and exceptions as may be consistent with law and necessary or appropriate to effectuate the purposes of this order. Each such department and agency shall consult with the Committee in order to achieve such consistency and uniformity as may be feasible.

PART III–*ENFORCEMENT*

SEC. 301. The Committee, any subcommittee thereof, and any officer or employee designated by any executive department or agency subject to this order may hold such hearings, public or private, as the Committee, department, or agency may deem advisable for compliance, enforcement, or educational purposes.

SEC. 302. If any executive department or agency subject to this order concludes that any person or firm (including but not limited to any individual, partnership, association, trust, or corporation) or any State or local public agency has violated any rule, regulation, or procedure issued or adopted pursuant to this order, or any nondiscrimination provision included in any agreement or contract pursuant to any such rule, regulation, or procedure, it shall endeavor to end and remedy such violation by informal means, including conference, conciliation, and persuasion unless similar efforts made by another Federal department or agency have been unsuccessful. In conformity with rules, regulations, procedures, or policies issued or adopted by it pursuant to Section 203 hereof, a department or agency may take such action as may be appropriate under its governing laws, including, but not limited to, the following:

It may–

(a) cancel or terminate in whole or in part any agreement or contract with such person, firm, or State or local public agency providing for a loan, grant, contribution, or other Federal aid, or for the payment of a commission or fee;

(b) refrain from extending any further aid under any program administered by it and affected by this order until it is satisfied that the affected person, firm, or State or local public agency will comply with the rules, regulations, and procedures issued or adopted pursuant to this order, and any nondiscrimination provisions included in any agreement or contract;

(c) refuse to approve a lending institution or any other lender as a beneficiary under any program administered by it which is affected by this order or revoke such approval if previously given.

SEC. 303. In appropriate cases executive departments and agencies shall refer to the Attorney General violations of any rules, regulations, or procedures issued or adopted pursuant to this order, or violations of any nondiscrimination provisions included in any agreement or contract, for such civil or criminal action as he may deem appropriate. The Attorney General is authorized to furnish legal advice concerning this order to the Committee and to any department or agency requesting such advice.

SEC. 304. Any executive department or agency affected by this order may also invoke the sanctions provided in Section 302 where any person or firm, including a lender, has violated the rules, regulations, or procedures issued or adopted pursuant to this order, or the nondiscrimination provisions included in any agreement or contract, with respect to any program affected by this order administered by any other executive department or agency.

PART IV—*ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING*

SEC. 401. There is hereby established the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing which shall be composed of the Secretary of the Treasury; the Secretary of Defense; the Attorney General; the Secretary of Agriculture; the Housing and Home Finance Administrator; the Administrator of Veterans Affairs; the Chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board; a member of the staff of the Executive Office of the President to be assigned to the Committee by direction of the President, and such other members as the President shall from time to time appoint from the public. The member assigned by the President from the staff of the Executive Office shall serve as the Chairman and Executive Director of the Committee. Each department or agency head may designate an alternate to represent him in his absence.

SEC. 402. Each department or agency subject to this order shall, to the extent authorized by law (including § 214 of the Act of May 3, 1945, 59 Stat. 134 (31 U.S.C. 691)), furnish assistance to and defray the necessary expenses of the Committee.

PART V—*POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING*

SEC. 501. The Committee shall meet upon the call of the Chairman and at such other times as may be provided by its rules. It shall: (a) adopt rules to govern its deliberations and activities; (b) recommend general policies and procedures to implement this order; (c) consider reports as to progress under this order; (d) consider any matters which may be presented to it by any of its members; and (e) make such reports to the President as he may require or the Committee shall deem appropriate. A report to the President shall be made at least once annually and shall include references to the actions taken and results achieved by departments and agencies subject to this order. The Committee may provide for the establishment of subcommittees whose members shall be appointed by the Chairman.

SEC. 502. (a) The Committee shall take such steps as it deems necessary and appropriate to promote the coordination of the activities of departments and agencies under this order. In so doing, the Committee shall consider the overall objectives of Federal legislation relating to housing and the right of every individual to participate without discrimination because of race, color, creed, or national origin in the ultimate benefits of the Federal programs subject to this order.

(b) The Committee may confer with representatives of any department or agency, State or local public agency, civic, industry, or labor group, or any other group directly or indirectly affected by this order; examine the relevant rules, regulations, procedures, policies, and practices of any department or agency subject to this order and make such recommendations as may be necessary or desirable to achieve the purposes of this order.

(c) The Committee shall encourage educational programs by civic, educational, religious, industry, labor, and other nongovernmental groups to eliminate the basic causes of discrimination in housing and related facilities provided with Federal assistance.

SEC. 503. The Committee shall have an executive committee consisting of the Committee's Chairman and two other members designated by him from among the public members. The Chairman of the Committee shall also serve as Chairman of the Executive Committee. Between meetings of the Committee, the Executive Committee shall be primarily responsible for carrying out the functions of the Committee and may act for the Committee to the extent authorized by it.

PART VI—*MISCELLANEOUS*

SEC. 601. As used in this order, the term "departments and agencies" includes any wholly-owned or mixed-ownership Government corporation, and the term "State" includes the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and the territories of the United States.

SEC. 602. This order shall become effective immediately.

JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY

THE WHITE HOUSE,
November 20, 1962.

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1962 OF—669386

NEWS. HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

HHFA-OA-No. 63-185
(Phone DU 2-4433)

For Release
Saturday
July 6, 1963

A new policy expected to result in increased construction of middle-income housing in urban renewal areas was announced today by Housing Administrator Robert C. Weaver. Under this policy local public agencies (LPAs) are authorized to use urban renewal funds to determine the feasibility and cost of such housing. This will assure early FHA consideration of the housing for mortgage insurance.

Involving programs administered by the Urban Renewal and Federal Housing Administrations, the new policy is designed to accelerate the provision of moderate-income housing in urban renewal areas, primarily by stimulating the interest and financial support of nonprofit institutions. This new policy applies to all kinds of moderate-income housing, but especially relates to multifamily rental and cooperative housing financed under provisions of FHA's Section 221(d)(3) mortgage insurance program, for occupancy by low- and moderate-income families and families displaced by urban renewal and other government activities.

"Our decision to pay for preparation of these illustrative plans will provide the LPA an unparalleled opportunity to plan constructively for middle-income housing," Dr. Weaver affirmed. The LPA can have, in effect, a package that can be used to interest sponsors heretofore unable or unwilling to undertake development because of preliminary costs."

Such sponsorship could include limited dividend corporations, churches, labor unions, fraternal organizations and other well-established, financially sound institutions having a legitimate interest in providing community housing, he observed. The financial burden of undertaking housing feasibility studies and the lack of technical knowledge have long deterred the interest and support of these groups, Dr. Weaver added.

Terming the system "a new tool in relocation and residential urban renewal housing," URA Commissioner William L. Slayton and FHA Commissioner Philip N. Brownstein pledged the full support of their organizations in

EXHIBIT B

cooperation with local planners across the nation.

Both agreed on the "obvious need for a program to provide housing for low- and middle-income families . . .a need accelerated by the growth of urban renewal activities, highway programs, and other governmental actions resulting in the rehousing of large numbers of people."

In a letter released May 24, 1963, to LPA's across the country, Commissioner Slayton emphasized that "the feasibility of providing housing for occupancy by families of moderate income is a primary and essential consideration in planning such housing in urban renewal areas. The probable cost of the housing," he stated, "is especially critical in view of the limited rentals that will be available to meet the debt service and operating costs."

Illustrative plans eligible as project costs under Title I of the Housing Act of 1949, as amended, include preparation of the following:

1. Site plans indicating appropriate location and orientation of buildings and related structures;

2. Sketch plans of principal or typical building elevations and typical dwelling unit floor plans;

3. Narrative descriptions of type of construction, type, number and distribution of dwelling units;

4. Sketch plans to illustrate any design objectives; and

5. General estimates of the probable range of costs to provide the type of housing contemplated.

Factors affecting the feasibility of providing the housing under Section 221(d)(3) of the National Housing Act include: maximum family income limits for admission to occupancy and FHA mortgage insurance limits applicable in the locality; costs and related factors generally applicable to residential construction in the locality; and suitability of the proposed site for moderate-income housing.

Further information on requirements under the new policy can be obtained from regional offices of the Housing and Home Finance Agency in New York City, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Chicago, Fort Worth, San Francisco, and Santurce, Puerto Rico.

##

Statement by William L. Slayton
Commissioner, Urban Renewal Administration
Housing and Home Finance Agency
on
Revised Regulations Regarding Equal Opportunity
in
Housing in Urban Renewal Programs

The urban renewal program is a major national effort to replace slums and blighted areas with attractive working and living environments. It is also an effort to rehouse American families in sound dwellings and socially healthy neighborhoods. Thus it has as its objective not only the physical renaissance of the city, but also the dignity and well-being of the city's people.

Basic to this objective is the achievement of free access to housing for all families regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin.

The President in his Executive Order on Equal Opportunity in Housing has clearly stated this commitment: "The granting of Federal assistance for the provision, rehabilitation, or operation of housing and related facilities from which Americans are excluded because of their race, color, creed, or national origin is unfair, unjust, and inconsistent with the public policy of the United States as manifested in its Constitution and laws."

In order to hasten progress toward this goal, it is necessary to look beyond the scope of isolated urban renewal projects. A comprehensive program that examines the needs and requirements of the entire community is essential. The Community Renewal Program of the Urban Renewal Administration offers the means for such an examination. It is a citywide action program for renewal and related activities.

Today we are revising our regulations with respect to grants for Community Renewal Programs to make equal opportunity in housing a central factor in the development of communities engaged in such programs. In addition, we are asking cities which have CRP's underway to include this basic objective in their existing programs. Specifically, we are requiring that CRP's include: (1) an analysis of the existing pattern of housing occupied by Negroes and other minorities and the extent to which this pattern is a result of discrimination; (2) projection of the housing needs of Negro and other minority families displaced by urban renewal and other public action or newly moving into the community; (3) development of an affirmative program to increase the quantity, improve the quality, and eliminate barriers to housing for Negro and other minority families.

As part of its concern for the relocation of families displaced by urban renewal, the Urban Renewal Administration also has a responsibility for seeing that these families are assisted in finding housing accommodations that are free from racial or other such restrictions.

Consequently as of today we are revising our relocation regulations to prohibit the listing of housing accommodations that are not available to all families regardless of race, color, creed, or national origin. Thus the local renewal agency in listing housing available to families being displaced because of urban renewal may not include units that are denied minority families.

Through these measures, the Urban Renewal Administration hopes to increase its effectiveness in advancing equal opportunity in housing. The Urban Renewal Administration is also continuing the examination of its rules and regulations to identify additional means of contributing to this vital national objective.

-0-

June 20, 1963

C
O
P
Y

March 8, 1963

MEMORANDUM FOR The Secretary of the Army
The Secretary of the Navy
The Secretary of the Air Force

SUBJECT: Nondiscrimination in Family Housing

Effective immediately, all leases for family housing which are executed on behalf of the United States pursuant to the authority contained in Section 515, Public Law 161-84, as amended, shall contain the following clause: It is understood and agreed that the Government will assign the desired premises to military personnel in accordance with Executive Order No. 11063, dated November 20, 1962, which provides that housing and related facilities shall be available without discrimination among tenants because of race, color, creed, or national origin.

In addition, effective immediately, listings maintained by base housing offices of available private housing shall include only those units which are available without regard to race, color, creed, or national origin.

Addressees shall insure implementation of these directives and provide copies to my office.

s/ROBERT S. McNAMARA

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EXHIBIT C

Published bimonthly by the

National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing

426 WEST 58 STREET, NEW YORK 19, N. Y. • JUdson 6-3460

VOL. VI, NO. 6 NOVEMBER-DECEMBER 1962 $2 A YEAR

TRENDS IN HOUSING

Gov. Lawrence to Head President's Committee

First Complaints Filed Under Order

David L. Lawrence, former Governor of Pennsylvania, is slated to join the White House staff as full-time chairman-executive director of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing, according to reports carried by the press on Jan. 1, 1963. Mr. Lawrence was Mayor of Pittsburgh when in 1958 that city enacted the nation's second law barring discrimination in private housing, and it was during his term as Governor that Pennsylvania adopted similar legislation in 1961.

Under the provisions of the Executive Order on housing, the President's committee is charged with the responsibility of coordinating the activities of the various Federal agencies covered by the Order; with examining their rules and regulations and making such recommendations as it deems desirable; and with reporting to the President on the results achieved. It is also directed to encourage educational programs by private organizations (*Trends,* Sept.-Oct., 1962).

This "watchdog" committee is composed of certain Cabinet officers and public members. The latter had not been announced when *Trends* went to press. Basic responsibility for the committee's work will reside in an executive committee composed of the chairman-director and two public members.

First Complaints

The first two complaints under the President's Order were filed with the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) in Washington. On Dec. 13, Roland E. Barnes, an elementary school principal, charged that Abraham S. Sind and Israel Cohen, developers in Montgomery County, Md., had refused to sell him a home because of his race. Four days later, Karl D. Gregory, an economist with the Bureau of the Budget, submitted a similar complaint against the Belair (Md.) development of Levitt & Sons, Inc. Both complainants are Negroes.

Developers in each instance contend the complaints are invalid. Sind and Cohen told the press they use conven-

(*Continued on page 7*)

EXHIBIT D

Lawrence to Head

(*Continued from page* 1)

tional mortgage resources and have offered FHA-insured financing only to one or two buyers who wanted it. A spokesman for Levitt said the firm's FHA commitments were taken out before the Order became effective on Nov. 20.

A representative of FHA reported that the agency "will move as rapidly as possible" in handling the cases. If direct prohibitions of the Order should not be applicable, FHA is empowered to use its "good offices" in an effort to persuade the developers to end any discriminatory practices which may exist.

(The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing has recommended that all minority-group homeseekers and those groups working to establish open occupancy proceed on the assumption that all new subdivisions, or those which are now under construction, are FHA or VA and that they may be affected — in one way or another — by the housing Order.)

Affirmative Reports

Some reports of voluntary compliance are already coming in. Of special interest is a Dec. 21 press story, which indicates Southern communities are going along with the President's Order in their public housing plans. From Atlanta, A. R. Hanson, regional director of the Public Housing Administration, stated that about one-third of the 103 communities in the Southeastern area have agreed to new contracts with the no-discrimination clause. Thus far, he reported, none has refused to sign the new contracts.

James H. Scheuer, president of Renewal and Development Corporation of New York, immediately announced that he would not only comply with the Order in future developments, but that he was voluntarily extending its provisions to those under construction and already completed. Mr. Scheuer now has nine large projects in various stages of development scattered over the country. His award-winning Capitol Park Apartments in Washington set a new pattern of open occupancy in that city's huge Southwest Redevelopment area (*Trends*, Sept.-Oct., 1961).

And in Illinois, two affirmative actions have been taken as a result of the Order, although neither was specifically required by its provisions. In late November, the Peoria Housing Authority unanimously voted an open occupancy policy for all of its public housing projects, stating that it "took note of the President's Order." Also, the Decatur Housing Authority acted to end segregation in that city's public housing in December.

Lawrence to Head

(*Continued from page* 7)

been exaggerated, as have most fears encountered in the desegregation issue," editorialized the *Miami News*.

The *Louisville Courier-Journal* stated that "as a matter of principle the government should not tolerate racial discrimination in federally-aided housing."

"The President's executive order was proper because constitutionally we are one country, indivisible, under God, with liberty and justice for all," wrote the *Atlanta Constitution's* Ralph McGill. "The dollar sign cannot afford to take a stand opposing human rights. A good many people may not like it, but on the face of things it is neither legal, nor moral, to use public money for the benefit of a selected group."

The *Tulsa Tribune* commented: "It seems more than a little out of line to require a man to contribute money to the building of an apartment that he couldn't get into because of his race."

Other Voices

The Jackson press reported that Mississippi's Governor Ross Barnett is considering asking the Legislature to repeal the state's urban renewal law to avoid any possibility of the Order being applied. And an organization called "Invest Local Movement" is distributing pledges which read:

"I pledge that I will cash in at least one government bond and not buy any more government bonds until the Kennedy anti-discrimination order on housing is rescinded."

Mississippian Joseph J. Schmelzer, Jr., told the press similar protest movements have been or will be organized in Little Rock, Dallas and Atlanta.

In Birmingham, Ala., State Representative-elect George Lewis, Jr., announced he would offer legislation to establish a state housing administration in order to protect the home building industry from "further oppressive control."

Washington Area

Meanwhile, on Jan. 10 more than 200 industry and community leaders attended a conference held by the Advisory Committee on Housing in Greater Washington, an ad hoc group composed of members of the Virginia, Maryland and District of Columbia Advisory Committees to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission.

The Order and plans for implementation were explained by spokesmen from the various Federal agencies, the White House and the Civil Rights Commission. Industry persons participating included developers, builders, brokers and salesmen and bankers.

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

MANPOWER

16 July 1963

Dear Corienne:

Despite the best efforts of our mutual friends over the years I continue to denominate racial discrimination in off-post housing as the greatest single impediment to the smooth functioning of racial integration in the Armed Forces.

No comprehensive solution is in sight because of factors better known to you than to me. Daily we are confronted with morale problems in schooling, transportation, recreation and elsewhere which derive directly from segregated off-post housing. The best over-all solution seems to be to wait until the serviceman acquires sufficient rank and seniority to qualify for on-post housing. This is totally integrated but usually there is a long wait and of course no preference can be shown to minority groups most directly confronted with the off-post situation.

The enclosures portray a general situation and a particularized situation, both reflecting adversely as regards off-post housing. Incidentally the posting of discriminatory announcements on military bulletin boards is now forbidden.

We hope that all goes well and we will be interested in learning more of your findings. Regards.

Sincerely yours,

James C Evans

Enclosures

JAMES C. EVANS
Counsellor

Mrs. Corienne R. Morrow
Office of Housing and Urban Problems
Research and Action Associates
329 East 47th Street at U.N. Plaza
New York 17, N. Y.

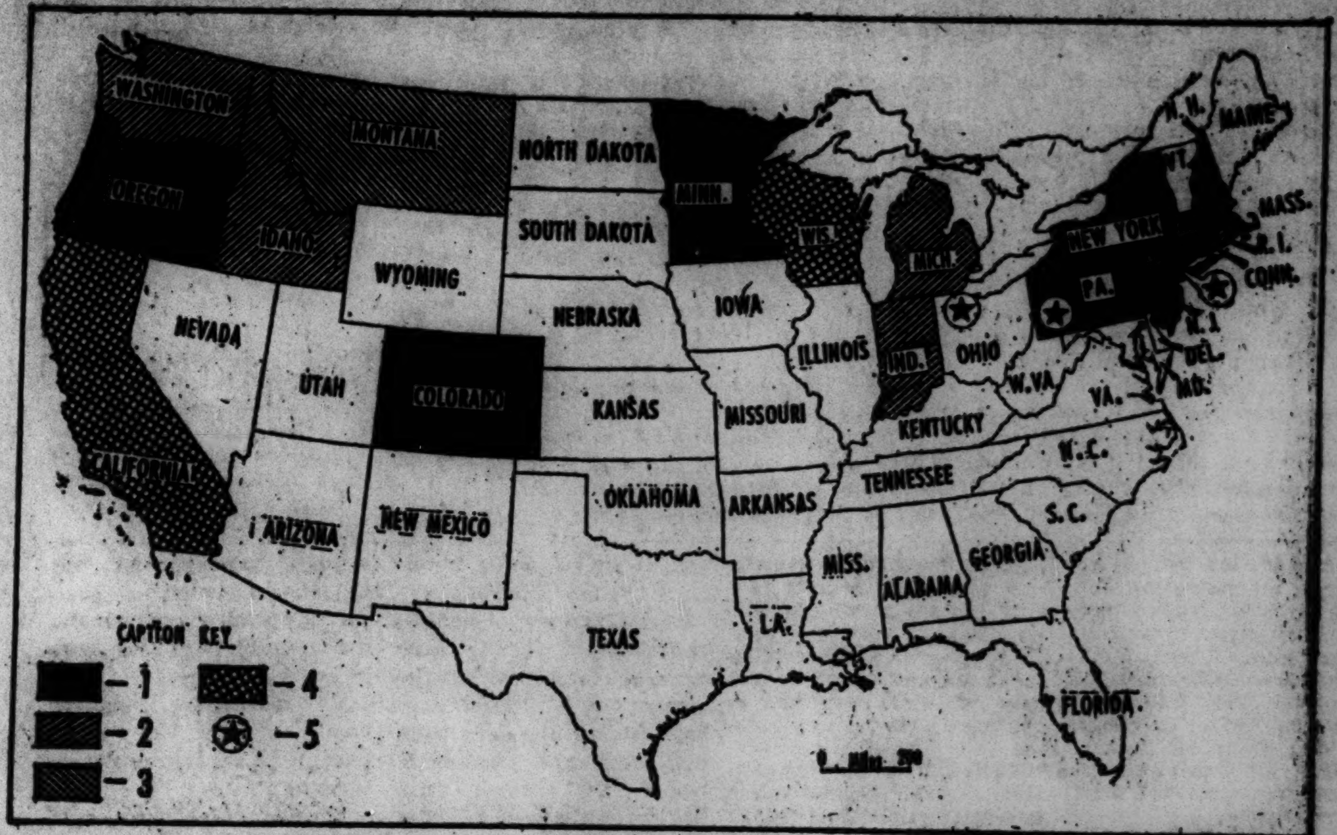
EXHIBIT E

Reprinted from the Washington Post Sunday, October 21, 1962

Fair Housing Laws Bring No Revolution

By Jean White

Staff Reporter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GEORGIA
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TEXAS
FLORIDA
CAPTION KEY
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The Washington Post

The map shows (1) states with statutes prohibiting discrimination in public housing, publicly assisted housing, publicly assisted urban renewal or private housing accommodations; (2) states with statutes covering public housing; (3) states with statutes covering publicly assisted housing or urban renewal; (4) states with statutes covering both public housing and publicly assisted housing and urban renewal; (5) cities with local ordinances prohibiting discrimination in private housing. They are New York, Pittsburgh and Toledo.

ON JULY 29, 1957, when the first fair housing law was being considered in New York City, the real estate boards of New York ran newspaper advertisements warning, in part:

"This proposed law, we genuinely believe, will do more harm to racial relationships than anything else conceivably could.

"The proposed law would cause more families to leave the city. It would depress real estate values. It would affect the basis of the city's taxation and its credit. It would undo much of the success that we have had in amicable living."

These predictions have failed to materialize. New York City did take the lead later in 1957 and passed the first antidiscrimination ordinance to enter the private (nonpublicly assisted) housing market. Strengthened last year, New York City's fair housing statutes now cover 95 per cent of the housing market in the city.

One of Three Cities

WHAT HAS HAPPENED under these laws? Here is how Stanley H. Lowell, citizen chairman of the New York City Commission on Human Relations, sums it up:

"Our experience in New York has been that none of the fears has come true—drop in property values, flight to the suburbs by whites, inundation of neighborhoods by Negroes. There has been none of this. All this legislation seeks is to give equality of opportunity in choosing a place to live."

New York City is one of three cities—Pittsburgh and Toledo are the other two—that have enacted antidiscrimination housing legislation similar to that proposed for Washington. Toledo, however, has to await a court test before its regulation goes into effect.

In the three cities, the same arguments and fears being heard here came up in discussions. Leaders in New York and Pittsburgh now can speak from experience. Here are some of their observations:

- An open-occupancy law does not work miracles; neither does it bring disasters.

In both cities, there have been no wholesale changes in living patterns. But a law does provide an opportunity

EXHIBIT F

to start breaking down long-entrenched practices of segregation.

- There is no "inundation" of neighborhoods by Negroes.

Quite the contrary, Negroes crowd into neighborhoods when they have no other choice and are funneled into small areas. In the open market, they have the same wide choice as anyone else. And in the end, Negroes must have the economic price of admission to move into middle or upper-middle income neighborhoods.

- There is no general decline in property values.

In Pittsburgh four years ago, a Negro family moved into a previously all-white block. Since then, several houses in the block have been sold—to white families—without any drop in property value.

"If white home-owners panic," observes a former staff member of the Pittsburgh Commission on Human Relations, "they create their own problem. This is the old cycle of the 'self-fulfilling prophecy.' If people act in the belief that values will fall, they will force them to fall. Panic selling puts an oversupply of housing on the market. If whites don't abandon the neighborhood, property values don't decline."

More often than not, it is pointed out, Negroes are permitted to enter only older neighborhoods already deteriorating and on the downgrade in property values. This is used in "evidence" to keep the myth of declining values alive.

- Fair housing laws do not accelerate a white exodus to the suburbs.

The movement to the suburbs in the past decade involves many more factors than race, and both Pittsburgh and New York have found antidiscrimination housing laws have had no influence here.

Both cities enacted ordinances before laws were passed by the states to cover surrounding areas. New York City's broad law now covers 95 per cent of the housing market, while less than 25 per cent is covered by the state's statute in the suburbs.

- An open-occupancy law can be effectively administered.

There has been no flood of complaints. In Pittsburgh, three or four complaints are filed a month. In four years of operation in New York City, the Commission on Human Relations has handled about 1400 charges of discriminatory practices in housing.

In both cities, the majority of complaints have been settled by investigators who combine fact-finding and conciliation. Discrimination can be documented: if an owner pleads he did not rent to a Negro because the apartment already was leased, he should be able to produce the dated lease.

- The effect of a fair housing ordinance goes far beyond the number of complaints filed.

Law helps to establish a climate. In Pittsburgh, 115 Negro families moved quietly into so-called homogenized neighborhoods without need for complaints.

- The possibility of a public hearing can be a big deterrent to discrimination.

Most people just don't want to hang out their prejudices in public. Pittsburgh has had to go as far as the public hearing stage in only three complaints. Toledo's law carries no provisions for fines or court enforcement and depends on public exposure as the main deterrent.

In New York City, however, anonymity extends even to discrimination. There, Madison Jones, executive director of the New York City Commission on Human Relations, feels that the public hearing has little effect and a means for court enforcement must be provided.

- The best way to administer a fair-housing law is through an appointed citizens' commission with a professional staff.

In Pittsburgh, such well-known community leaders as Mrs. Jonas E. Salk, chairman, and Branch Rickey serve on the 15-member Commission on Human Relations.

When outstanding citizens sit on a panel, they give authority and dignity to the proceedings.

- To be effective, a fair housing law must cover operations of real estate brokers and salesmen and lending institutions.

A Negro cannot buy a home if a real estate salesman refuses to show him a house or a financial institution refuses to give him a loan because he wants to move into a white neighborhood,

ACTUALLY, a substantial part of the Nation's population now lives in areas covered by fair housing legislation. In addition to the three cities with regulations, nine states and the Virgin Islands have statutes covering, in varying degress, private housing.

Eight others have regulations covering discrimination in either public housing or publicly-assisted housing, or both. In California, state civil rights laws have been interpreted to include operations of real estate brokers and salesmen.

New York City has the broadest coverage in open-occupancy legislation. It is the only regulation that applies to the sale and rental of a single-family home occupied by the owner. (The law, however, exempts an apartment or room rented in an owner-occupied house, probably on the basis of the "togetherness" involved.)

OMISSION of the owner-occupied home can leave a major part of the housing market uncovered by a non-discrimination requirement.

Pittsburgh feels that it handles this problem by covering all real estate salesmen and brokers in any deals involving single-family homes.

The Pittsburgh anti-bias regulation limits primary coverage to owners of five housing units. These don't have to be in the same building, and vacant lots are included in the count. Thus, the owner of a rented duplex, a vacant lot or a house with two roomers is covered.

Negroes make up nearly 17 per cent of Pittsburgh's central city population of 60,000. As in the Washington metropolitan area, the percentage of Negroes falls sharply in the suburbs around Pittsburgh.

The anti-discrimination housing ordinance in Pittsburgh, Mrs. Salk points out, aims at changing discriminatory patterns through conciliation and negotiation and is not primarily punitive.

THE SAME procedure of fact-finding and negotiation is the keystone of the New York City legislation. If investigators cannot work out a settlement on the spot in early talks, then a private hearing before a subcommittee is held. Finally, there is a public hearing before the full citizens commission. Then the commission can ask the city attorney to go into court to ask enforcement.

A recalcitrant violator faces contempt-of-court charges if he refuses to cooperate.

"People never come right out and say why they aren't renting to a Negro," Executive Director Jones notes, "But you can get at the truth if you have the right to subpoena records."

In both Pittsbu[illegible] and New York, leaders emphasize that fair housing laws guarantee only freedom of choice in housing.

"The law is not designed to promote integration," emphasizes Mrs. Salk. "It is designed to assure equal opportunity in choosing housing. A Negro cannot be refused an apartment or house on the basis of color alone. The law does not say that a person has to rent or sell to a Negro. If a person wants neighbors all wearing mink coats or driving pink Cadillacs, that is another thing."

APPENDIX

AN ASSESSMENT OF
HOUSING AS A CIVIL RIGHT

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX

Although there is no effort in this writing to present a comprehensive analysis of the many socio-economic factors intertwined throughout the subject problem, i.e. discrimination in housing, it seems desirable to review some of the salient statistical material.

A. The "Nonwhite" Population of the United States

1. Throughout this century, the population in this country designated as "nonwhites" has constituted from 10 to 12 per cent of the total. (TABLE I). In appraising these figures, it is necessary to take into consideration the facts that----

    ----census definitions of these "nonwhites" have been shifted on occasion.

    Examples: "Persons of Mexican birth or ancestry who are not definitely Indian or of other nonwhite stock have been classified as white in all censuses except that of 1930." (1)

    "In 1910 a special effort was made to secure a complete enumeration of persons with any perceptible amount of Indian ancestry. This probably resulted in the enumeration as Indian [nonwhite] of a considerable number of persons who would have been reported as white in earlier censuses. There were no special efforts in 1920, and the returns showed a much smaller number of Indians than in 1910. Again in 1930 emphasis was placed on securing a complete count of Indians, with the results that the returns probably overstated the decennial increase in the number of Indians." (2)

. . . .

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1. U. S. Department of Commerce, Historical Statistics of the United States, 1960, p. 2.
2. ibid., p. 3.

---the classification procedure has no precise base.

> "...the 1960 census was the first in which most respondents had an opportunity to classify themselves...in previous censuses the racial [and color] classification was made for the most part by the enumerator on the basis of observation." (3)

---in common parlance, there are persistent confusions as to "who is nonwhite."

Example: In 1960 there were reported to be 612,574 persons of Puerto Rican birth or ancestry. Approximately 24 of every 25 of this group (587,703--95.9%) were classified as "white": and just the remaining one of every 25 (24,851--4.1%) was "nonwhite." Reference to this fact in most circles--professional or lay--usually elicits some question of its accuracy. (4)

---the current definition of nonwhites includes "Negroes, American Indians, Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, Koreans, Hawaiians, Asian Indians, Malayans, Eskimos, Aleuts, etc." (5)

It must be noted, then, that the references in this writing to discrimination against nonwhites in the housing market refers not only to the 20,491,443 residents of the fifty states and the District of Columbia who are thus classified within the census figures, but--in actual practice--they "pick up" others, technically designated as "white" who are regarded and treated as "nonwhite" in the practices of the market.

2. In the years since 1940, nonwhites in the U.S. have exhibitted a population growth rate exceeding that of the white population.

. . . .

3. U.S. Census of Population 1960, U.S. Summary PC(1) IB, p. xi.
4. Source: NYC Department of City Planning
5. U.S. Census of Population 1960, U.S. Summary PC(1) ID, p. xiii.

Table 1

Population By Color For The United

(Number of persons in

Year	Total	White	Nonwhite	
			Number	Perc of t
48 States				
1900	75,995	66,809	9,185	1
1910	91,972	81,732	10,240	1
1920	105,711	94,821	10,890	1
1930	122,775	110,287	12,488	1
1940	131,669	118,215	13,454	1
1950	150,697	134,942	15,755	1
1960	178,464	158,455	20,009	1
50 States				
1950	151,326	135,150	16,176	1
1960	179,323	158,832	20,491	1

Source: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Censu ble 1

United States: 1900 To 1960

sons in thousands)

hite	Percent increase during decade		Percent increase over 1900	
Percent of total	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
12	xx	xx	xx	xx
11	22	11	22	11
10	16	6	42	19
10	16	15	65	36
10	7	8	77	46
10	14	17	102	72
11	17	27	137	118
11	11	17	102	73
11	18	27	138	119

Census, Census of Population 1960

Prepared by
Statistical Reports Staff
Office of Program Policy
HHFA - OA
November 1962

TABLE II

DECADE	White		Nonwhite	
	Number (000)	Per cent gain	Number (000)	Per cent gain
1940-1950	16,727	14.1%	2,301	17.1%
1950-1960	23,682	17.5%	4,315	26.7%

Source: OUR NONWHITE POPULATION AND ITS HOUSING, 1950 and 1960, p. 1

3. "At the turn of the century, 87% of the nonwhite population was concentrated in the South and most of these were on farms....The 1960 Census found only 56 per cent of the total nonwhite population in the South and an increasing proportion in other regions." (See Appendix Exhibit A.)

TABLE III

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF NONWHITES IN THE U. S. 1900: 1960 - by percentages

	1900	1960
Total nonwhites	100%	100%
Northeast	5	15
North Central	6	18
South	87	56
West	2	11

Based on OUR NONWHITE POPULATION AND ITS HOUSING, HHFA April 1963, pp. 2 and 3

4. Nonwhites, during this period (1900-1960) left not only the South, they left the rural places, with the net result that by 1960, 18 of every 25 were urban dwellers.

TABLE IV

RESIDENCE OF NONWHITES IN THE U.S.: 1960

	Number	% of total
Total nonwhites	20 491 443	100
a. Total urban	14 840 418	72.4
Central cities.............	10 347 900	50.5
Urban fringe...............	1 730 652	8.4
Other urban:		
Places of 10,000+..........	1 611 625	7.9
" " 2,500-10,000...	1 150 241	5.6
b. Rural	5 651 025	27.6

Source: U.S. Census of Population, U.S. Summary PC (1) IB, Table 44

B. The Negro Population of the United States

1. In 1960, slightly more than nine of every ten (92%) of the above "nonwhites" were classified as Negro. According to the U.S. Census Bureau at that time: "In addition to persons of Negro and of Mixed Negro and white descent, this classification includes persons of mixed Indian and Negro descent, unless the Indian ancestry very definitely predominates or unless the individual is regarded as an Indian in the community." (6)

2. "Looked at regionally, the figures show that except in the West where the Chinese and Japanese are found in heavier concentrations, more than 95% of the nonwhites are Negroes."

TABLE V

NEGROES AS A PERCENT OF THE NONWHITE POPULATION--[by regions]

	United States	North East	North Central	South	West
Total nonwhite	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Negro	92	96	95	98	49
Other races	8	4	5	2	51

Source: OUR NONWHITE POPULATION AND ITS HOUSING, p. 2

3. The 18 871 831 persons designated as "Negro" by the 1960 census represented slightly more than ten per cent (10.5 to be exact) of the country's total population.

"One-Tenth of a Nation"

"Actually, the designation of the Negro population of this country as 'the one-tenth' is a reference-pattern of the twentieth century only. Prior to 1900 the proportion of the country's population counted as 'Negro' was higher than ten per cent. (See Appendix Exhibit B.) The count has hovered around this ten per cent for the past 60 years..."

. . . .

6. Standard definition: U.S. Census of Population, 1960.

TABLE VI

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES: TOTAL: NEGRO -- 1790-1960

Year	Total pop.	Negro pop.
1790	3 929 214	757 208
1800	5 308 483	1 002 037
1810	7 239 881	1 377 808
1820	9 638 453	1 771 656
1830	12 866 020	2 328 642
1840	17 069 453	2 873 648
1850	23 191 876	3 638 808
1860	31 443 321	4 441 830
1870	39 818 449	4 880 009
1880	50 155 783	6 580 793
1890	62 947 714	7 488 676
1900	75 994 575	8 883 994
1910	91 972 266	9 827 763
1920	105 710 620	10 463 131
1930	122 775 046	11 891 143
1940	131 669 275	12 865 518
1950*	151 325 798	15 044 937
1960*	179 323 175	18 871 831

*includes Alaska and Hawaii

Source: Statistical Abstract of the U. S., 1962, pp. 5 and 24
(See Appendix Exhibit C.)

4. "It is common knowledge that a high proportion of the Negro population of the United States throughout the years has been located in southern parts of the country. At the turn of the century--in 1900--'85 of each 100 American Negroes lived in the southern states'....By 1940, the proportion had been decreased by 13: 72 of every 100 lived in these same (southern) states." (7) By 1960, the proportion had decreased still further: 60 of every 100 lived in the country's southern region. (See Appendix Exhibit A.)

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7. Rhetta M. Arter, Wins Pilot Preview, Report of an action-research, demonstration project on the process of achieving Equal Housing Opportunity, sponsored by The Educational Foundation of the National Council of Negro Women, Research and Action Associates, New York, 1961, p. 175.

5. "Negroes have joined the march to the cities and have caught up with and surpassed even the white rate of urbanization...By 1960, 69.5 per cent of the United States population was urban: among Negroes 72.4 per cent were urban. But even these figures underestimate the urbanization of Negroes; for while almost all urban Negroes live in central cities, almost a quarter of urban whites live in 'suburban' areas." (8)

TABLE VII

RESIDENCE OF NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES: 1960

	Number	% of total Negro
Total Negro pop.	18 871 732	100%
a. Urban:	13 807 640	73.2
Central cities..........	9 702 112	51.4
Urban fringe............	1 555 455	8.2
Other urban—		
Places of 10,000+.......	1 492 684	7.9
" " 2,500-10,000	1 057 389	5.6
b. Rural	5 064 191	26.8

Source: U.S. Census of Population, U.S. Summary PC (1) IB, Table 44

6. In 1960, one of every four Negroes (24.7%) in the U. S. lived in some one of the ten largest cities.

TABLE VIII

City	Total pop.	Negro pop.	Negro pop. as % total city	% of all Negroes in U.S.*
New York, N. Y.	7 781 984	1 087 931	14.0%	5.8%
Chicago, Ill.	3 550 404	812 637	22.9	4.3
Los Angeles, Cal.	2 479 015	334 916	13.5	1.8
Philadelphia, Pa.	2 002 512	529 240	26.4	2.8
Detroit, Mich.	1 670 144	482 223	28.9	2.6
Baltimore, Md.	939 024	326 589	34.8	1.7
Houston, Tex.	938 219	215 037	22.9	1.1
Cleveland, O.	876 050	250 818	28.6	1.3
Washington, D. C.	763 956	411 737	53.9	2.2
St. Louis, Mo.	750 026	214 377	28.6	1.1
	x x x x x	4 665 475	x x x x x	24.7

*=original computation

Based on data of 1962 Edition Britannica Book of the Year, p. 136, Table iv.

. . . .

8. "URBANIZATION OF THE NEGRO," Address by Robert C. Weaver, Administrator HHFA before the Annual Conference of the Division of Social Sciences, Howard University, Washington, D. C., April 22, 1963.

7. Within the central cities, in many instances, there are statistical evidences of "compression" of the Negro populations. Examples:

   a) New York City is composed of five boroughs/counties. The distribution of neither its Negro population, nor of those of Puerto Rican birth or ancestry is symmetrical with that of its population as a whole.

TABLE IX

Borough/County	Total pop.	% total pop.	Negro pop.	% total Negro pop.	P.R. pop.	% total P.R. pop.
Bronx	1 424 815	18.3	163 896	15.1	186.885	30.5
Brooklyn	2 627 319	33.8	371 405	34.1	180 114	29.4
Manhattan	1 698 281	21.7	397 101	36.5	225 639	36.8
Queens	1 809 578	23.3	141 855	13.4	17 432	2.9
Richmond	221 991	12.9	9 674	0.9	2 504	0.4
Total city	7 781 984	100.0%	1 087 931	100.0%	612 564	100.0%

Source: Department of City Planning, New York, New York

A further penetration of the dispersion patterns within this city (NYC) was on the basis of neighborhoods. This took place within a study---"...concerned with 74 neighborhoods that make up the five boroughs of New York City, and these are based, with a few minor modifications, on the 69 revised statistical districts defined in 1954 by the New York City Planning Commission."

Of the 74 neighborhoods analyzed in this study, 42 were found to have populations which were at least 90 per cent white (exclusive of Puerto Ricans thus classified). In this group---

White (per cent)	Puerto Rican, Negro and other nonwhite (per cent)	Number of Neighborhoods
99	1	11
98	2	6
97	3	5
96	4	3
95	5	2
94	6	3
93	7	4
92	8	5
91	9	1
90	10	2
		42

Source: COMPARATIVE RECREATION NEEDS AND SERVICES IN NEW YORK NEIGHBORHOODS, COMMUNITY COUNCIL OF GREATER NEW YORK, Shirley Jenkins, pp. 8-9, 33-37.

Example b)

Pittsburgh, Pa. "Three-fourths of the residential blocks in Pittsburgh are totally white occupied while 70 per cent of the city's nonwhite citizens live in areas of racial concentration," according to a monograph entitled "The Status of Housing of Negroes in Pittsburgh" recently released by the city's Commission on Human Relations.

"Pittsburgh's nonwhite population rose from 82,981 in 1950 (12.3 per cent) to 101,739 in 1960 (16.8%). The number of integrated residential blocks in the city increased less than one per cent during the decade." (9)

Example c)

Chicago, Ill. "In 1960, at least 95 per cent of all Negroes in the city lived in sections of high racial concentration, compared with 89 per cent in such sections in 1950. Four out of every five Negroes in Chicago live in 11 community areas (out of a total of 75 in the City of Chicago) which are 75 per cent or more Negro-occupied.

"Nonwhite population movements in Chicago, as in other cities, follow an almost monotonous pattern. As the Negro population increases, the ghettos fill to bursting and overflow into fringe or other older neighborhoods." (10)

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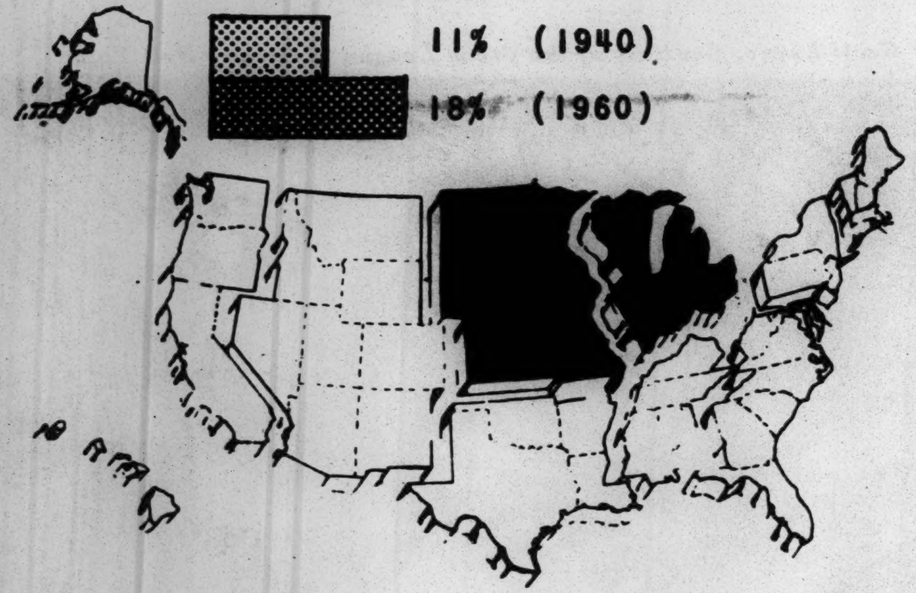
9. TRENDS IN HOUSING, National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, Vol. VI No. 5, September-October 1962, p. 8.
10. TRENDS IN HOUSING, NCADH, July-August 1962, p. 4.

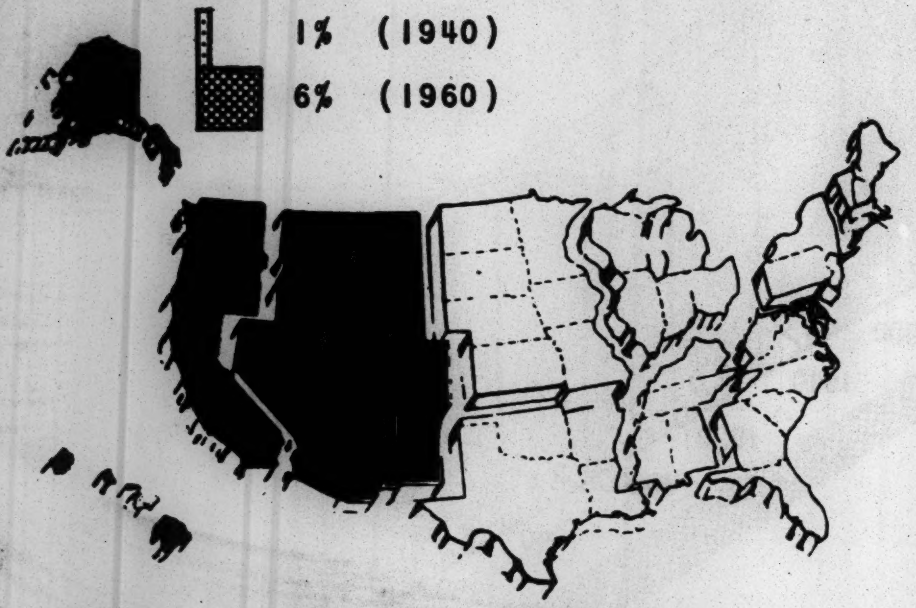
Chart XX

NEGRO POPULATION OF THE U

NORTH CENTRAL

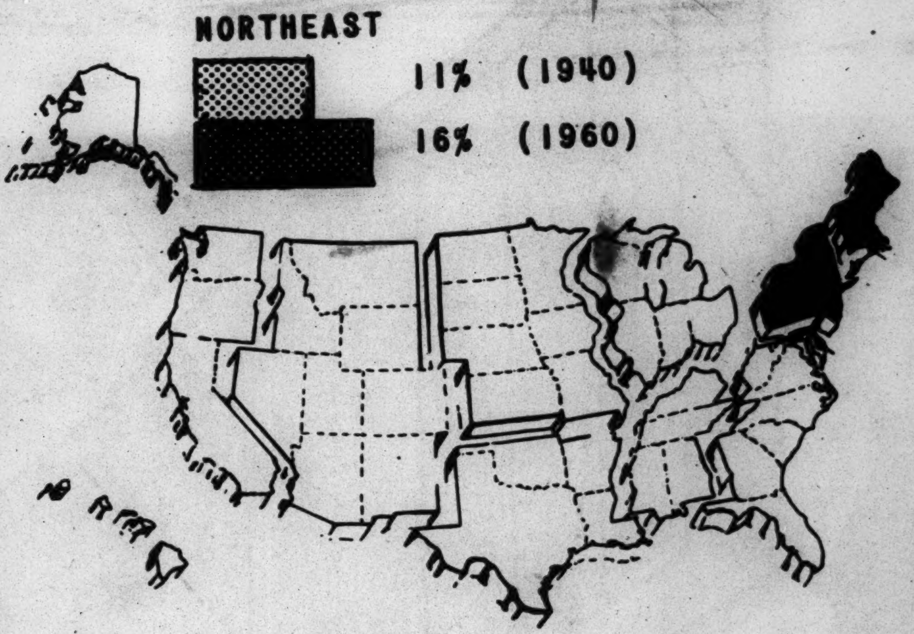

11% (1940)
18% (1960)

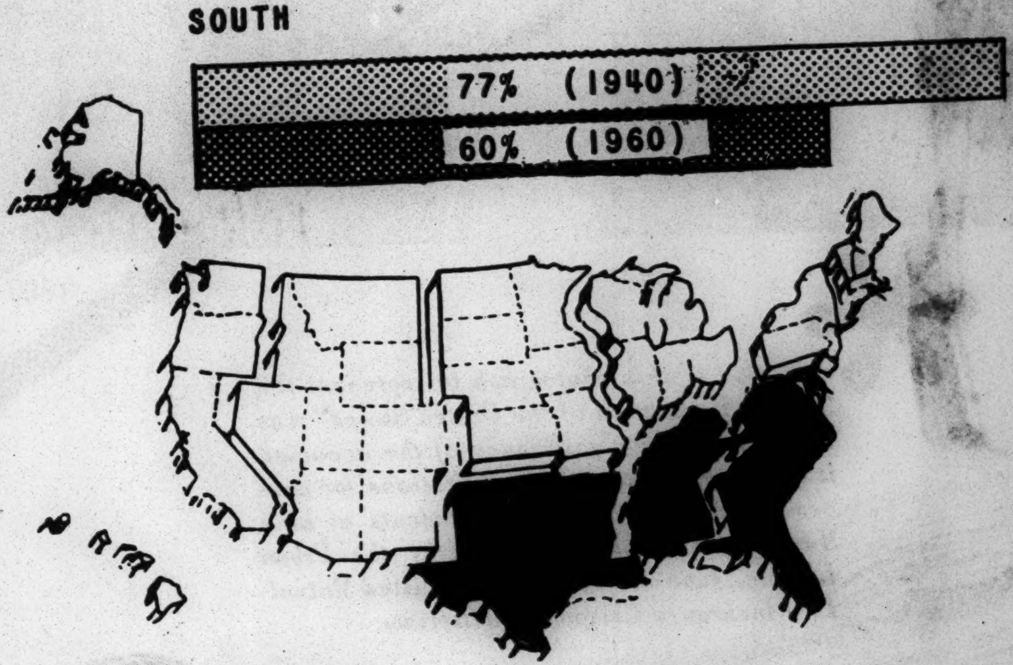
WEST


1% (1940)
6% (1960)

100% — total Negro population
Source: United States Census Bureau data

E UNITED STATES BY REGIONS: 1940, 1960





graphic by Carole Nicholls

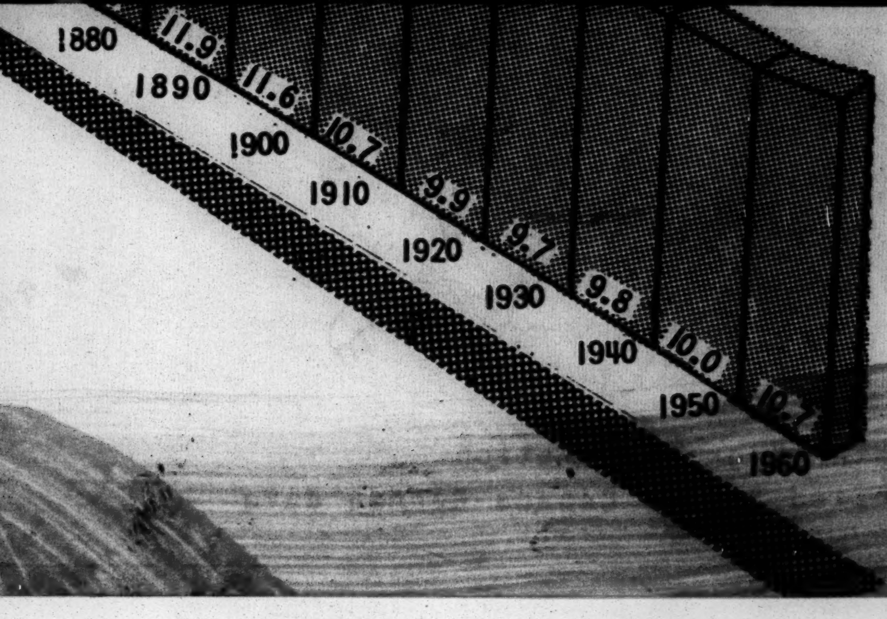
APPENDIX EXHIBIT A

Chart XIX

Selection of this photograph to represent the "Negro Population of the United States" was based upon the significance of the occasion it portrays: Presentation of citations for academic achievement to 160 students of nine Harlem junior high schools, by the Urban League, June 17, 1960, in the United Mutual Life Insurance Company Auditorium.

NEGRO POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES 1790 - 1960

Photo by Cecil Layne: Courtesy of the Urban League of Greater New York



WINS IN THE NATIONAL SCENE

The question has been raised more than once during this pilot project, "In what ways, how far, do the answers given and experiences recounted by the WINS Respondents depict the interests—the life events of other, especially minority group, Americans across the country?" The reply made as these queries have arisen has been expressed in other sections of this report: *the data collection methods which were used in this WINS PILOT PROJECT have not been of such nature as to permit any description of the respondents as statistically representative of any larger population.*

In other words, no systematic sampling procedure was attempted in the four channels of the pilot effort. It has proved stimulating and enlightening in some of the discussions of this question, however, to enter into a brief overview of the larger population; to look at some of the national data which are available at this time. By and large, these have concentrated on one part of that population.

THE NEGRO POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES

Partly because the WINS PILOT PROJECT has been sponsored by the EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN which is particularly concerned with the opportunities for constructive citizen participation available to the NCNW local units, affiliates, and cooperating groups of Negro women, with respect to equal opportunity in housing; partly because information about the households described in this report came chiefly from persons who identified themselves as Negro (1,000 out of 1,200); and partly because of the small proportion of "others" in the WINS RESPONDENT group (200 out of 1,200) whose respective ethnic backgrounds were not elicited through the questionnaire,[1] the summary which follows is focussed on the Negro population of the United States.

"One-Tenth of a Nation"

Actually, the designation of the Negro population of this country as "the one-tenth" is a reference-pattern of the twentieth century only. Prior to 1900, the proportion of the country's population counted as "Negro" was higher than ten per cent (CHART XIX). The count has hovered around this ten per cent for the past 60 years—in 1960, according to the U.S. Census, Negroes constituted 10.5 per cent of all persons enumerated as residents of the United States.[2]

Residence

Numbers, percentage points, proportions do not—by themselves—tell a round story. The query frequently follows, "Where do these brown Americans live; have they been, are they now, concentrated in any one or two sections of the country?"

It is common knowledge that a high proportion of the Negro population of the United States throughout the years has been located in southern parts of the country. At the turn of the century —in 1900—"85 of each 100 American Negroes lived in the southern states . . . ."[3] By 1940, the proportion had been decreased by 13: 72 of every 100 lived in these same (southern) states.[4] It is generally known, also, that Negroes in significant numbers have been moving from the south to other parts of the country. CHART XX presents, comparatively the distribution of the American Negro population throughout various geographic regions of the country in 1940 and in 1960. The continuing decline in the proportion of those residing in the south is apparent.

These data offer a tempting array of interpretation possibilities. It is possible, for example, to push further—to a state-by-state analysis. Members of some of the WINS discussion groups have been intrigued and stimulated by the comparison of two approaches:

APPENDIX EXHIBIT B

1. The "Percentage of Increase" Treatment

The steps entailed here, usually, are:

a. to take the figures for the Negro population for the state or states in question for a base year, say 1950;
b. to compare these with comparable figures for a second year (usually from census to census)—in this instance, 1960;
c. to compute the "percentage of increase" (or decrease) represented by (b), using (a) as the basic 100 per cent.

2. The "Proportion of Total" Treatment

Here, the steps are:

a. to determine the proportion of the state's total population represented by its Negro residents in the base year—in this example, 1950;
b. to determine the comparable proportion for the second year—here we use 1960;
c. to compare (a) with (b).

STATISTICAL "HAZARDS"

Actually, there are no particular flaws in either of the above examples. Commonly, it appears that when the "Percentage of Increase" treatment is presented by itself it is susceptible of easy social misinterpretation. Majority and minority participants in WINS discussion groups have recounted a number of situations in which the fears and apprehensions of both majority and minority populations of different localities and neighborhoods have been stirred up by "scare headlines" and other dramatic announcements growing out of this single type of treatment. It has been recognized, of course, that these feelings were the products of a complex of previous training and experience in terms of inter-group living; it has been the consensus within these discussions that the treatment under consideration (1), unless it is handled with skill and related to positive social goals, may have a negative effect on the social climate and upon progress toward democracy in housing.

Generally, within the WINS discussions the second approach, the "Proportion of Total" treatment, has been seen as recognizing that the Negro population of any state is a part of the whole; that real comprehension of the relationship of that part requires consideration and understanding of the total picture.

CHARTS XXI and XXII present the data for the fifty states and serve to illustrate the above points. The first groups the states according to "percentage of increase" of their respective Negro populations; the second shows the results of those increases in terms of the proportions represented by the "changes" reflected in the 1960 figures. The contrast, in not only the context of presentation but interpretation potentials, stands forth probably without need for further comment.

DISPERSION PATTERNS

Participants in the WINS Pilot activities have been interested in still a further look at the available data regarding residence. The state—generally—is a large geographical unit. Usually it comprises diverse local situations. If the minority populations were free to move about, to locate their homes on the basis of volitional choice, it might be safe to assume that there would be both clustering and dispersion; that analysis of the latter would reveal that some of these minority families were scattered across the state's entire area. In the absence of such freedom in many places, the next-occurring question has been, "Where within the state(s) are the Negro residents to be found?"

> In 1900 three-fourths of the Negroes of the United States were in the *rural south* (italics supplied) . . . . By 1950, so many had moved to cities, in the South and elsewhere, that roughly a third were in northern and western cities, a third in southern cities; and not much more than a third remained in the rural areas of the South.[5]

Complete data from the last census pertaining to this subject have not been made public at this time; therefore, a precise statement such as the above cannot be made for 1960. From the information which has been disseminated, however, it can be as-

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WINS IN THE NATIONAL SCENE

The question has been raised more than once during this pilot project, "In what ways, how far, do the answers given and experiences recounted by the WINS Respondents depict the interests—the life events of other, especially minority group, Americans across the country?" The reply made as these queries have arisen has been expressed in other sections of this report: *the data collection methods which were used in this WINS PILOT PROJECT have not been of such nature as to permit any description of the respondents as statistically representative of any larger population.*

In other words, no systematic sampling procedure was attempted in the four channels of the pilot effort. It has proved stimulating and enlightening in some of the discussions of this question, however, to enter into a brief overview of the larger population; to look at some of the national data which are available at this time. By and large, these have concentrated on one part of that population.

THE NEGRO POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES

Partly because the WINS PILOT PROJECT has been sponsored by the EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN which is particularly concerned with the opportunities for constructive citizen participation available to the NCNW local units, affiliates, and cooperating groups of Negro women, with respect to equal opportunity in housing; partly because information about the households described in this report came chiefly from persons who identified themselves as Negro (1,000 out of 1,200); and partly because of the small proportion of "others" in the WINS RESPONDENT group (200 out of 1,200) whose respective ethnic backgrounds were not elicited through the questionnaire,[1] the summary which follows is focussed on the Negro population of the United States.

"One-Tenth of a Nation"

Actually, the designation of the Negro population of this country as "the one-tenth" is a reference-pattern of the twentieth century only. Prior to 1900, the proportion of the country's population counted as "Negro" was higher than ten per cent (CHART XIX). The count has hovered around this ten per cent for the past 60 years—in 1960, according to the U.S. Census, Negroes constituted 10.5 per cent of all persons enumerated as residents of the United States.[2]

Residence

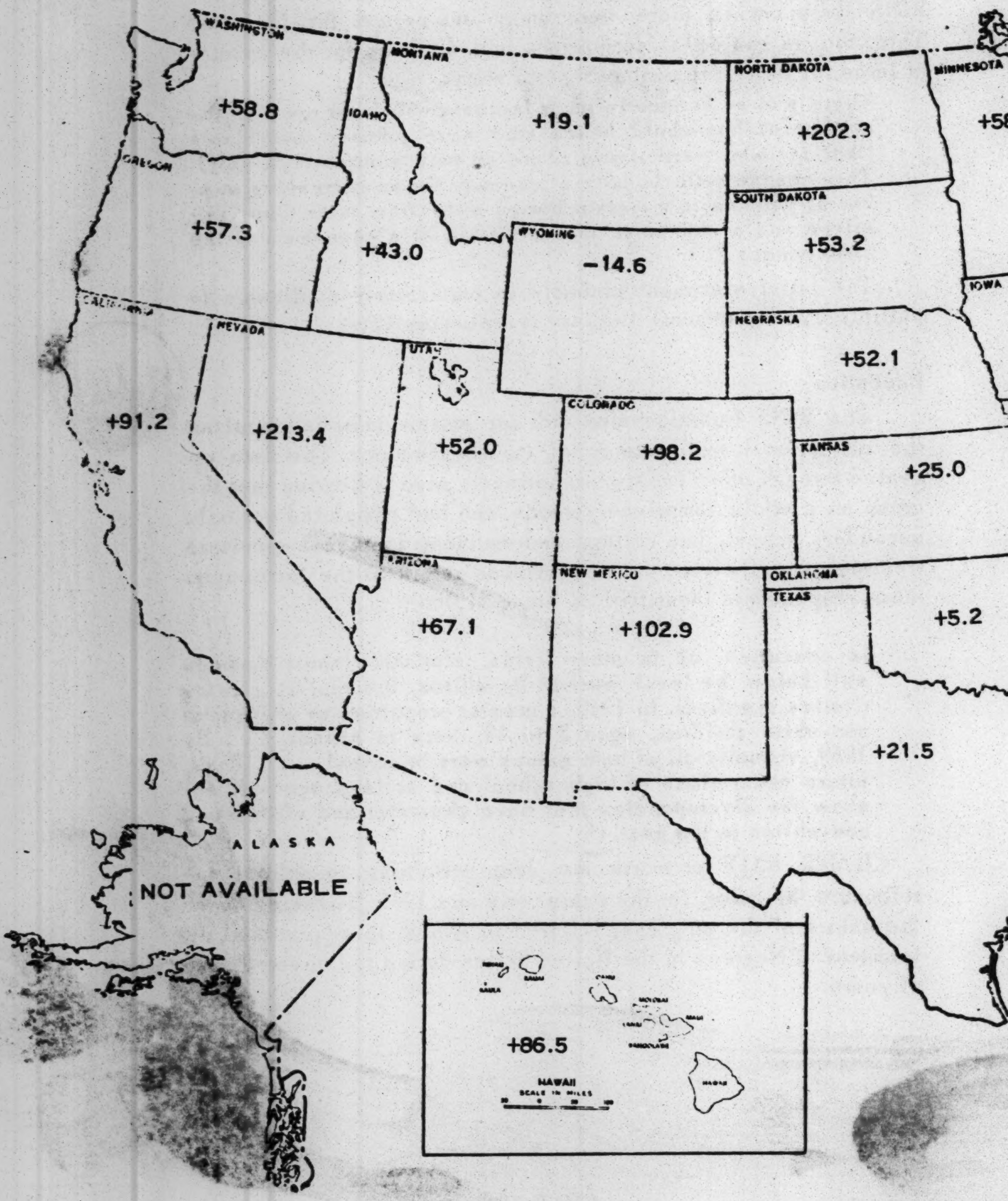
Numbers, percentage points, proportions do not—by themselves—tell a round story. The query frequently follows, "Where do these brown Americans live; have they been, are they now, concentrated in any one or two sections of the country?"

It is common knowledge that a high proportion of the Negro population of the United States throughout the years has been located in southern parts of the country. At the turn of the century —in 1900—"85 of each 100 American Negroes lived in the southern states . . . ."[3] By 1940, the proportion had been decreased by 13: 72 of every 100 lived in these same (southern) states.[4] It is generally known, also, that Negroes in significant numbers have been moving from the south to other parts of the country. CHART XX presents, comparatively the distribution of the American Negro population throughout various geographic regions of the country in 1940 and in 1960. The continuing decline in the proportion of those residing in the south is apparent.

These data offer a tempting array of interpretation possibilities. It is possible, for example, to push further—to a state-by-state analysis. Members of some of the WINS discussion groups have been intrigued and stimulated by the comparison of two approaches:

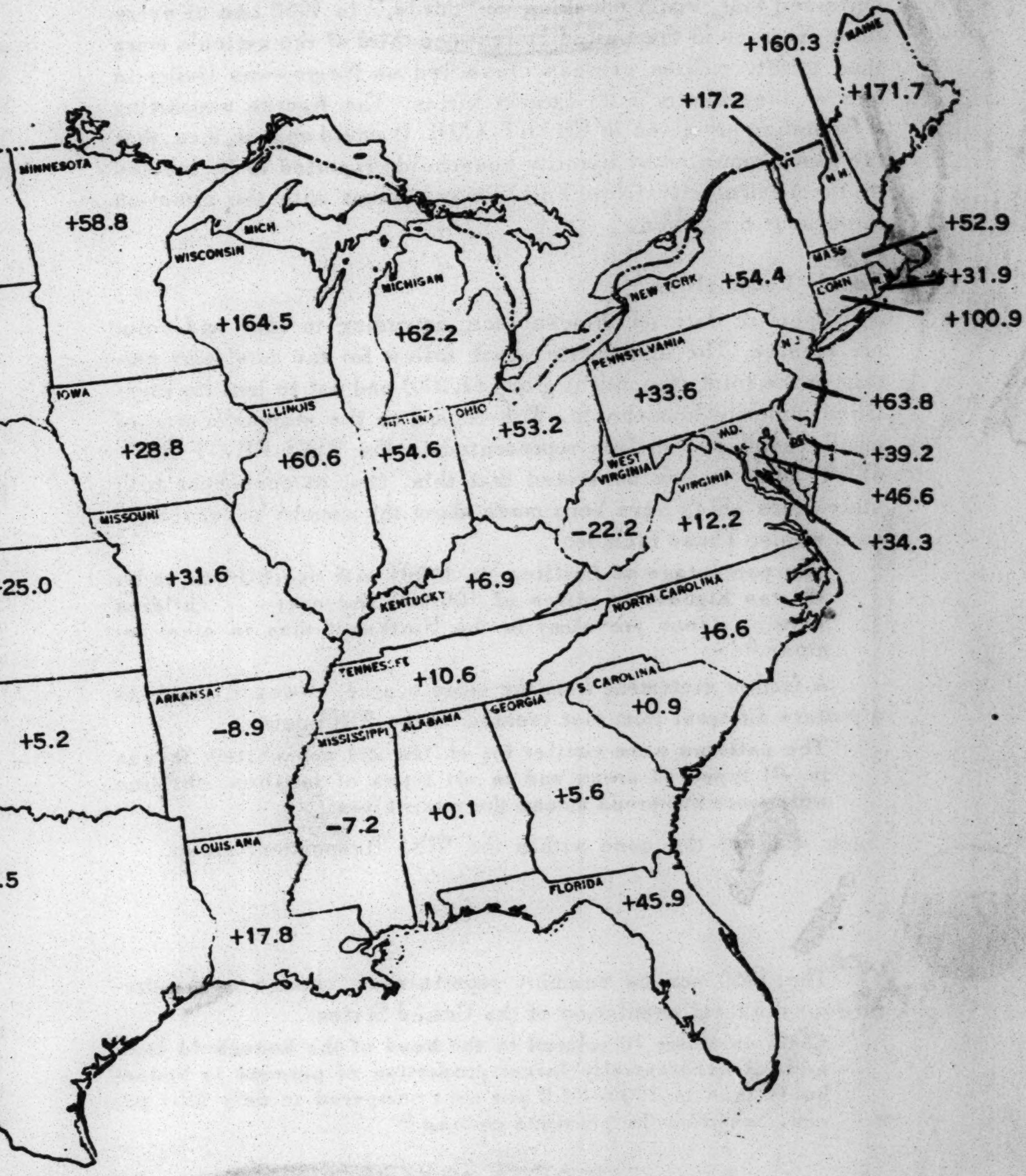
Chart XXI

NEGRO POPULATION



WASHINGTON
+58.8
MONTANA
+19.1
NORTH DAKOTA
+202.3
MINNESOTA
IDAHO
OREGON
+57.3
+43.0
SOUTH DAKOTA
+53.2
WYOMING
-14.6
IOWA
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA
UTAH
NEBRASKA
+52.1
+91.2
+213.4
+52.0
COLORADO
+98.2
KANSAS
+25.0
ARIZONA
+67.1
NEW MEXICO
+102.9
OKLAHOMA
+5.2
TEXAS
+21.5
ALASKA
NOT AVAILABLE
+86.5
HAWAII
SCALE IN MILES

ATION INCREASE: 1950 1960, BY STATES


+160.3
MAINE
+171.7
+17.2
VT
N H
+52.9
MASS
+31.9
CONN
R
+100.9
MINNESOTA
+58.8
MICH.
WISCONSIN
+164.5
MICHIGAN
+62.2
NEW YORK
+54.4
PENNSYLVANIA
+33.6
N J
+63.8
IOWA
+28.8
ILLINOIS
+60.6
INDIANA
+54.6
OHIO
+53.2
MD.
+39.2
WEST VIRGINIA
VIRGINIA
+46.6
MISSOURI
-22.2
+12.2
+34.3
-25.0
+31.6
+6.9
KENTUCKY
NORTH CAROLINA
+6.6
TENNESSEE
+10.6
ARKANSAS
S. CAROLINA
+0.9
+5.2
-8.9
GEORGIA
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
+5.6
-7.2
+0.1
LOUISIANA
.5
FLORIDA
+45.9
+17.8

graphic by Carole Nicholls

certained that, again speaking in "thirds," in 1960 one of every three Negroes in the United States—one-third of the nation's more than twenty million persons classified as Negro—was living in one of the country's 25 largest cities. The figures supporting this finding are given in CHART XXIII. It would appear, then, that the high proportion of minority households reported to be located in the central city (New York) is consonant with the situation throughout the nation.

Family Composition

Specific data on this subject, according to race and color are elusive. The statements which follow for the most part pertain to the total respondent group (1,200) and not to just its identified minority households. With regard to the preponderance of small childless families represented in the WINS PILOT PROJECT data, it may be stated that this, too, is consonant with statements which have been made about the country's population as a whole. These include:

> The percentage of families [in 1950] with no children under 18 was highest in cities of 100,000 and over . . . children were . . . less prevalent in the Northeast than in other regions.[6]

A further statement from the same source, however, presents a picture different from that created by the WINS data:

> The patterns were similar for whites and non-whites, though in all types of areas and in all types of families, children were more numerous among the non-whites.[7]

Such was *not* the case within the WINS Respondent group.

The 1960 census summary reports some change in the picture for the total population of the United States:

> Children under 18 related to the head of the household comprise a substantially larger proportion of persons in households than in 1950—34.2 per cent compared to only 29.1 per cent based on the previous census.[8]

The same summary report (for 1960) gives the median (average) number of persons per household in the United States as 3.29. This figure of course spells "small family." Among the WINS Respondents there were many one-person family units. This, too, is subject to comparison with findings for the country at large, of which the census reports state:

> There was an unusually large increase—80.1 per cent—in the number of household heads who were primary individuals (that is, who were living alone or with nonrelatives only). This change reflects both a tendency for an increasing number of persons to maintain homes away from their close relatives and a change in the definition of a household in the 1960 census.[9]

The latter statement probably is particularly applicable to multiple-unit (apartment) dwellers in New York City.

Education

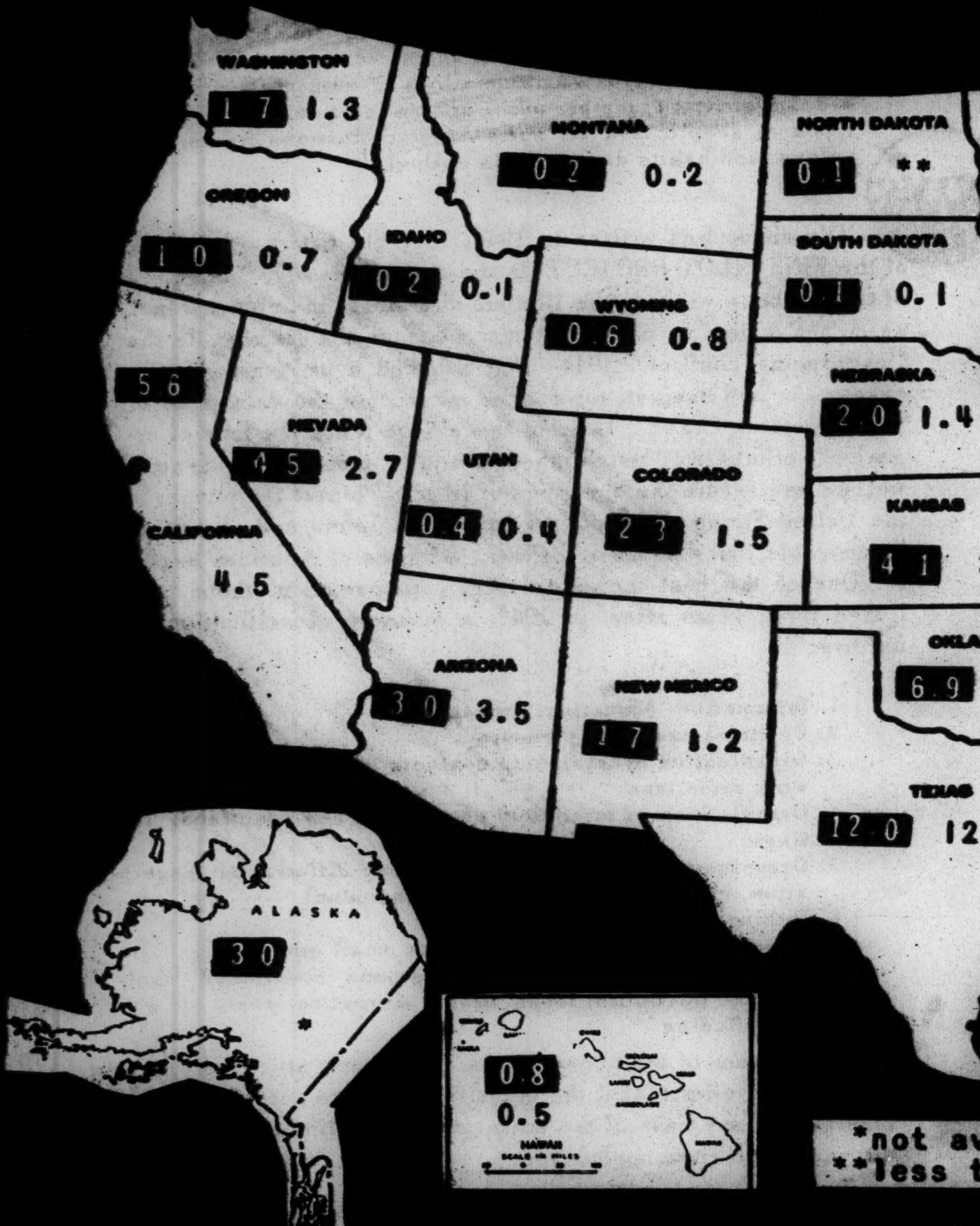
The WINS Questionnaire did not solicit information about the educational backgrounds of its respondents. The data revealed through other questions, however, gave indication that the group as a whole comprised persons who had completed not only secondary school, but college and—in many instances—graduate training as well. Here the comparisons return to the focus upon those respondents identified as Negro (1,000):

> In education, as in other fields, statistics show Negroes still below the level reached by whites, but *rapidly gaining* (italics supplied). In 1940, a greater proportion of white than non-white children, ages 7 to 13, were in school. . . . By 1959, virtually all of both groups were in school . . . . Thus, future generations of high school and college age will not show the discrepancies that have characterized whites and non-whites in the past.[10]

CHART XXIV presents the data pertaining to school enrollments, by color, for the years 1940 and 1959. These evidence the nature of the progress, referred to above, in educational attainment of Negroes in the United States during the covered span of years.

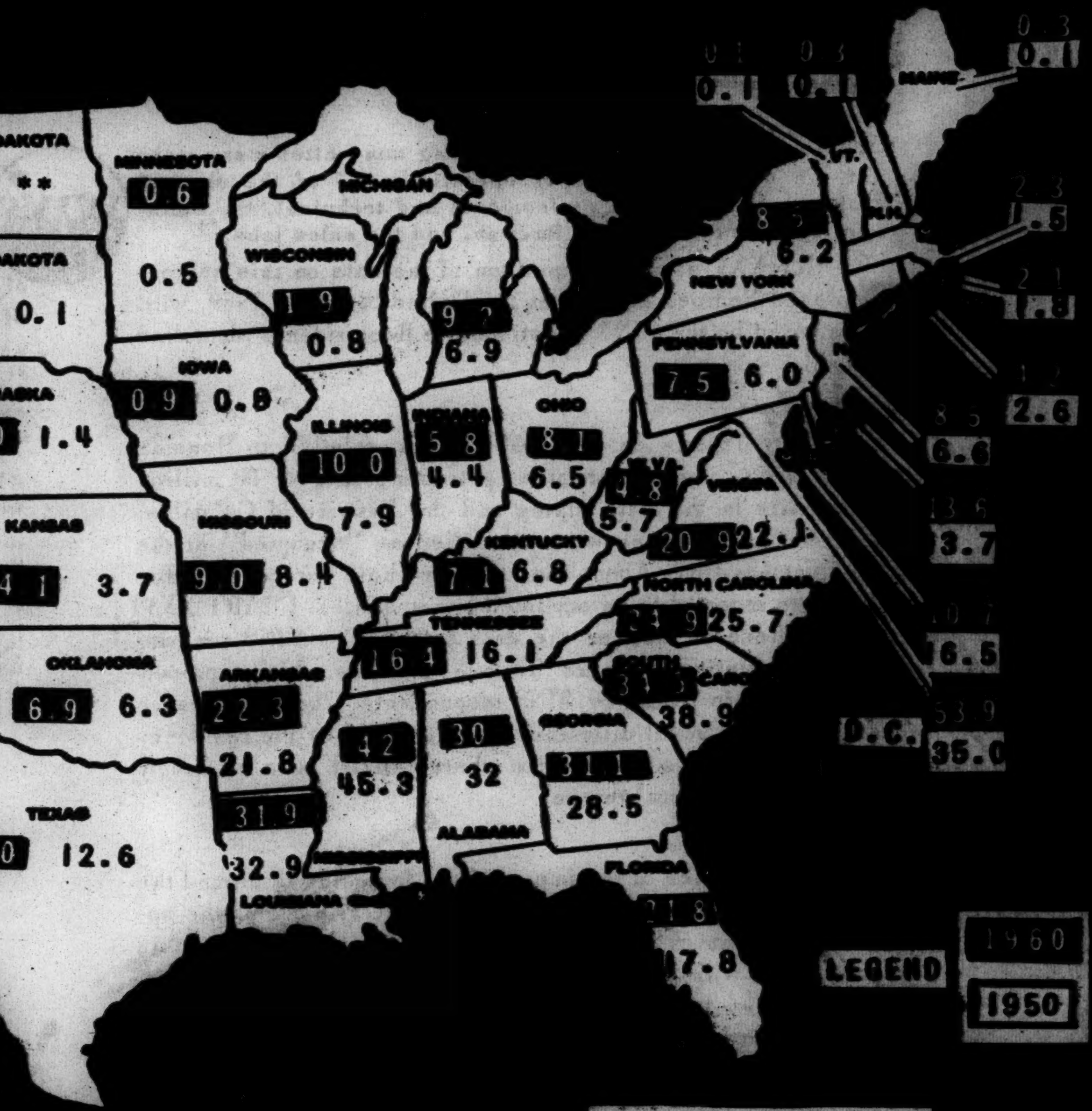
Chart XXII

NEGROES AS
BY


WASHINGTON
1.7
1.3
OREGON
1.0
0.7
CALIFORNIA
5.6
4.5
IDAHO
0.2
0.1
MONTANA
0.2
0.2
NEVADA
4.5
2.7
UTAH
0.4
0.4
WYOMING
0.6
0.8
COLORADO
2.3
1.5
ARIZONA
3.0
3.5
NEW MEXICO
1.7
1.2
NORTH DAKOTA
0.1
**
SOUTH DAKOTA
0.1
0.1
NEBRASKA
2.0
1.4
KANSAS
4.1
OKLA
6.9
TEXAS
12.0
12
ALASKA
3.0
*
HAWAII
0.8
0.5

*not av
**less t

AS PROPORTION OF TOTAL POPULATION
BY STATES: 1950, 1960


DAKOTA
**
MINNESOTA
0.6
0.5
DAKOTA
0.1
WISCONSIN
1.9
0.8
MICHIGAN
9.2
6.9
IOWA
0.9
0.8
ASKA
1.4
ILLINOIS
10.0
7.9
INDIANA
5.8
4.4
OHIO
8.1
6.5
W.VA.
4.8
5.7
KANSAS
4.1
3.7
MISSOURI
9.0
8.4
KENTUCKY
7.1
6.8
VIRGINIA
20.9
22.1
NORTH CAROLINA
24.9
25.7
TENNESSEE
16.4
16.1
OKLAHOMA
6.9
6.3
ARKANSAS
22.3
21.8
SOUTH CAROLINA
34.8
38.9
42
45.3
30
32
GEORGIA
31.1
28.5
ALABAMA
MISSISSIPPI
TEXAS
12.6
31.9
32.9
LOUISIANA
FLORIDA
21.8
17.8
NEW YORK
8.5
6.2
PENNSYLVANIA
7.5
6.0
VT.
N.H.
MAINE
0.1
0.1
0.3
0.1
0.3
0.1
2.3
1.5
2.1
1.8
4.2
2.6
8.5
6.6
13.6
13.7
16.7
16.5
D.C.
53.9
35.0
LEGEND
1960
1950

graphic by Carole Nicholls

ot available
ess than 9.1%

Occupation

> **Occupational differences between Negroes and whites are still large, but Negroes have raised their occupational levels appreciably faster in the past 20 years.**
>
> * * *
>
> **These shifts have resulted in giving non-whites many more of the semi-skilled factory operatives and of the clerical jobs, and more of the professional and technical, the managerial, the crafts and the foreman, and the sales jobs.**[11]

CHART XXV affords comparison of the data on this subject for employed Negroes throughout the United States in 1959, with those reported by the WINS Questionnaire Respondents identified as Negro.

Housing Tenure

Advance Reports on the 1960 census, relative to Housing Characteristics, carry information pertaining to over 58 million housing units in the fifty states and the District of Columbia. Over 53 million of these were classified as "occupied" at the time of enumeration. About nine and one-half per cent of this number were reported to be occupied by non-whites. CHART XXVI sets forth these as well as the data provided by WINS minority respondents relating to tenure. This chart shows a higher proportion of ownership tenure by WINS respondents. The significance of the apparently small difference is heightened by the residency of these respondents in a region characterized by a relatively high proportion of rental tenure.

Integration

The convergence of the import of the foregoing is around the central concern of the WINS PILOT PROJECT; namely, the social setting in which they are placed, the social climate of this day and time, with special attention to equality of opportunity, to the progress toward the achievement of true democracy as these are apparent on the national scene at this time.

> **The American Dilemma . . . is the ever-raging conflict between, on the one hand, the valuations preserved on the general plane which we shall call "the American Creed" where the American thinks, talks, and acts under the influence of high national and Christian precepts, and on the other hand,**

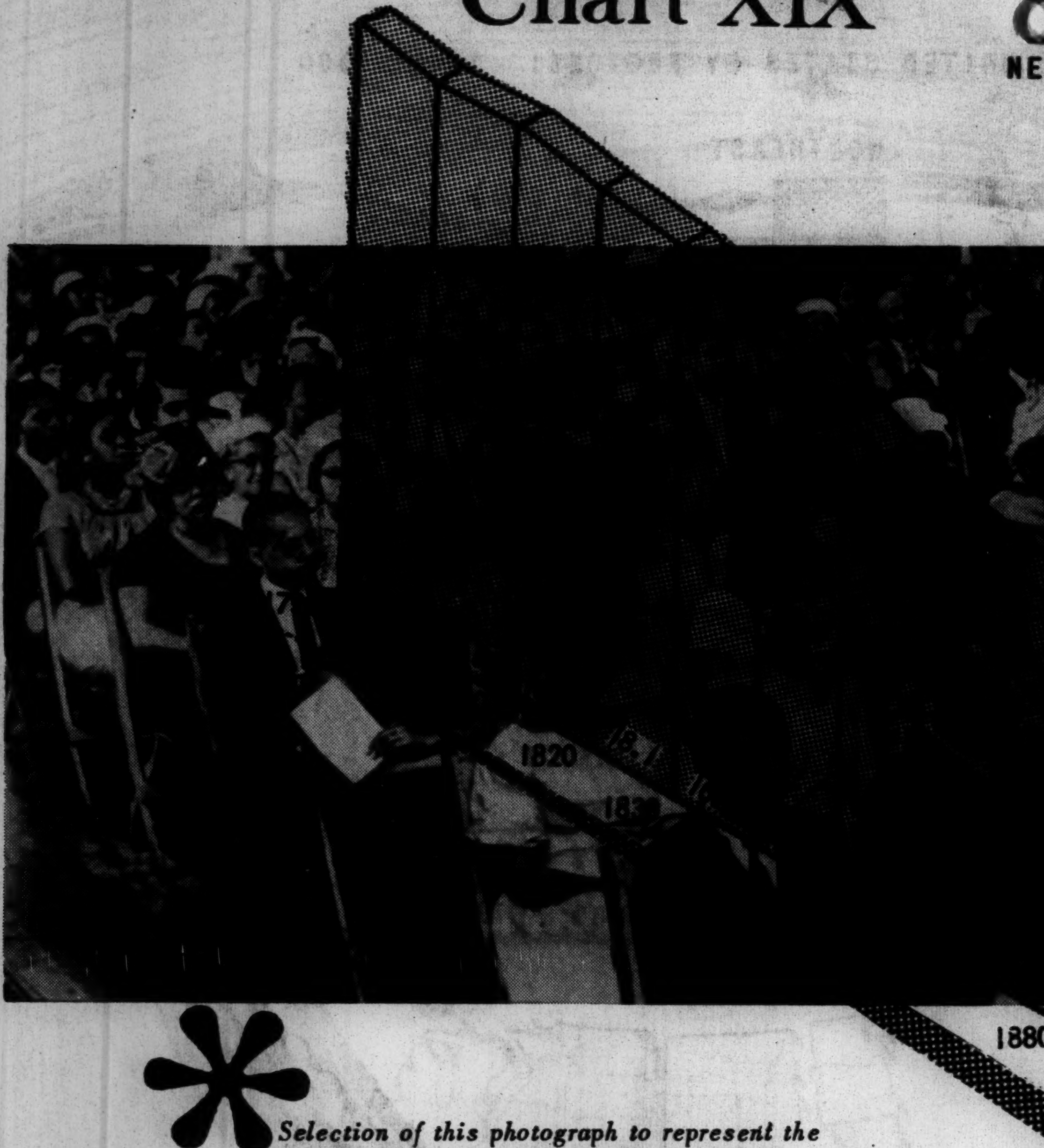
> the valuations on specific planes of individual and group living where personal and local interests; economic, social and sexual jealousies; considerations of community prestige and conformity; group prejudice against particular persons or types of people; and all sorts of miscellaneous wants, impulses, and habits dominate his outlook.[12]

The above was written in 1944, 16 years before origination of the WINS PILOT PROJECT. In the eyes of history, this period of time is but a wink; in the lifetime of a single individual it may seem but a day; to another it may hang as an eternity. In the "ever-raging conflict" 1944–1960 spanned a multitude of processes–for and against, toward and away from, the valuations of "the American Creed." Many of these have taken the form of organized efforts to "establish justice . . . promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty" for *all* the people of the United States. Such efforts have been listed and classified innumerable times by many different scholars of American society. One of the best-known and highly respected of these published three years later, in 1947, a summary classification as follows:[13]

1. Information, education, propaganda
2. Political and legal pressure
3. Organization of intergroup contacts in industrial and other work situations
4. Organization of intergroup contacts in non-vocational settings.
5. Organization for adjusting intergroup differences (negotiation, conciliation, mediation, persuasion)
6. Public commendation and awards
7. Psychotherapy with individuals or small groups
8. Organization of activities of groups considered likely sources of conflict (boys' clubs, recreation areas, etc.)
9. Fact-finding

The author of the above states, as do most others who have made similar efforts, that the classifications are not mutually exclusive, nor are many of the organized efforts limited to any single one of the cited approaches.

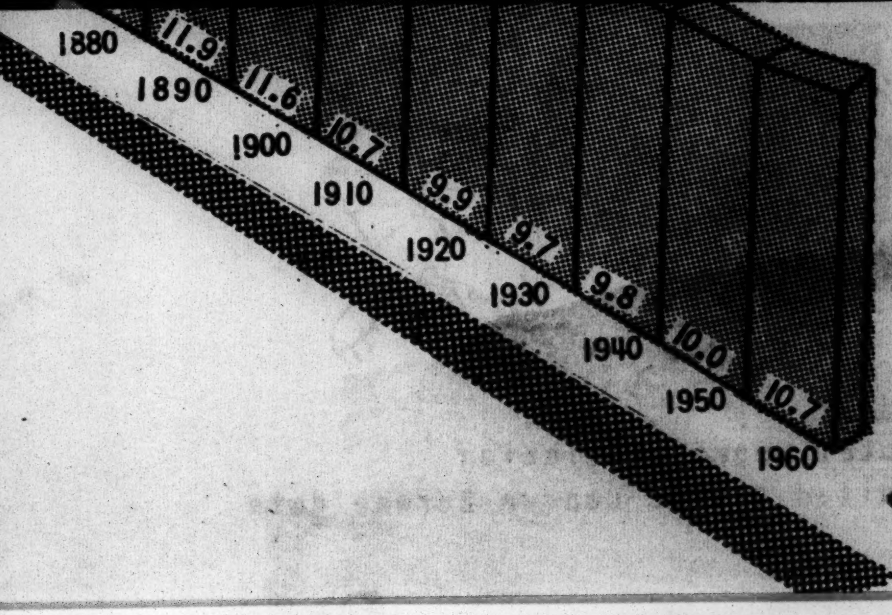
Chart XIX



* *Selection of this photograph to represent the "Negro Population of the United States" was based upon the significance of the occasion it portrays: Presentation of citations for academic achievement to 160 students of nine Harlem junior high schools, by the Urban League, June 17, 1960, in the United Mutual Life Insurance Company Auditorium.*

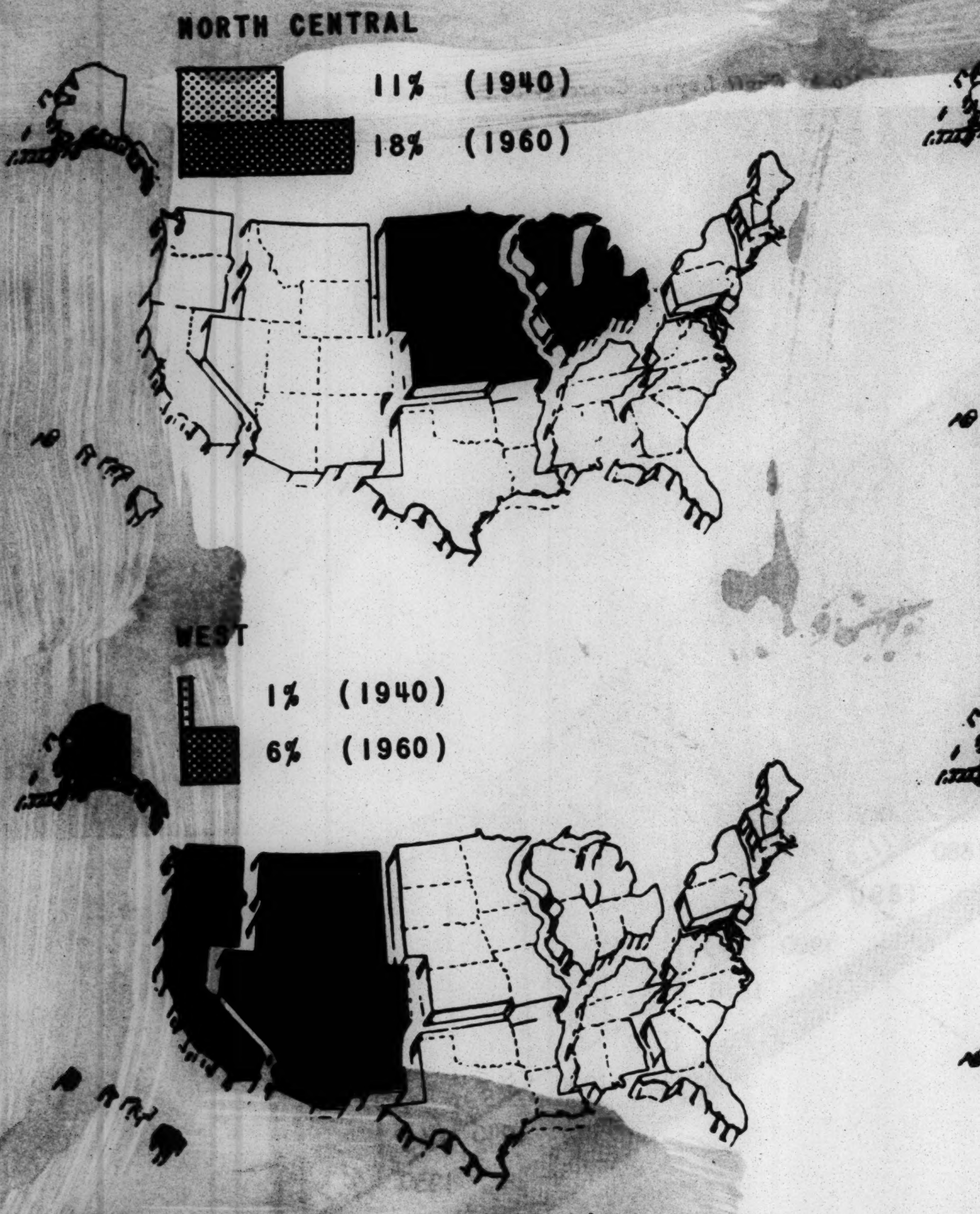
NEGRO POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES 1790 - 1960

Photo by Cecil Layne: Courtesy of the Urban League of Greater New York



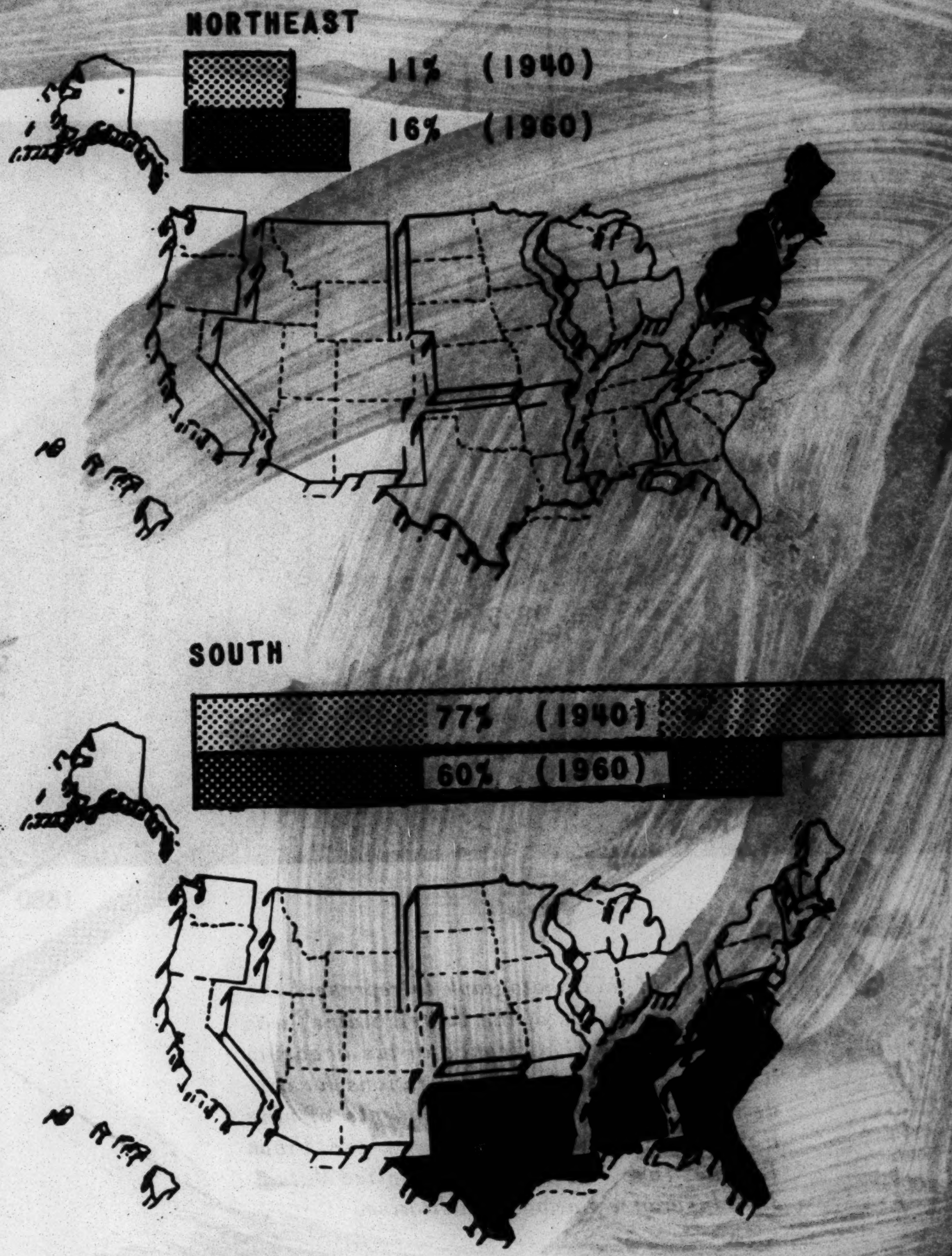
APPENDIX EXHIBIT C

Chart XX NEGRO POPULATION OF THE U


NORTH CENTRAL
11% (1940)
18% (1960)
WEST
1% (1940)
6% (1960)

100% — total Negro population
Source: United States Census Bureau data

THE UNITED STATES BY REGIONS: 1940, 1960


NORTHEAST
11% (1940)
16% (1960)
SOUTH
77% (1940)
60% (1960)

graphic by Carole Nicholls

APPENDIX B

I. Selected Housing Data

II. Racial Occupancy of Public Housing Projects

III. Selected Pages from WINS PILOT PREVIEW

I. Selected Housing Data

HOUSING QUALITY OF NONWHITE OCCUPIED UNITS

	1950		1960	
	Standard	Sub-standard	Standard	Sub-standard
United States	28%	72%	56%	44%
Northeast	59	41	77	23
North Central	44	56	73	27
South	13	87	38	62
West	59	41	79	21

SERIOUSLY OVERCROWDED HOUSING UNITS

(Number of units in thousands)

	White		Nonwhite	
	1950	1960	1950	1960
Total	1,450	1,071	548	633
Owner	480	439	106	156
Renter	970	632	442	477
Overcrowded as a percent of all occupied	4.3%	2.4%	18.3%	13.1%

STANDARD UNITS AS A PERCENT OF ALL OCCUPIED UNITS /a

Tenure	White		Nonwhite	
	1950	1960	1950	1960
Total	68%	87%	28%	56%
Owners	71	90	33	63
Renters	64	81	25	52

a/ Standard units are units that are not dilapidated and have private toilet and bath and hot running water.

	Median rents			Median values		
	1950	1960	Percent change	1950	1960	Percent change
White	$44	$75	+70%	$7,700	$12,230	+59%
Nonwhite	27	58	+115	3,000	6,700	+123

Source: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population, 1960

Prepared by
Statistical Reports Staff
Office of Program Policy
HHFA - OA
November 13, 1962

Table 15

Selected Population And Housing Characteristics By C

(Number of persons, households and h

Subject	1950			
	White		Nonwhite	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Type of structure				
All occupied units	d/(42,826)	(100)/d		
1 unit	(34,464)	(80)	Not available	Not available
2 unit	( )	( )		
3 and 4 unit	(3,219)	(8)		
5 or more unit	(4,827)	(11)		
Trailer	(315)	(1)		
Structure built 1950 to 1960	xx	xx	xx	xx
Value of owner occupied units (median in dollars) /f	7,700	xx	3,000	xx
Gross rent of renter occupied units (median in dollars) /g	44	xx	27	xx
	The following percents in each cat			
1.01 and more persons per room				
All occupied units	d/(6,627)	d/(16)	Not available	xx
Owner occupied	(2,565)	(11)		xx
Renter occupied	(4,062)	(21)		xx

a/ 1950 data for persons, households, and housing condition adju for 48 States. b/ Units that are not dilapidated and have

c/ Units that are dilapidated or lack one or more of the enumera

e/ Total including vacant minus nonwhite. f/ 1-unit nonfar

Source: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, censuses

S
Office of Pro

ble 15

tics By Color For The United States: 1950 And 1960 --2

ds and housing units in thousands)

	1960				Percent change 1950 to 1960	
ite	White		Nonwhite			
Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	White	Nonwhite
Not available	47,880	100	5,144	100	Not available	Not available
	36,277	76	3,436	66		
	3,657	8	469	9		
	2,384	5	415	8		
	4,805	10	813	16		
	756	1	11	2		
xx	e/15,203	xx	843	xx	xx	xx
xx	12,230	xx	6,700	xx	59	123
xx	75	xx	58	xx	70	115
percents are based on the total number of units each category and do not add to 100						
xx	4,657	10	1,457	28	Not available	Not available
xx	2,435	8	415	21		
xx	2,222	13	1,042	33		

tion adjusted for Alaska and Hawaii; all other 1950 data are
and have private toilet and bath and hot running water.
e enumerated facilities. d/ Total of white and nonwhite units.
t nonfarm properties. g/ Nonfarm units.

censuses of population and housing 1950 and 1960

Prepared by
Statistical Reports Staff
ce of Program Policy, HHFA - OA, November 1962

Tabl

Selected Population And Housing Characteristics

(Number of persons, household

Subject	1950		
	White		No
	Number	Percent	Numbe
Population characteristics /a:			
Persons	35,622	xx	2,07
Households	10,723	xx	50
Income of persons (median in dollars)			
Male	d/(2,713)	xx	2,05
Female	d/(1,384)	xx	1,16
Housing characteristics /a:			
All occupied units	10,723	100	50
Owner occupied	5,331	50	10
Renter occupied	5,392	50	39
Condition and facilities			
All occupied units	10,723	100	50
Standard /b	8,642	81	30
Substandard /c	2,081	19	20
Owner occupied	5,331	100	10
Standard	4,481	84	8
Substandard	850	16	2
Renter occupied	5,392	100	39
Standard	4,161	77	21
Substandard	1,231	23	17

Table 16

eristics By Color For The Northeast Region: 1950 And 1960

ouseholds and housing units in thousands)

1950			1960				Percent change 1950 to 1960	
	Nonwhite		White		Nonwhite			
nt	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	White	Nonwhite
	2,079	xx	41,528	xx	3,154	xx	17	52
	505	xx	12,647	xx	875	xx	18	73
	2,054	xx	4,598	xx	3,274	xx	Not available	59
	1,165	xx	1,711	xx	1,706	xx		46
	505	100	12,647	100	875	100	18	73
	109	22	7,352	58	236	27	38	117
	396	78	5,295	42	639	73	-2	61
	505	100	12,647	100	875	100	18	73
	300	59	11,593	92	678	77	34	126
	205	41	1,053	8	197	23	-49	-4
	109	100	7,352	100	236	100	38	117
	81	74	6,978	95	213	90	56	163
	28	26	374	5	23	10	-56	-18
	396	100	5,295	100	639	100	-2	61
	219	55	4,615	87	465	73	11	112
	177	45	679	13	174	27	-45	-2

Tab

Selected Characteristics Of Nonfarm Housing Units B

Subject	195
	White
Number of occupied units	
Total	33,633
Owner occupied	18,473
Median number of persons	3.1
Median value (in dollars) /b	7,700
Renter occupied	15,160
Median number of persons	2.8
Median gross rent (in dollars)	44
Percent of all occupied units	100
Owner occupied	55
Renter occupied	45
Sound with all plumbing facilities	75
With 1.01 or more persons per room	13

a/ From a special tabulation based on preliminary d

b/ 1-unit nonfarm properties.

Source: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Cens

Table 20

Units By Color Of Occupants, United States: 1950 And 1960

1950 /a		1960		Percent change 1950 to 1960	
White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
33,633	2,993	44,613	4,845	33	62
18,473	1,055	28,302	1,862	53	76
3.1	3.2	2.9	3.3	xx	xx
7,700	3,000	12,230	6,700	59	123
15,160	1,938	16,311	2,983	8	54
2.8	3.0	2.5	3.0	xx	xx
44	27	75	58	70	115
100	100	100	100	xx	xx
55	35	63	38	xx	xx
45	65	37	62	xx	xx
75	33	82	46	xx	xx
13	32	10	27	xx	xx

minary data.

the Census, censuses of population and housing 1950 and 1960

Prepared by
Statistical Reports Staff
Office of Program Policy
HHFA - OA
November 1962

Ta

Selected Characteristics Of Housin
United States, U

(Number of housin

Age	United States		
	Total	Urban	Rural
All occupied units	53,024	38,320	14,704
Median number of rooms	4.9	4.9	5.1
Median number of persons	3.0	2.9	3.2
Percent of all occupied-			
In one-housing unit structures	76	69	97
Sound, with all plumbing facilities	76	83	60
With 1.01 or more person per room	12	10	15
Moved in during 1958-1960	32	33	28
Owner occupied	62	58	71
Renter occupied	38	42	29
Owner			
Median value (dollars)	11,900	12,900	8,300
Renter			
Median gross rent (dollars)	71	73	55

Source: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Unit*

Table 22

Of Housing Units By Color Of Occupants, For The States, Urban And Rural: 1960

of housing units in thousands)

		White			Nonwhite	
Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
14,704	47,880	34,342	13,538	5,144	3,978	1,166
5.1	5.0	4.9	5.2	4.2	4.2	4.2
3.2	2.9	2.8	3.2	3.2	3.1	3.9
97	77	70	96	67	58	97
60	80	86	64	44	54	11
15	10	8	13	28	25	41
28	32	33	29	34	36	27
71	64	61	73	38	36	46
29	36	39	27	62	64	54
8,300	12,230	13,088	8,695	6,700	7,800	5,000
55	75	76	66	58	61	27

sus, United States Census of Housing, 1960

Prepared by
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Office of Program Policy
HHFA - OA
November 13, 1962

Tabl

Quality Of Occupied Housing Units By Co

(Number of housing

Year, condition and plumbing	Total
	Units
All occupied units	42,969
Standard	27,714/b
Sound with plumbing	xx
Deteriorating with plumbing	xx
Substandard	15,255
Owner occupied units	23,614
Standard	16,309
Sound with plumbing	xx
Deteriorating with plumbing	xx
Substandard	7,305
Renter occupied units	19,355
Standard	11,405
Sound with plumbing	xx
Deteriorating with plumbing	xx
Substandard	7,950

Table 23

its By Color For The United States: 1950 And 1960

f housing units in thousands)

1950					
Total		White		Nonwhite	
ts	Percent	Units	Percent	Units	Percent
969	100	39,101	100	3,868	100
714/b	64	26,646	68	1,068	28
xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
255	36	12,455	32	2,800	72
614	100	22,264	100	1,350	100
309	69	15,870	71	439	33
xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
305	31	6,394	29	911	67
355	100	16,837	100	2,518	100
05	59	10,776	64	629	25
xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
50	41	6,061	36	1,889	75

Table 2

Tenure, Condition And Plumbing Facilities, And St
Of Occupants, For The United St

(Number of housing

Subject	United States		
	Total	Urban	Ru
All occupied units	53,024	38,320	14,
Tenure			
Owner occupied	32,797	22,335	10,
Renter occupied	20,227	15,986	4,
Condition and plumbing			
Owner occupied	32,797	22,335	10,
Sound	28,870	20,532	8,
With all plumbing facilities	27,177	20,168	7,
Lacking some or all facilities	1,693	363	1,
Deteriorating	3,100	1,469	1,
With all plumbing facilities	1,890	1,189	
Lacking some or all facilities	1,210	280	
Dilapidated	826	334	
Renter occupied	20,227	15,986	4,
Sound	14,942	12,500	2,
With all plumbing facilities	13,255	11,449	1,
Lacking some or all facilities	1,687	1,051	
Deteriorating	3,844	2,648	1,
With all plumbing facilities	2,228	1,831	
Lacking some or all facilities	1,616	817	
Dilapidated	1,442	839	
Water supply			
Hot and cold piped water inside structure			
Only cold piped water inside structure	n.a.	n.a.	n.
Piped water outside structure			
No piped water			

Table 24

, And Structural Characteristics Of Housing Units By Color
nited States. Urban And Rural: 1960

housing units in thousands)

States		White			Nonwhite		
an	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
20	14,704	47,880	34,342	13,538	5,144	3,978	1,166
35	10,462	30,823	20,895	9,929	1,974	1,440	533
86	4,242	17,056	13,448	3,610	3,171	2,538	632
35	10,462	30,823	20,895	9,929	1,974	1,440	533
32	8,338	27,600	19,496	8,104	1,270	1,036	234
68	7,009	26,139	19,220	6,918	1,038	948	91
63	1,329	1,461	275	1,185	232	88	144
69	1,631	2,631	1,178	1,453	469	291	178
89	701	1,682	1,002	680	208	187	21
80	931	950	1176	775	260	104	156
34	492	591	220	371	235	114	121
86	4,242	17,056	13,448	3,610	3,171	2,538	632
00	2,442	13,372	11,078	2,294	1,570	1,422	148
49	1,806	12,028	10,264	1,764	1,227	1,185	42
51	636	1,345	814	530	342	237	106
48	1,196	2,871	1,917	955	973	731	241
31	397	1,821	1,438	383	407	393	14
17	799	1,050	479	572	566	338	227
39	603	814	454	360	628	385	243
					3,353	3,151	202
a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	746	619	128
					231	123	108
					814	85	728

Table 27

Occupancy Characteristics, Units In Structure, And Year

(Number of housing uni

Subject	United States			
	Total	Inside SMSA's	Outside SMSA's	Tota
Year moved into unit				
Owner occupied	32,797	20,036	12,761	30,8
1959 to March 1960	4,012	2,572	1,440	3,8
1958	2,485	1,607	879	2,3
1957	2,314	1,507	807	2,1
1954 to 1956	5,898	3,958	1,939	5,5
1950 to 1953	5,337	3,449	1,887	5,0
1940 to 1949	6,870	3,881	2,989	6,3
1939 or earlier	5,881	3,062	2,819	5,4
Renter occupied	20,227	13,964	6,263	17,0
1959 to March 1960	7,774	5,220	2,554	6,7
1958	2,633	1,821	812	2,2
1957	1,808	1,265	543	1,4
1954 to 1956	2,964	2,105	858	2,4
1950 to 1953	1,867	1,305	562	1,5
1940 to 1949	1,952	1,389	563	1,6
1939 or earlier	1,229	859	369	1,0

Source: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States able 27

, And Year Structure Built For Housing Units

ousing units in thousands)

White			Nonwhite		
Total	Inside SMSA's	Outside SMSA's	Total	Inside SMSA's	Outside SMSA's
30,823	18,812	12,012	1,974	1,224	749
3,814	2,432	1,382	198	140	58
2,363	1,521	843	122	86	36
2,192	1,418	773	122	89	34
5,563	3,718	1,845	335	240	94
5,004	3,224	1,779	333	225	108
6,392	3,612	2,780	478	269	209
5,496	2,887	2,609	385	175	210
17,056	11,702	5,354	3,171	2,262	909
6,771	4,481	2,290	1,003	739	264
2,221	1,515	706	412	306	106
1,487	1,027	460	321	238	83
2,402	1,697	704	562	408	154
1,527	1,075	452	340	230	110
1,616	1,165	451	336	224	112
1,032	743	289	197	116	80

d States Census of Housing, 1960

Prepared by
Statistical Reports Staff
Office of Program Policy
HHFA - OA
November 13, 1962

Value Of Owner Occupied And Gross Rent
United States, N

(Number of housi

Subject	1950 /a			
	Total		White	
	Units	%	Units	%
Owner occupied units /b	15,592	xx	14,733	xx
Value				
Reporting	14,699	100	13,900	100
Less than $5,000	4,057	28	3,503	25
$5,000 - $7,499	3,381	23	3,253	23
7,500 - 9,999	2,719	19	2,669	19
10,000 - 12,499	2,925	20	2,863	21
12,500 - 14,999				
15,000 - 17,499	1,617	11	1,612	12
17,500 - 19,999				
20,000 - 24,999				
25,000 - 34,999				
35,000 or more				
Not reporting	893	xx	833	xx
Median (in dollars)	7,400	xx	7,700	xx
Renter occupied units	17,098	xx	15,160	xx
Gross rent				
With cash rent, reporting	14,883	100	13,227	100
Less than $20	1,354	9	913	7
$20 - $29	2,203	15	1,799	14
30 - 39	3,036	20	2,738	21
40 - 49	3,021	20	2,778	21
50 - 59	2,307	16	2,182	17
60 - 69	2,962	20	2,817	21
70 - 79				
80 - 99				
100 - 119				
120 - 149				
150 - 199				
200 or more				
No cash rent and not reporting	2,215	xx	1,933	xx
Median (in dollars)	42	xx	44	xx

a/ From a special tabulation based on preliminary data.

Source: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, c

Table 29

ross Rent Of [illegible]enter Occupied Housing Units, B[illegible]Color,
States, Nonfarm, 1950 And 1960

of housing units in thousands)

50 /a				1960						% change 1950 - 1960	
ite		Nonwhite		Total		White		Nonwhite			
ts	%	Units	%	Units	%	Units	%	Units	%	White	Nonwhite
33	xx	859	xx	26,172	xx	24,556	xx	1,616	xx	67	88
00	100	799	100	26,172	100	24,566	100	1,616	100	xx	xx
03	25	570	71	3,182	12	2,595	11	587	36	-26	3
53	23	129	16	3,201	12	2,883	12	318	20	-11	147
69	19	42	5	3,546	14	3,310	13	236	15	24	462
63	21	50	6	4,095	16	3,913	16	182	11	)156	492
				3,538	14	3,424	14	114	7	)	
				2,841	11	2,767	11	74	5	)	
				1,882	7	1,843	8	39	2	)	
2	12	8	1	1,900	7	1,864	8	36	2	)423	2,012
				1,227	5	1,208	5	19	1	)	
				762	3	751	3	11	1	)	
33	xx	60	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
00	xx	3,000	xx	11,900	xx	12,230	xx	6,700	xx	59	123
50	xx	1,938	xx	19,294	xx	16,123	xx	3,171	xx	6	64
27	100	1,656	100	17,908	100	15,170	100	2,738	100	14	65
3	7	454	27	320	2	168	1	152	6	-82	-67
99	14	414	25	736	4	501	3	235	8	-72	-43
38	21	295	18	1,221	7	914	6	307	11	-67	4
78	21	248	15	1,755	10	1,394	9	361	13	-50	46
32	17	118	7	2,245	13	1,869	12	376	14	-14	219
				2,555	14	2,181	14	374	14	)	
				2,350	13	2,046	13	304	11	)	
				3,490	19	3,107	21	383	14	)	
7	21	128	8	1,693	9	1,536	10	157	6	)267	920
				973	5	902	6	71	2	)	
				406	2	389	3	17	1	)	
				166	1	166	1	--	--	)	
3	xx	282	xx	1,386	xx	953	xx	433	xx	xx	xx
4	xx	27	xx	71	xx	75	xx	58	xx	70	115

y data. b/ 1-housing unit properties without business.

ensus, censuses of housing 1950 and 1960

II. Racial Occupancy of Public Housing Projects

APPENDIX B

II. RACIAL OCCUPANCY OF PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS

The Federally-aided program of public housing has been credited with contributing to expansion of the opportunity for low-income Negroes to acquire decent housing as well as with providing some significant demonstrations of interracial occupancy. This program has also been charged with having crystallized segregated occupancy patterns in many areas and with having, occasionally, replaced areas of interracial occupancy with segregated projects. The fact is that public housing has had a role in all of these processes.

For the purposes of this assessment, it is of particular interest to note the trends of racial occupancy patterns in this program. Statistics reflective of this have been maintained over a period of years with such variations in methods as to preclude clear comparisons. The generalization may be made that the vast majority of public housing developments were racially segregated by policy and practice until after World War II. Subsequently, an increasing number of projects have been developed or managed under open occupancy policies or laws. The increase of the proportion of occupancy by Negroes, however, has limited the extent to which "open occupancy" has resulted in racially integrated developments.

Before 1952, analyses of racial occupancy data were made only by the Racial Relations Branch of the Public Housing Administration. These analyses were handled by the Statistics Branch subsequently.

One series of these reports was made only for "states and localities with initially or completely occupied low-rent projects and with either open occupancy laws, policies, or directives, one or more integrated projects or both." Between 1952 and 1958, inclusively, this series reported a steady rise in the number of "completely integrated" developments, moving from 76 projects (involving 12,341 units) in 1952 to 385 (involving 63,151 units) in 1958.

A series between 1961 and 1963, inclusively, was based upon the total program, exclusive of the Puerto Rican Region. These reports, however, do not carry information for some of the localities which, for various reasons, object to reporting on this basis. (New York City is among these, claiming exemption on grounds that its program is operated on a non-discriminatory basis.)

The latest of this series of reports, covering data as of June 30, 1963, was in process when the request was made for current information for use in this assessment. Only the percentage breaks, based upon 3,084 projects, were available at the time of this request. Accordingly, it was stated that 49 per cent of the total 494,462 dwellings were occupied by Negroes. In 1962, the report covering a comparable period indicated that 46.7 per cent of the dwellings were so occupied.

The 1963 analysis reports 22 per cent of all projects reporting racial occupancy as "open." Those having all Non-white occupancy comprise 28 per cent of the total and those having all white occupancy comprise 36 per cent. An additional 10 per cent of the projects, which are segregated by site locations (one statutory project built in two or more sections on different sites), are reported. The remaining 2 per cent consist of projects occupied by "white and other--not Negro" and "white and Negro with limitations."

Altogether 75 per cent of the projects are segregated or restricted by race and there are no Negroes in 37 per cent of them. These data, in their present form, cannot be compared in these details with those reported in 1962.

(A superceding analysis of this program will be submitted as soon as the report as of June 1963 is available.)

III. Selected Pages from WINS PILOT PREVIEW

WINS

stands for WOMEN'S INTEGRATING NEIGHBORHOOD SERVICES.

It is a pilot demonstration project sponsored by the EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION of the National Council of Negro Women.

Its focus is on the *process* of "integrating" residential neighborhoods and buildings. Its emphasis is on the role of minority families in *entering* the doors to equal opportunities for housing as these are opened by community action, public policy, or legislation. Its setting covers the New York Metropolitan Region—suburban and urban—in the Spring and Summer of 1960. Its participants comprise members of local units and affiliates of the National Council of Negro Women, Region I, in concert with a number of non-affiliated cooperating women's organizations, and a group of teen-age youth.

WINS

I+2=3

Representatives of
many cooperating groups
came together for
PLANNING,
TRAINING, and
STUDY for
a program of
SERVICES
UNITED through **WINS**

They went back to their
own groups where they
SHARED EXPERIENCES and
provided leadership
in carrying out
a program of
SELF-STUDY,
EDUCATION and
ACTION under **WINS**

This resulted in a
demonstration of the way
in which shared thinking,
planning, and action
might make it possible
for women throughout the
nation to join in
achieving the goal:
DEMOCRACY IN HOUSING **WINS**

SCOREBOARD

Laws Affecting Discrimination in Housing

As of September 15, 1961

STATE	COVERAGE Public Housing	Urban Renewal	FHA & VA	★ Private Housing	Real Est. Agents	Mortgage Lenders	Advertising	Official Enforcement Agency
1. California	X	X	X		X			
2. Colorado	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
3. Connecticut	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
4. Indiana	X	X						
5. Massachusetts	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
6. Michigan	X				X[1]			
7. Minnesota[2]	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
8. Montana		X						
9. New Hampshire	X			X				
10. New Jersey	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
11. New York	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
12. Oregon	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
13. Pennsylvania	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
14. Rhode Island	X							X
15. Washington	X	X	X			X	X	X
16. Wisconsin	X	X						

[1] By ruling of the Michigan Corporation and Securities Commission.

[2] Minnesota's FH law becomes effective Dec. 31. 1962.

Note: Illinois prohibits restrictive covenants on urban redevelopment land. Kansas and Alabama prohibit racial zoning

City Measures

Forty-nine cities have laws or resolutions affecting discrimination in housing or have taken action covering specific projects. In addition to *New York City* and *Pittsburgh*,* which bar discrimination in private housing (see Digest below), they apply as follows:

Public Housing—Thirty-two cities have provisions applying to this area: Phoenix, Ariz.; Fresno, Richmond and San Francisco, Calif.; Hartford, Conn.; Wilmington, Del.; Washington, D. C.; Chicago, Ill.; South Bend, Ind.; Baltimore, Md.; Boston, Mass.; Detroit, Hazel Park, Mount Clemens, Pontiac, Saginaw and Superior Township, Mich.; Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.; Kansas City and St. Louis, Mo.; Omaha, Neb.; Newark, N. J.; Cleveland and Toledo, Ohio; Chester, Delaware County, Erie and Philadelphia, Penna.; Providence, R. I.; Pasco, Wash.; and Superior, Wisc.

Publicly-assisted and/or urban redevelopment housing—Twenty-five cities have provisions applying to this area: Los Angeles, Oakland, Sacramento and San Francisco, Calif.; Denver, Colo.; Hartford, Conn.; Chicago, Ill.; LaPorte, Michigan City and Mishawaka, Ind.; Des Moines, Iowa; Inkster, Mount Clemens and Superior Township, Mich.; Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minn.; Fargo, N. D.; Cincinnati, Cleveland, Dayton, [illegible] and Toledo, Ohio; Providence, R. I.; Madison and Milwaukee, Wisc.

* **Legislation covering private housing was enacted by the city of Toledo, Ohio, subsequent to publication of this "SCOREBOARD."**

*

HOUSING–CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION

The "SCOREBOARD" of anti-discr[illegible] hous[illegible]lation is reprinted from the July–August, 1961, issue of *TRE[illegible] IN HOUSING*, by courtesy of the NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING.

A symbol (★), editorially supplied here, is to direct attention to the column reflecting "Private Housing" coverage which distinguishes nine states with legislation generally referred to as "Fair Housing Practices Laws." These laws are highly significant in advancing the civil rights front in this field by progressing from "open occupancy housing" toward an "open housing market."

THE "TWELVE" LAWS COVERING PRIVATE HOUSING

This is a "digest" of *the DIGEST* which appeared in the July-August 1961 issue of TRENDS IN HOUSING, complementary to "SCOREBOARD." (The original version contains brief descriptions of the legislative provisions and reference to enforcement agencies.)

Locality	Signed Into Law	Effective Date
1. New York City, N. Y.	Dec. 30, 1957	Apr. 1, 1958 (Amended 1961)
2. Pittsburgh, Pa.	Dec. 8, 1958	June 1, 1959
3. Colorado	Apr. 10, 1959	May 1, 1959
4. Massachusetts	Apr. 22, 1959	July 21, 1959 (Amended 1960 and 1961)
5. Connecticut	May 12, 1959	Oct. 1, 1959 (Amended 1961)
6. Oregon	May 17, 1959	Aug. 5, 1959
7. Pennsylvania	Feb. 28, 1961	Sept. 1, 1961
8. New York State	Apr. 11, 1961	Sept. 1, 1961
9. Minnesota	Apr. 17, 1961	Dec. 31, 1962
10. New Hampshire	June 30, 1961	Aug. 29, 1961
11. New Jersey	Sept. 13, 1961	Sept. 13, 1961
12. Toledo, Ohio	Sept. 25, 1961	Oct. 25, 1961

“FAIR” FAIR HOUSING PRACTICES

--A Discussion by Corienne R. Morrow

Throughout the past 30 years of the housing movement as an important part of the “welfare revolution,” it has been extremely difficult to define the fundamental “equal opportunity” aspect and to focus upon this as a “civil rights” issue. The difficulty, stemming in part from the complex nature of the whole housing problem, has been complicated further by the tenacious pattern of identifying minorities with poverty and slums. Paradoxically, this image of all minorities was strengthened by those who, seeking to secure for disadvantaged groups their “fair share” of benefits from housing programs such as slum clearance, found it necessary to dramatize the negative ingredients of the problem to achieve their purposes. (Today, there are many persons who do not know, or have forgotten, that this was a hard-won struggle even in Federally-aided public housing programs.)

Perhaps they did their job too well: for many of these same persons--and this more often than not means professionals in the fields of housing and civil rights--find themselves currently confronted with the problem of modifying the distortion they helped to create. Now, the emerging era of “Fair Housing Practices” faces them with the heightened importance of defining the fundamental issue--*that equal access to housing is a civil right*--and of *distinguishing that right from the confounding problems of slums and poverty* whatever may be their “racial ratios” at any given time.

The basic question is not the quality or the cost, or even the condition of the homes as such, but the right of each individual to compete for them in an open housing market, on an equal basis with everyone else, and without restriction solely because of his ethnic characteristics. This “right” maintains whether the housing is standard or substandard; whether the cost is high or low; whether there is much or little of it available for sale or for rent. In this context, the individual acting in accordance with his just claim is vested with a dignity transcending the “etiquette” of tolerance.

The present trend toward legal establishment of the justness and propriety of equal opportunity for everyone to compete in an “open” housing market represents slow and laborious conquest over the consequences of prejudice, fear, misconceptions, and faulty generalizations. The progress achieved thus far is “spotty.” The “SCOREBOARD” (page 151) reflects no preponderance of truly integrated living situations; rather, it

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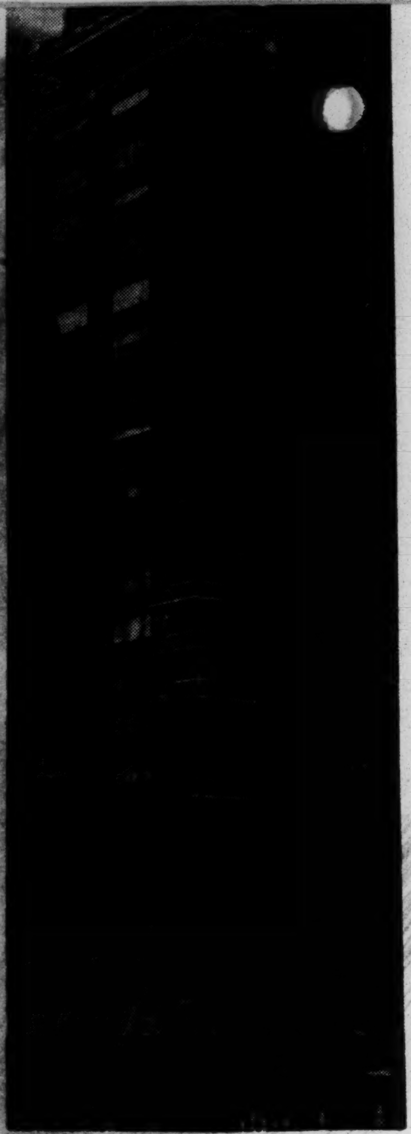

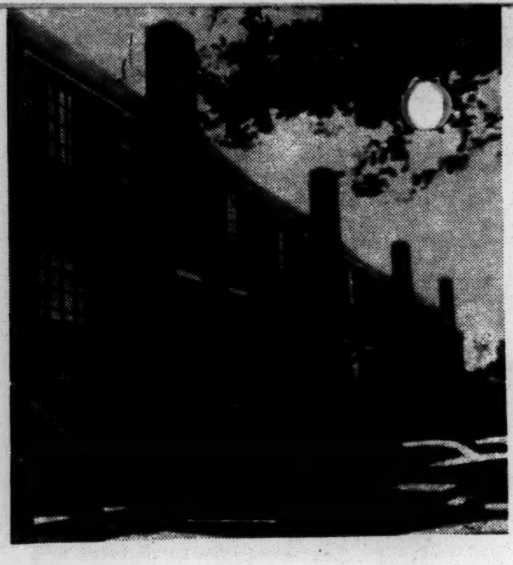

"'FAIR' FAIR HOUSING PRACTICES"

An Excerpt From

Pilot Preview

- *The Report of a Demonstration Project on the Process of Achieving Equal Housing Opportunities*

- These pages are reprinted from the report of an action-research project, "Women's Integrating Neighborhood Services," which was sponsored by the Educational Foundation of the National Council of Negro Women, Inc. to demonstrate new approaches to the process of achieving "equal housing opportunities." Dr. Rhetta M. Arter, author of WINS PILOT PREVIEW, directed the project.
- "'FAIR' FAIR HOUSING PRACTICES," excerpted in this reprint, is a "discussion" by Corienne R. Morrow, one of the WINS Project Consultants, which was included in "Equal Housing Opportunities," one of the twelve chapters of WINS PILOT PREVIEW. It is offered here as an interpretation of basic principals underlying the "WINS" approach—which is concerned primarily with the responsiveness of "minorities" to the housing opportunities "opened" by enactment of anti-discrimination housing legislation and public policy.

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160 North Fifteenth Street,
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

stands forth as eloquent evidence of the vast, dramatic potential imprinted upon the pages of legislative mandates in nine of the country's fifty states and three of its numerous cities.

Equally pervasive in the perpetuation of the problem are the products of restriction and rejection evidenced by the minorities themselves. Many historically disadvantaged families—having endured denial because of their ethnic characteristics—are conditioned by long years of artificial restrictions as to where and how they might establish their homes. Now they must bring—to their newly-won freedom—ineffective, indeed inadequate, patterns of search for a place to live. In this respect, the WINS Questionnaire Respondents through their replies to "How would you find a future home" (page 88) afford a provocative "preview" of possible changes in these patterns—through education, information and shared experience. Perhaps another, simpler way of saying this is that members of minority groups, like those of the majority, tend to buy the housing that is sold or rented to them.

Still another facet of the problem is the conditioning of the organizations—volunteer and professional—which have manned the struggle to achieve the gains thus far won. Now they are confronted with the unavoidable demand for re-tooling to meet the requirements of the emerging new situations. Many of them, it is clear, are equipped only with those instruments which were designed for—and partially effective in—dealing with the rapidly receding phases of the "problem."

The products of these combined factors, along with other deplorable results of prejudice and discrimination, are manifold—too numerous, indeed, for delineation here. Among those of particular concern to the WINS PILOT PROJECT are these:

- The reality that there is but little understanding, and less acceptance, of the basic concept of the "right" to equal housing opportunity.
- The fallacy that housing occupancy by minority families is indivisibly associated with the incidence of "slums" and "blighted" or "deteriorated" properties and neighborhoods has been further distorted to ascribe to these families "voluntary choice" of depressed residential areas.
- The proposition that minorities in general, and Negroes in particular, are not responsive to opportunities to "move into integrated situations." This may eventuate as one of the most serious of the misconceptions because of its obscuring effect even upon some who are working actively to achieve integrated housing and neighborhoods.

It is unfortunate that, for many years, preoccupation with the attitudes, the interests, the fears and apprehensions of the dominant groups was necessary if they were to be "persuaded" to support—or just not oppose—"open occupancy housing," as well as efforts to secure enactment of anti-discrimination housing laws. This preoccupation has tended to over-shadow consideration of the corresponding attitudes and interests, fears and apprehensions of minority groups. For American Negroes, the product has become an array of unrealistic expectations and frequently insensitive demands upon them. Indeed, in this present situation, there is the hazard that the same minorities who have borne for so long the burden of the discriminated housing market are now being required to assume the burden of achieving "integration."

"Fair" Fair Housing Practices will not be won by transferring the manipulations that have characterized the discriminatory housing market to the quest for one which is equally open to all. Structures, techniques, philosophies, convictions—all of these must now be critically appraised with regard for moving into the next stages of the conquest of bigotry. Many endeavors, such as the WINS Pilot Project, will need to be developed to their highest potential if the vast, crucial resources of the minorities themselves are to be brought into the mainstream of constructive efforts to achieve true housing integration. This cannot be accomplished through methods which—however well motivated—still carry the vestiges of old prejudices, or which bear the taint of discriminatory terms in the guise of the "privilege of being integrated." Like their majority counterparts, "brown" Americans can approach the new "era," contribute to its positive goals, participate in its democratic architecture only as they are accorded the dignity of their own choice, concern for their own interests as well as of others, and respect for their own individual predilections.

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stands forth as eloquent evidence of the vast, dramatic potential imprinted upon the pages of legislative mandates in nine of the country's fifty states and three of its numerous cities.

Equally pervasive in the perpetuation of the problem are the products of restriction and rejection evidenced by the minorities themselves. Many historically disadvantaged families—having endured denial because of their ethnic characteristics—are conditioned by long years of artificial restrictions as to where and how they might establish their homes. Now they must bring—to their newly-won freedom—ineffective, indeed inadequate, patterns of search for a place to live. In this respect, the WINS Questionnaire Respondents through their replies to "How would you find a future home" (page 88) afford a provocative "preview" of possible changes in these patterns—through education, information and shared experience. Perhaps another, simpler way of saying this is that members of minority groups, like those of the majority, tend to buy the housing that is sold or rented to them.

Still another facet of the problem is the conditioning of the organizations—volunteer and professional—which have manned the struggle to achieve the gains thus far won. Now they are confronted with the unavoidable demand for re-tooling to meet the requirements of the emerging new situations. Many of them, it is clear, are equipped only with those instruments which were designed for—and partially effective in—dealing with the rapidly receding phases of the "problem."

The products of these combined factors, along with other deplorable results of prejudice and discrimination, are manifold—too numerous, indeed, for delineation here. Among those of particular concern to the WINS PILOT PROJECT are these:

- The reality that there is but little understanding, and less acceptance, of the basic concept of the "right" to equal housing opportunity.
- The fallacy that housing occupancy by minority families is indivisibly associated with the incidence of "slums" and "blighted" or "deteriorated" properties and neighborhoods has been further distorted to ascribe to these families "voluntary choice" of depressed residential areas.
- The proposition that minorities in general, and Negroes in particular, are not responsive to opportunities to "move into integrated situations." This may eventuate as one of the most serious of the misconceptions because of its obscuring effect even upon some who are working actively to achieve integrated housing and neighborhoods.

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ated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct nonviolent methods

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October 3, 1963

Honorable Robert F. Wagner
Mayor of New York
City Hall
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Wagner:

I would like to request an appointment with you and the appropriate members of your administration to discuss the urgent and pressing problems of sub-standard, segregated housing in New York City.

The major civil rights organizations are focusing more and more of their resources on the problem of segregated, sub-standard housing in the major urban areas of the United States. In New York City, to eliminate such housing, CORE feels that more than the present solutions of building code enforcement and rehabilitation programs are required. The rehabilitation program is a long term program and there are still unresolved questions as to firstly, its basic goals and secondly, as to whether these goals can be implemented through the present proposals. If then, there is a need for added programs to provide meaningful answers to the problemsof ending slum conditions in New York City, the question is, just what?

CORE's first proposal is based on the fact that the Department of Welfare is one of the largest tenants in New York City and a large number of the Department's clients are located in sub-standard housing. If the Welfare Department were to remove and relocate all clients who live in sub-standard housing to housing that at least met the basic code requirements, then a substantial portion of the problem would be solved. While this proposal has been brought up before, the answer of past City administrations has been that there is not enough standard housing to relocate all of the Welfare Departments clients that would be dislocated. CORE proposed that the Welfare Department relocate all Welfare clients now living in sub-standard housing on a step by step basis, that is, starting with the buildings of five or six of the

- continued -

major slumlords in a given area, for example, Harlem or the Lower East Side. The second step would also concern the Welfare Department in that no new clients would be located in sub-standard housing. The third step is one of publicity for the new program. It can be tied in with the City's new cyclical approach for building inspections. The initial announcement could be followed up by on-the-spot news coverage as the first confrontations are made with the slumlords and as the clients are relocated. This program, CORE feels, can help provide meaningful answers to the problems of slum housing in New York City.

CORE's second proposal is, perhaps, more drastic. It calls for the setting up of a special Task Force comprised of Building, Health, and Fire inspectors, police, attorneys and accountants, to investigate and prosecute slumlords. This would necessitate investigation in depth, covering not only Code violations, but the total picture of the slumlords business dealings. Possible irregularities in tax payments, corporate dealings, etc. could well provide the basis for prosecution on the part of the city or state.

CORE feels that either or both of these programs will help to provide meaningful and rapid solutions to the problems of slum housing. Providing decent housing for all is the first step in making a truly open New York City.

We appreciate your cooperation in this matter and await a reply at your earliest possible convenience.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer

James Farmer
National Director

JF/ss

Housing

October 15, 1963

Mr. Albert C. Ettinger
Research Field Representative
State Commission for Human Rights
257 State Office Building
Syracuse 2, New York

Dear Al:

My belated thanks for the copy of your research on housing conditions and residential patterns in Syracuse.

I am sorry that I did not acknowledge this earlier, but, I am sure you are aware of the rush of activities faced by us daily in this office.

Thanks again.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey,
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:dmb

MAY 10 1963

STATE OF NEW YORK
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
STATE COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS
~~240 STATE STREET, ALBANY 10, NEW YORK~~
~~GRIDLEY 4-2705~~
257 State Office Building
Syracuse 2, New York

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LLOYD L. HURST
MARY LOUISE NICE
RUPERTO RUIZ

May 9, 1963

Mr. James Farmer, Executive Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Jim,

Thought the enclosed might be of interest as illustrative of the housing situation in our Upstate cities. I have also done a study of the relocation of Negroes displaced from an urban renewal project area, which documents and illustrates the fact that, of all Negroes displaced, 66% relocated in census tracts with the highest degree of substandard housing, that is, tracts in which 40% or more of housing units were either dilapidated, deteriorating, or lacking in plumbing facilities, according to U.S. Census Bureau criteria. I neglected, however, to compare this nonwhite relocation trend with the relocation trend of white persons displaced from the same project area. When I do that, it should provide a pretty good comparative analysis for publication.

Our efforts in the area of school desegregation seem to have bogged down on the elementary and junior high school levels, after having been accomplished on the senior high school level. A few more months should tell the story in this matter.

The work of CORE is an endless source of pride in accomplishment.

Best regards to Marvin, and all the other James's.

Fraternally yours,

Albert C. Ettinger
Research Field Representative

ACE:mm
Enc.

"SHOCKING RESEARCH" AND RACIAL STEREOTYPES

A Statistical Analysis of Color Differentials in Housing Conditions and Residential Patterns in Syracuse, New York, Dramatized Through the Use of an Audio-Visual Aids Technique. Paper presented at the 16th Annual Conference of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials.

By

Albert C. Ettinger

Research Field Representative
New York State Commission for Human Rights

"SHOCKING RESEARCH" AND RACIAL STEREOTYPES

A Statistical Analysis of Color Differentials in Housing Conditions and Residential Patterns in Syracuse, New York, Dramatized Through the Use of an Audio-Visual Aids Technique. Paper presented at the 16th Annual Conference of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials by Albert C. Ettinger, Research Field Representative, New York State Commission for Human Rights.

Syracuse is a prosperous city of 216,000 population centrally located in Upstate New York. Diversified manufacturing industries include plants of General Electric, Carrier Corporation, Chrysler Corporation, Crouse-Hinds, and Allied Chemicals. Civic conscious executives from these and other companies, together with an active faculty leadership from Syracuse University generally provide influential and effective support for civic reform, to the extent that problems and proposed solutions are clearly defined and made meaningful. In this respect, one of the greatest difficulties confronted by an intergroup relations consultant lies in the communication of statistical data in such a way that its significance will be remembered. This paper illustrates an audio-visual aids technique developed by the author to accomplish that objective at a human rights conference on housing held in Syracuse, New York, during the early summer of 1962.

BACKGROUND OF THE CONFERENCE

Seventy-two percent of the 12,300 nonwhite population of Syracuse is concentrated in four of the city's ~~32~~ 61 census tracts. These four tracts are located in the heart of the city adjacent to the central business district. For various reasons, slum clearance being the most salient, three governmental projects will soon displace over two thousand persons from two of these tracts. Since these two tracts together average over 70% nonwhite in racial composition, most of the persons who must seek new homes are Negro.

Persons in Syracuse concerned about discriminatory practices were aware of the extreme difficulties encountered by Negro residents in their attempt to find adequate rental housing outside the "ghetto" area. They were aware that industry had lost technical personnel brought from out-of-town, when the latter found themselves barred from obtaining decent houses in good neighborhoods. Air Force personnel had sought transfer. A few professional men had come and gone, discouraged by the community "climate".

It was in this context that the Syracuse and Onondaga County Council of the New York State Commission for Human Rights decided to sponsor a city-wide conference on human rights and housing. Attending the conference were 160 delegates representing interested civic and religious organizations; local, state, and national governmental agencies; and industry and commerce, including the real estate board. As a matter of fact, the conference has been described as the most widely representative body ever gathered to take a close look at a community problem in Syracuse.

The author of this paper, a field representative of the New York State Commission for Human Rights, was responsible for preparing research materials for the conference.

THE RESEARCH PROBLEM: COMMUNICATION

To provide a familiar frame of reference the author related most of his statistical information* to copies of a base map of Syracuse delineated by major roads, parks, etc., and census tracts. Varying degrees of color intensity were used to identify groupings of data so that differences with respect to a given variable stood out sharply in "psychological" relationship. By means of overlays other variables were progressively related to the one shown on the base map. A 35 mm colored photograph was made at each stage of map development to enable slide projection during the conference lecture, while the maps themselves were placed on display for delegate reference throughout the conference. Other points, related to the statistical analysis, were documented by means of taped interviews with six nonwhite residents of Syracuse - five Negroes and an American Indian. Thirty-five minutes of excerpts from these interviews were played in the course of the lecture presentation. In short, the lecture was keyed to a statistical analysis dramatized and made personally meaningful through the use of audio-visual aids.

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*All statistical information was secured from "U.S.Census of Population and Housing: 1960, PHC (1) - 154;" "1950 U.S.Census of Population, P-D54;" and "1950 U.S. Census of Housing, H-E190."

By using these techniques four stereotypes were effectively challenged.

Myth #1 NEGROES CREATE SLUMS

The belief that there is a necessary relationship between race and condition of housing was particularly easy to refute in the case of Syracuse since Negroes, prior to 1950, had never lived in significant numbers in nine out of the eleven most heavily blighted residential census tracts in the city.

To illustrate this point the author prepared a 1960 base map of substandard housing* by census tract (presented as Slide I in the lecture). In the actual map cross hatching was represented by the colors indicated. Then an overlay was made delineating the concentration of the nonwhite population in 1950 and 1960 (presented as Slide II, see figure 1).

The point was made that the primary reasons for substandard housing are overcrowded use and lack of maintenance by responsible landlords, and the former relationship was illustrated by means of another overlay (See Figure 2, presented as Slide III). It is observed that all eight tracts which have the greatest degree of overcrowding are also tracts which are badly substandard.

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*The criteria of substandardness adopted was that used by the Community Renewal Program of Syracuse and included all deteriorating and dilapidated housing units (using Census Bureau criteria), in addition to units lacking hot water or plumbing facilities. The condition of housing in Syracuse was worse in 1950 than in 1960, improvement being primarily due to demolition of substandard units.

To further illustrate the relationship, a 1950 base map of overcrowding was prepared using color; then an overlay that portrays numerical change in the nonwhite residential population by census tract between 1950 and 1960. A dotted black boundary enclosed tracts registering increases of 200 or more persons, while a dotted red boundary designated tracts in which there had been an increase between 100 and 200. The new base map, together with overlay (presented as Slide IV) illustrates that 66% of the nonwhite increase occurred in tracts that were already heavily overcrowded in 1950.

Sample Taped Excerpt (part)

Mr. X, Negro construction worker displaced by the Syracuse Urban Renewal Program as a result of planned demolition of old buildings in the ghetto area, speaks painfully; yet his voice reflects the epitome of personal dignity and character:

> "I've been in Syracuse 15 years .... We come here from Newark, New Jersey .... I didn't know hardship 'till I had to leave down there. Then I found it was very hard for colored people to get anything decent. We couldn't get anything that was fit to live in. The 15th Ward held so many people it was overcrowded. A four-family house was cut up to eight families. Three rooms each. That's how we lived there. Sixty dollars a month and I paid my own gas and light bill. This was not good. I was fixin' all the time free, and then it was no good."

Q. "Didn't the landlord keep the place up at all?"

> "Not too good. They didn't care because it was decontrolled on the rent. They would tell you to get out if you made too much trouble; if you said too much about what needed to be done .... The most people is in that Ward cooped up there together. The reason for that is some of the people are very nice educated people. They

> couldn't find anyplace else. They overpopulated; too many in one apartment. Six in three rooms. I saw that. I experienced that .... They couldn't get anyplace. They had good factory jobs and they didn't get the place. Most of the people stayed in my apartment house eight to ten years. The house was very much condemned. It wasn't any good. Cellar was full of water, rats, and you would have to go along with that."

Myth #2 AT LEAST THERE IS EQUALITY IN POVERTY

Many white people entertain the belief that while conditions may be deplorable in slum areas, they are at least as equally bad for whites as Negroes. This belief facilitates sublimating guilt about racial discrimination to an equanimminous fatalism in regard to poverty in general. Complacency in this matter was disturbed by presenting a comparative analysis of living conditions in Syracuse's four census tracts which in 1960 contained 72% of total city nonwhite population, locally referred to as the "15th Ward", or the Near East Side. This was effected by subtracting nonwhite data from the overall totals with respect to the tracts involved in order to get comparable data for whites. With the data arrayed and medians computed, we find that Negroes of the 15th Ward live in housing that is overcrowded, substandard, and overpriced, not only in any generally accepted context, but also in relation to white families who live in the same area. (See Figure 3).

Specifically, it is discovered that the median gross rent paid by Negroes was $76 a month while only $65 was required of the typical white family. This in spite of the fact that the median income for nonwhite families was $4,106 compared with $4,587 for white families; 57% of nonwhite housing in the area was substandard as compared with 40% of white housing; and 20% of nonwhite housing units contained over one person per room contrasted with only 6% of white units.

Myth #3 WHILE CONDITIONS ARE ADMITTEDLY BAD FOR NEGROES IN THE GHETTO, MOST OF THEM CAN'T AFFORD TO LIVE ELSEWHERE

Since there is general realization that Negro income is typically less than white income, it is popularly assumed that the overwhelming majority of Negroes must of necessity live in areas of substandard housing. A census tract analysis of median gross rents throughout the city in relation to nonwhite family income within the 15th Ward revealed that theoretically most Negro families from the area in question could better afford to live elsewhere in the city.

The first step in the analysis was to approximate what a typical family paid for rental housing in the city. Lacking time or facilities for a sample survey, this approximation was obtained by dividing 1960 census data for median gross rent for the city as a whole by the city-wide median income for families and unrelated individuals. The tentative conclusion was that the typical family or person who rents pays 19.7% of his income for gross rent. This figure was rounded to 20%.*

The next step was to establish where people living in the 15th Ward within given income limits could afford to live outside the area, assuming they presently spend at least 20% of their income for gross rent.

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*See methodological note in Appendix

Unfortunately, the Census Bureau does not publish the number of families and unrelated individuals within given income limits by census tract, but it does provide this information for families alone by $1,000 income limits. Since it also gives us the median gross rent by census tract, we are able to color code a map of the city by census tract showing where families can afford to rent, assuming that they spend 20% of their income for rent. (See Figure 4 presented as Slide V)

In this map each color represents a range of monthly gross rent, the limits of which were established by taking 20% of the following income limits:

Income Limits at 20% affords	Median Gross Rent	Color Equivalent
$3,999 or less	$67 or less	Brown
$4,000 to $5,000	$67 to $83	Red
$5,000 to $6,000	$83 to $100	Orange
$6,000 to $8,000	$100 to $133	Yellow
$8,000 to $10,000	$133 to $166	Green
$10,000 and Over	$166 and Over	Blue

Now the income picture for nonwhite families from the four heavily Negro census tracts, together with the gross rental range they could afford, is as follows:

Nonwhite Family Income for Census Tracts 32,33,34,42

All families	1902	100%	Gross rent afforded at 20% of income
Under $4,000	919	48.3	$48 to $67
$4,000 to $5,000	302	15.9	$67 to $83
$5,000 to $6,000	277	14.6	$83 to $100
$6,000 to $8,000	240	12.6	$100 to $133
$8,000 to $10,000	103	5.4	$133 to $166
$10,000 and over	61	3.2	Over $166 (No tracts have median rents this high)

By referring to our rent map we immediately see that 164 nonwhite families from the 15th Ward (8.6% of the total) could afford to rent anywhere in the city, including the two highest rental tracts. In 1960, outside of some ~~ten Negro~~ 14 nonwhite student families in Syracuse University temporary housing, not one Negro family lived in either of these two tracts.

Another 240 families, representing 12.6% of the total, could afford to rent anywhere except in the two tracts referred to above. In fact, the yellow tracts which they could afford all have good to excellent housing. Yet in 1960 only 225 nonwhites or about 45 nonwhite families lived in these 15 tracts* - less than half of 1% of the total population in these tracts. In three of these yellow tracts (#3,19,26) there were no Negroes.

Next we find 277 families who financially qualify to live in the 16 orange census tracts of the city. In 1960 all but four of these tracts had good to excellent housing, and 10 of the 16 tracts had an insignificant nonwhite population. Indeed, there were no Negro families at all in 7 of these tracts. Only one tract was over 2% nonwhite in composition.

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*Excluding nonwhite residents of two public housing projects.

Then there are 302 families who are financially capable of renting in the red area of the city, which consists of 18 tracts outside the ghetto. Only 4 of these 18 tracts range from poor to bad in terms of substandard housing criteria. There were no Negro families in 7 of these 18 tracts in 1960.

Finally, there remain 919 families (48% of the total) with income less than $4,000 who could better afford housing in tract #23 outside the ghetto which has lower rents and better housing than where they currently live. While approximately 8 Negro families lived in this tract in 1960, there was "room for many a more" as attested by the fact that tract #23 had one of the highest vacancy rates in the city.

Thus our analysis of rent and income attests to the fact that nonwhite income does not restrict Negro families to the "15th Ward".

Sample Taped Excerpt (part)

Dr. Y, Negro, a medical doctor for McComb, Mississippi:

> "I arrived in Syracuse, March 9th with my wife and child here at the U.S. Army recruiting station as medical examiner. Arriving in town I found the Army didn't have any housing available for its personnel since there is no Army base around this area. I was able to find a place to stay at a local motel. I only planned to stay several days until I could find a two-bedroom apartment .... We started out on Saturday looking for a place. We called several places which advertised two-bedroom apartments. My wife and I went out to see them. On arriving at each place we were told they had just been rented. At most places they would say "we just rented

five minutes ago" ...."Then we started checking the garden-type apartments in the city. We went to one place owned by an attorney. We were shown the apartment by the supervisor and were told it was available and we could get it. I was to sign the lease the next morning at 11 o'clock. We kept calling and the supervisor said he needed the owner's final approval .... Finally at 1:30 we were able to contact the owner through Miss -- . He told her that he wouldn't rent to another Negro as he had one Negro in the area and it would be pushing him too far to put another Negro out there. Later that day we tried the --- Apartments. They have 129 apartments out there. My wife talked to the supervisor there and she told her there was a place available and promised to show it to us later that day. On arriving out there we saw the lady's husband and he said, no, the place was rented. He said his wife didn't know that he had rented the place."

Q. "How does it differ in the South, in terms of housing?"

"In terms of housing, the Negro in the South, a large percentage in the South own their own homes. There are also plenty of houses for rent. Nice houses, nice neighborhoods, even though they are all Negro. There are well kept homes, very nice neighborhoods that you can rent but in the North in Syracuse, I couldn't find any place that was decent."

Q. "Doctor, how many different attempts did you make to find an apartment in the city?"

"About 25 places. I visited these personally. I called many more than that."

Myth #4 NEGROES ENJOY LIVING TOGETHER

For the Southern white euphemism, "Our Negroes are happy down here," the North has one of its own, to wit, "Negroes enjoy living together." This commonly-held assumption is frequently used to justify ghetto living where all other arguments fail. Moreover, it is a particularly difficult rationalization to refute because, among those who frequently make the assertion, are the descendants of ethnic minorities who did in fact prefer to live in close proximity because of their distinctive cultural backgrounds, particularly with respect to language and/or religion.

In this regard it might be pointed out that the culture of the American Negro is more Anglo-Saxon than that of any minority group other than the English. Fear of prejudice and discrimination are effective deterrents to "pioneering" with respect to many Negroes, but the whole argument is really beside the point. There can be no objection to persons who wish to live in enclaves, but they certainly should not be required to do so. Negroes most assuredly do not enjoy substandard, overcrowded, pest infected housing and a slum environment for their children. But in such matters it is preferable to permit the victims of racial discrimination to speak for themselves.

> Mr. and Mrs. Z are a young Negro couple from Boston who speak with clipped, nasal intonations characteristic of that area. Mr. Z came to Syracuse on a fellowship with the New York State Mental Health Research Unit to pursue graduate studies at the University. The University finally had to provide the Z's with student housing:

Mr. Z - "That was the beginning of a long day. He (the realtor) took me to three places. The first one was really something. It was on Harrison Street, on the back of a two-story house and the house was really run down. I was very much concerned, but I didn't say anything because I knew that I'd have to find some housing quickly so I was going to look at it anyway. It had two bedrooms, a bath, and a kitchen, and the rent was $75 a month; no utilities. That didn't bother me because that was well within our means but the place was - it was terrible - run down; so I told him, you know, I laughed at him and said, 'You don't really expect me to take this, do you?' and so he said, 'Don't look at me. My job is only to show you the place. I didn't build the house.' So I said, 'O.K.' So we went to another place that was on - I think it was on Adams Street, and this was the same thing."

Mrs. Z- "Wasn't that the one with the broken windows?"

Mr. Z - "No, that was the third place. This was on the second floor and, oh, well, it was dirty. Let's see, how do you really describe the place?"

Mrs. Z- "You go up the stairs by the side of this house beside the alley-way. They were big rooms, but the floors were in bad condition. They were sagging, and the walls were full of cracks and holes."

Mr. Z - "The bathroom was in pretty bad shape, too."

Mrs. Z- "Yes, the bathroom was, was terrible."

Mr. Z - "So, I was really getting worried, so I said, 'Well, if you can get the landlord to fix this place up I would take it. How much does he want for it?' He said, 'Eighty-five dollars a month with no utilities.' So I said, 'Well, I gotta have some place, but I can't take it like this. I'll have to fix it up. Will I have to pay for it?' So he said, 'Well, I'll go and see what I can get you.' So he went and brought me back a 'big deal' .... She told me that if I fixed it up and got all the paint and equipment she would let me have it for $95 a month, plus utilities. So I said, 'Well, I'll think about it.' I think I even put a deposit because it was someplace to take.

"Well, then we went to two other realtors, and the same thing happened. A lady said she didn't have any place for us. She said she had one place, but she had promised it to a friend of ours. And this is something else. This is funny, because these friends that we have are living in that place now that she promised. This is also down in the -- across the street from the school where he teaches, and they are trying like hell to get out of it because the place is crawling with roaches and mice. He is worried about the influence on his child. He has no place to let her play and doesn't want her to grow up in that area -- but that's beside the point. This is the place that she had just rented.

"Then we started looking at ads in the paper. We'd get the paper in the morning .... and then we'd go out looking. Uh, maybe about four times during the day we would go off and see an apartment-for-rent sign and ring the bell and no one would answer. This happened to me numerous times. Or a couple

> of other times somebody would answer and they'd tell me I'd have to go downstairs and check with the superintendent. So, I don't know, I'd go downstairs and I'd never find the superintendent. No one would ever be home. I didn't know what to make of that. .... We'd call up and ask whether you rent to Negroes. 'Yes, Sir.' We'd go out -- 'Sorry, the place is just rented.' So, you know, that's the way it goes."

OUTCOME OF THE RESEARCH PRESENTATION

Audience response to the research far exceeded the author's expectation. While it was hoped that color and sound would assist in communicating the personal suffering and humiliation involved in housing discrimination, the actual degree of communication was surprising. This was particularly true of the taped interviews which elicited a series of groans, nervous laughter, and other exclamations.

Although a luncheon break immediately followed the research presentation, upon reconvening it became apparent that the presentation had lost little of its impact.

Realtor representatives testified that they were aware of the situation that existed, but that they felt helpless in coping with it for fear of losing their present and prospective white clients. Then the wife of a Negro engineer (a university teacher in her own right) took the floor and, after chiding the author for having edited her comments from a taped interview with her husband (part of the latter was played at the conference), suggested that the problem was essentially one of personal responsibility which could not be solved through protestations of good will. She described the complete climate of acceptance that soon developed after she and her husband moved to a new residential suburb of Syracuse and concluded by suggesting that all realtors in the city adopt a policy of open occupancy, thus limiting the ability of white clients to select discriminatory agents to the disadvantage of those who did not discriminate.

Following this lady's comments another Negro took the floor, an Assistant Professor of Chemistry at Syracuse University and Chairman of the local CORE group. To counter realtor pleas that the problem was insoluble he cited the repeatedly successful experiences of the only two white real estate agents in the city who have shown houses to Negroes in predominantly white neighborhoods. This encouraged one of the agents mentioned to personally document the stability of property values of houses adjacent to places where he had sold to Negroes.in formerly all white neighborhoods.

At this point a newly elected Chairman of the County Realty Board announced that he was going to call for the appointment of a committee of Board members to explore methods for obtaining a policy of open occupancy by all realty companies in the area, and he stated that he wanted the two non-discriminatory realtors to serve on that committee. The effectiveness of this committee remains to be seen, but there is general determination on the part of a significant number of influential Syracuse residents to follow through on attempts to secure an open occupancy pattern for the city.

Needless to say there was more to the housing conference than the research presentation described in this paper.

Other interesting and important aspects of conference planning, organization and delegate interaction have of necessity been omitted.

The sole intent of this paper was to describe a research method which can be used as a model for other cities.

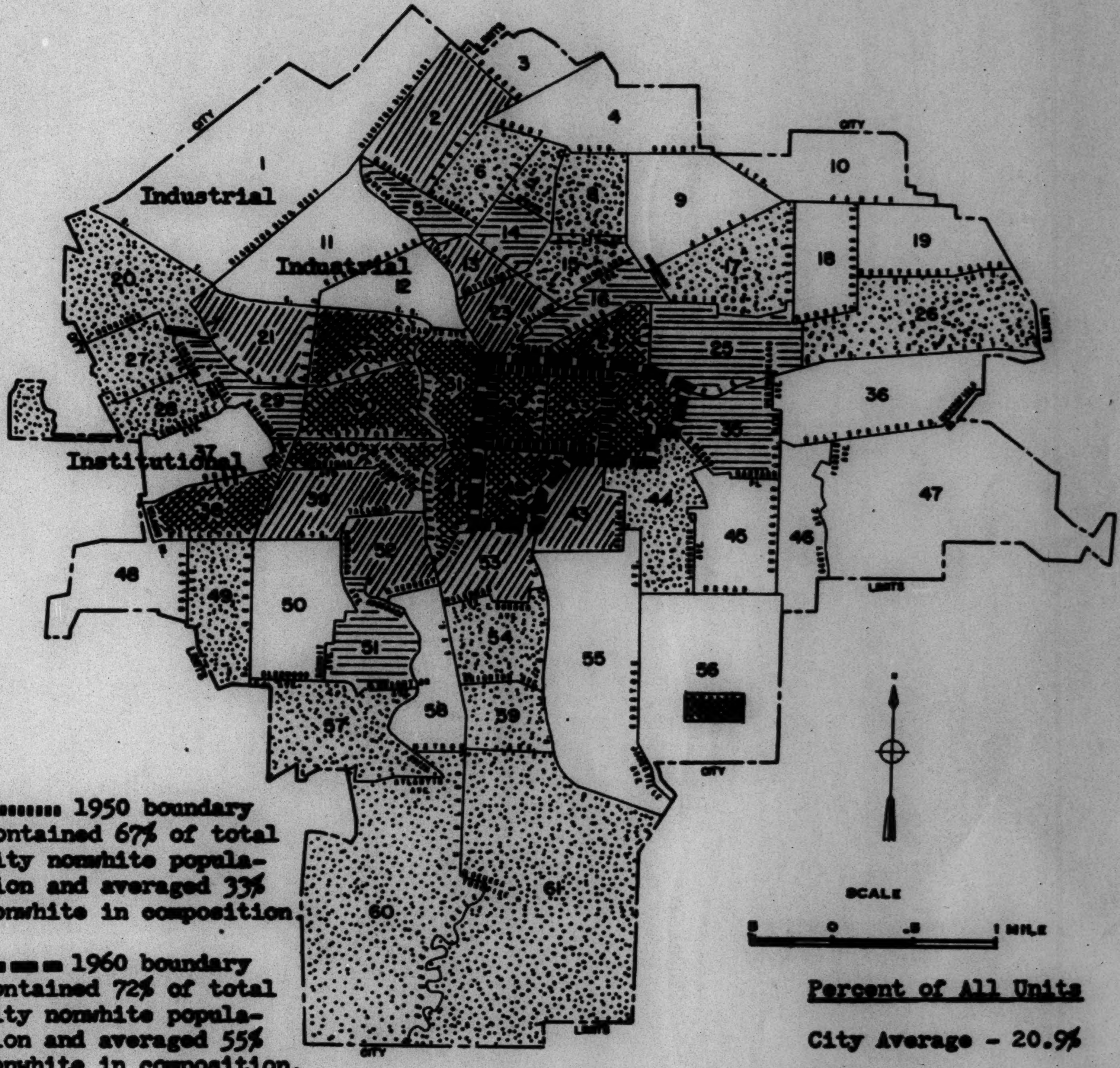
APPENDIX

Methodological Note:

It could be argued that family income data alone is insufficient when using a 20% rental determination in that the latter figure was derived from individual as well as family income, and families, because of the greater number of rooms required, generally pay more rent than unattached individuals. Moreover, it might be assumed that the approximately one-half of all housing units in the city which are owner-occupied are occupied by families with higher incomes, and their deletion from the array used to compute a median income for families and unattached individuals would lower the median income figure -- hence the actual percent of income spent for rent would be higher. On the other hand, the author assumed that this distortion would be counterbalanced by deletion of the lower income unattached individuals from the array. In addition, if it is assumed that families do pay closer to 25% of their income for rent -- and, in view of the rent differential discovered in the 15th Ward, this is quite probably the case for Negro families.-- then it increases the estimated number of higher rental areas in which Negro families could afford to live. In short, the present analysis probably understates the extent of potential housing mobility for 15th Ward Negro families.

SUBSTANDARD HOUSING IN SYRACUSE

By Census Tract - 1960 Figure 1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▪▪▪▪▪▪▪▪ 1950 boundary contained 67% of total city nonwhite population and averaged 33% nonwhite in composition.

▬ ▬ ▬ 1960 boundary contained 72% of total city nonwhite population and averaged 55% nonwhite in composition.

Percent of All Units

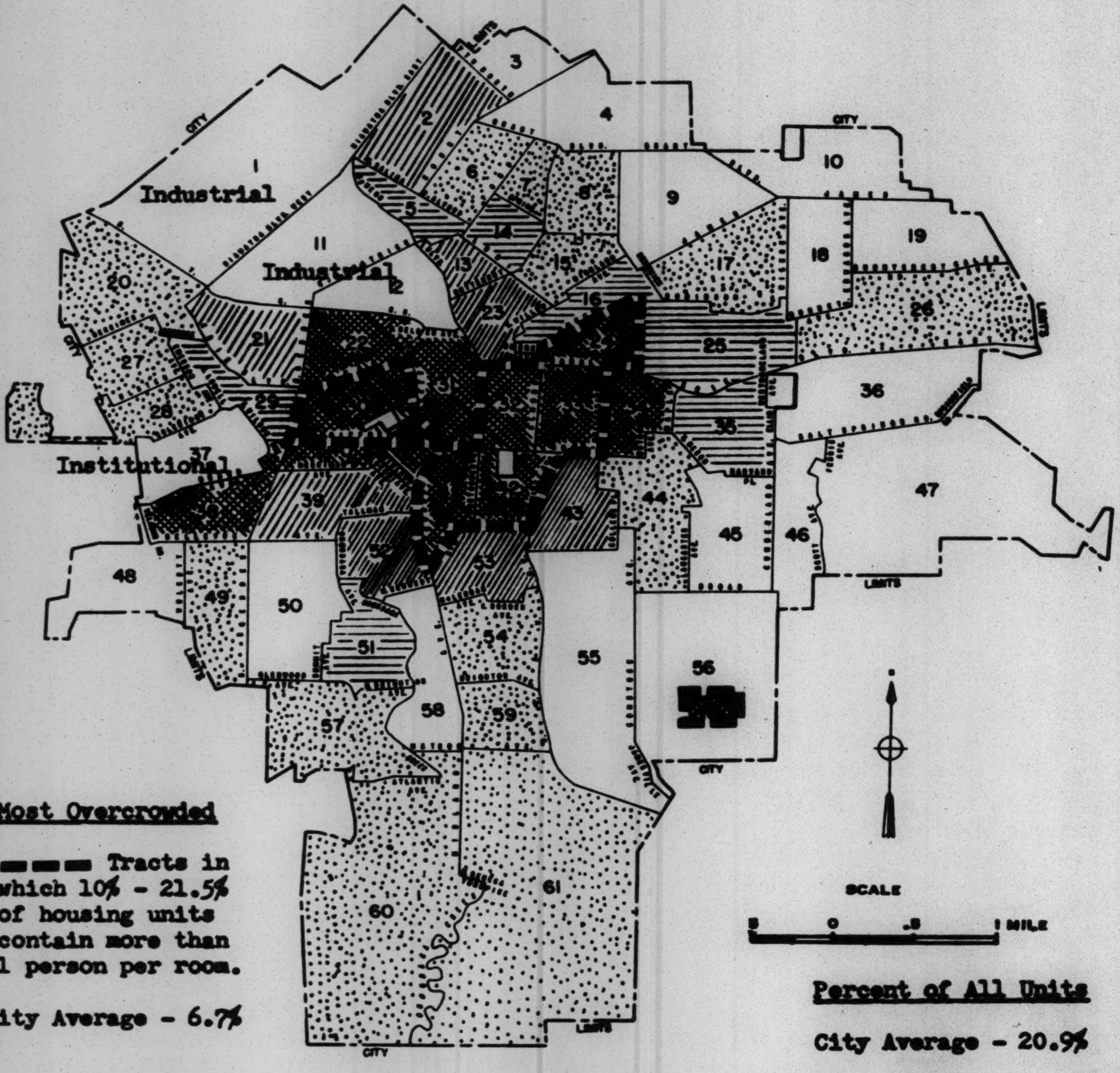
City Average - 20.9%

Cream	▱	0 - 4.9%
Yellow	▨	5 - 14.9%
Orange	▤	15 - 24.9%
Red	▥	25 - 39.9%
Brown	▩	40% & Over

In 1950, tracts #1, #11, & #12 were more residential, heavily substandard (more than 40% of units), and overcrowded. Syracuse's four public housing projects are located in tracts #10, #30, #36, and #42. Substandard housing in tract #56 is concentrated in converted barracks used for Syracuse University married student housing. Computations exclude extant public housing which, if included, would raise to the next catagory housing in tracts #30 and #42.

SUBSTANDARD HOUSING IN SYRACUSE

By Census Tract - 1960 **Figure 2**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Most Overcrowded

▬▬▬ Tracts in which 10% - 21.5% of housing units contain more than 1 person per room.

City Average - 6.7%

Percent of All Units

City Average - 20.9%

Cream ▱ 0 - 4.9%

Yellow ▒ 5 - 14.9%

Orange ▤ 15 - 24.9%

Red ▨ 25 - 39.9%

Brown ■ 40% & Over

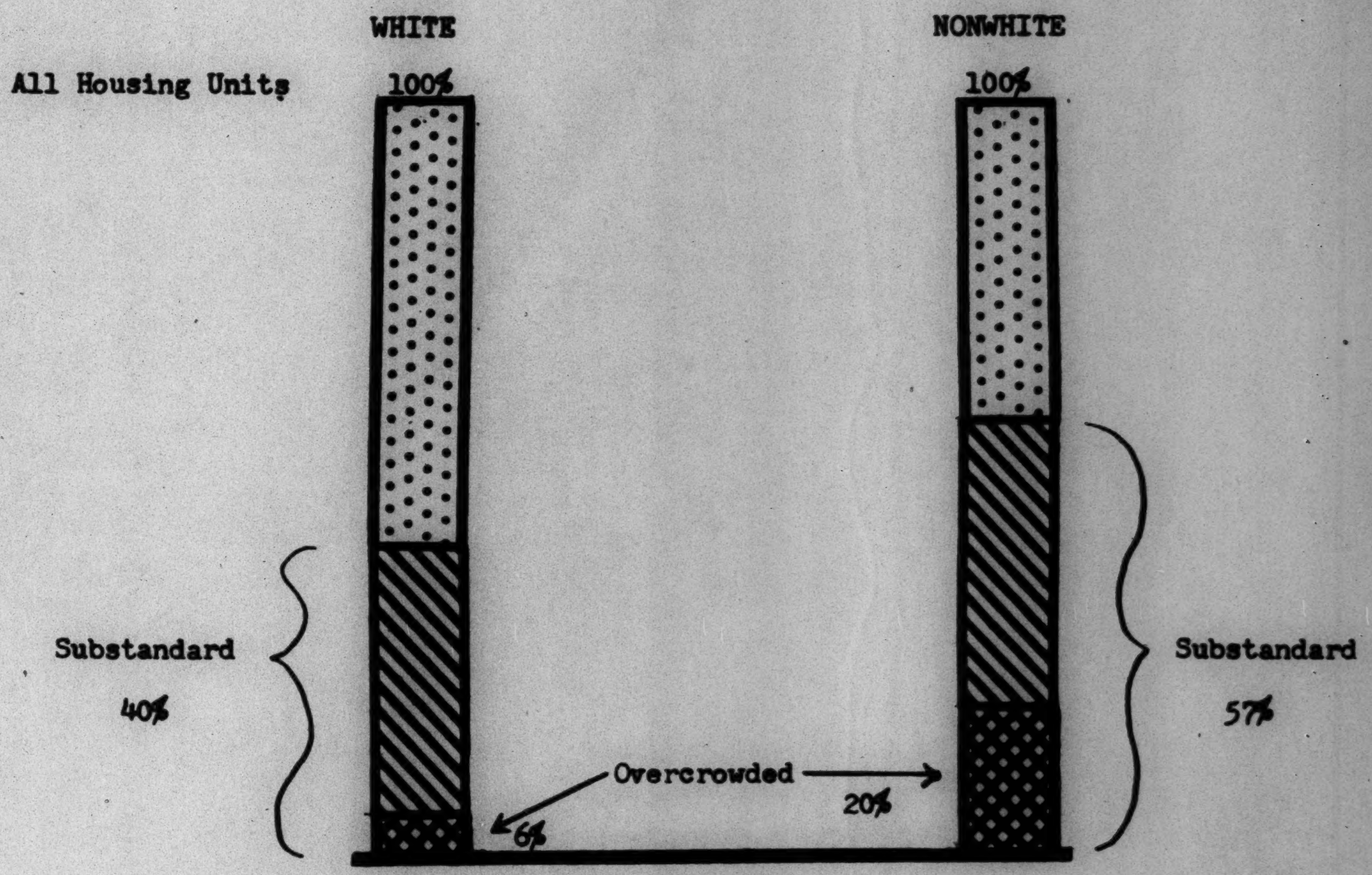
"Substandard" housing units consist of those which, according to U.S. Census Bureau criteria, are dilapidated, deteriorating, and/or lack plumbing facilities or hot water.

CONDITION OF HOUSING UNITS BY COLOR OF OCCUPANTS IN RELATION TO RENT AND INCOME

Figure 3

Syracuse "Near East Side" *

1960



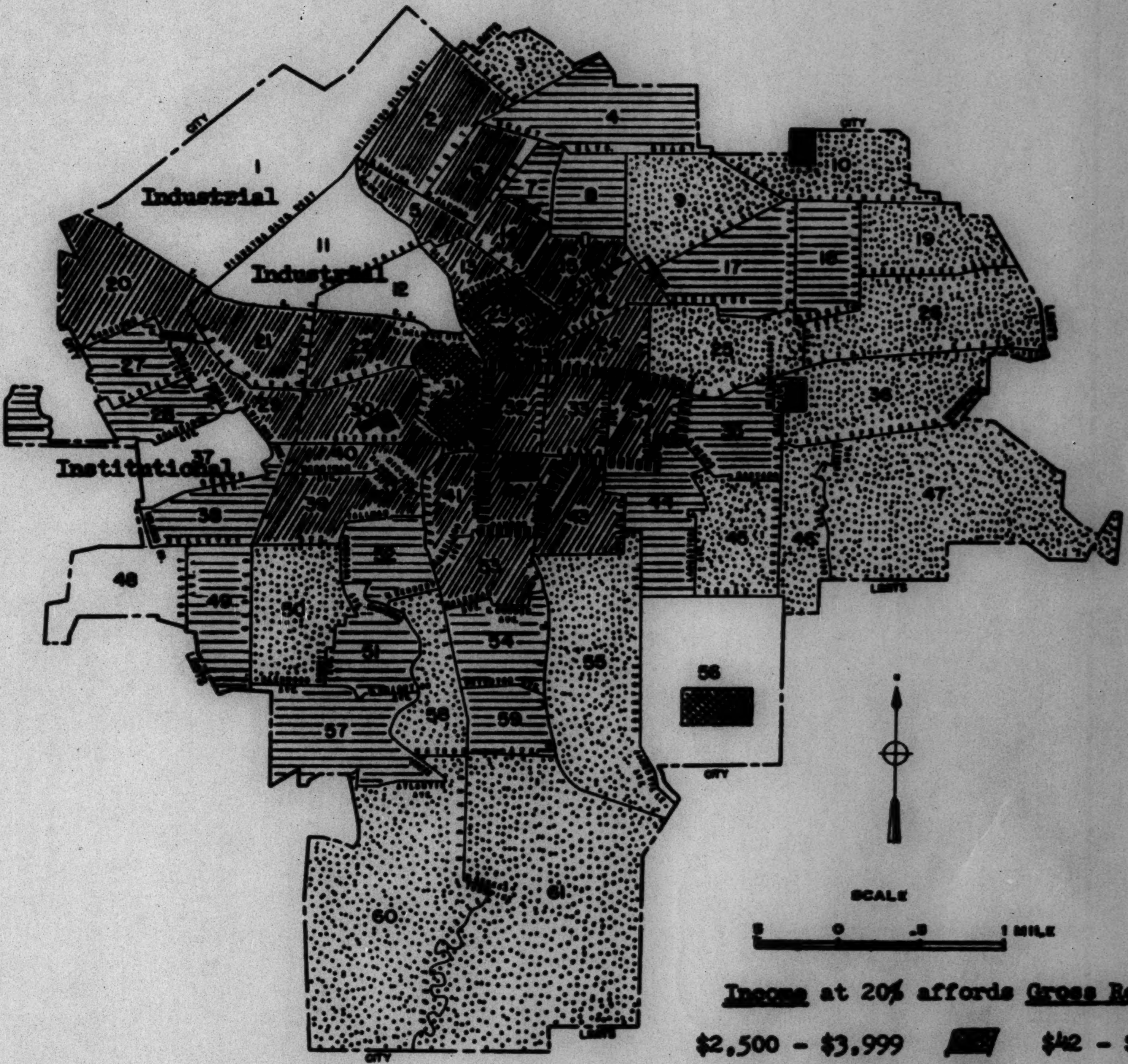
WHITE		NONWHITE
$65	Median Gross Rent	$76
$4,587	Median Family Income	$4,106

*Census Tracts #32, 33, 34, 42.

WHERE PEOPLE CAN AFFORD TO LIVE IN SYRACUSE

(Assuming that 20% of income is spent for rent)

Median Gross Rent by Census Tract - 1960 **Figure 4**



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1 MILE

:::::: Contained 72% of city nonwhite population

Income at 20% affords		**Gross Rent**
$2,500 - $3,999	■	$42 - $67
$4,000 - $4,999	▨	$67 - $83
$5,000 - $5,999	▤	$83 - $100
$6,000 - $7,999	░	$100 - $133
$8,000 - $10000	▱	$133 - $166

City Median (families and unattached individuals) - $4,860 $80

November 19, 1963

Miss Ellen C. Luks
231 East Prospect Avenue
Mount Vernon, New York

Dear Miss Luks:

I am replying to your June letter to Mr. Farmer. As you can guess, the CORE office was swamped with work at the time that your letter came in and some correspondence simply could not be answered at the time. We appreciate very much your suggestion for dealing with individualkslumlords. You will be interested in knowing that a number of our CORE chapters have used some of the techniques which you suggested.

Thanks for your comments and your support.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:lp

JUN 27 1963

231 East Prospect Avenue
Mount Vernon, New York
June 26, 1963

John

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Since developments in the past two months have proved that both small and large public demonstrations can embarrass various power structures and individuals sufficiently to force them to take long-deferred, positive remedial action, the suggestion I offer may be helpful in stimulating housing reforms.

Learn the names of individual landlords and officers of corporations owning buildings with the most numerous and flagrant housing violations and assign teams to picket at their homes and offices. Then, follow them wherever they go: in cars to and from work, on foot in the streets, go into or stand witness at stores and restaurants they patronize. In all cases, carry signs identifying them by name as slumlords, listing the number or type of violations outstanding.

This action would surely attract newspaper and television coverage. The bad publicity and the uneasiness at being pursued by a visible conscience just might embarrass these people enough before their friends and business acquaintances to cause them to repair their properties; other landlords might also take the hint. In addition, it should serve to substantiate the notice to all citizens that the time of waiting patiently has passed.

Attempts to ameliorate intolerable conditions in our ghettoes may seem regressive in comparison to CORE's actions to integrate good housing areas, but, since thousands of people must continue to live in slums, it is worth the effort to try to make their living conditions at least bearable.

I am not able to judge whether this idea is feasible or wildly impracticable or strategically unsound; it may serve no other purpose than to make me feel more helpful in having submitted it for your consideration. I hope it can do more than that.

Yours sincerely,

Ellen C. Luks

(Miss) Ellen C. Luks

November 19, 1963

Mrs. Irving Hutt
522 Linden Avenue
Woodbridge, New Jersey

Dear Mrs. Hutt:

Mr. Farmer has asked me to respond to your letter of June 10th and to apologize for not having answered it sooner.

We appreciate your suggestion for a rent strike throughout Harlem. You are probably aware that CORE has been experimenting now for some months with the rent strike idea. I believe as we gain experience in this field it may be someday be feasible to have an area-wide strike as you suggest.

Thanks again for your support and your comments.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:lp

Mr. Farmer

Mrs. Irving Hutt 522 Linden Avenue Woodbridge, New Jersey

June 10, 1963

Dear Mr. Farmer,

Enclosed please find check for $5.00 to help a little in your vital work of freedom & dignity for your people..

Here is a suggestion: Why don't you have almost all of Harlem refuse to pay their rent simultaneously until every building abides by the Building Codes & Tenement Laws which aren't enforced because of greed, graft & corruption? Also isn't it against the law to overcharge on rent?

At least if the negro had decent housing it would be a giant step in the right direction. The publicity would horrify mayor Wagner and make him put up or shut up. Also the press and everyone else would be rooting for you.

Yours for a successful conclusion,

Mildred R. Hutt

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Circle 7-4230

GENE M. WEEKS
FLATOW

NO

DEC 5 1963

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★ Official Democratic Organization ★
Seventh Assembly District
250 WEST 106th STREET, NEW YORK 25, N. Y.
UNiversity 5-4438

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District Leaders
FRANZ S. LEICHTER
EUGENIA M. FLATOW

State Committee Members
HENRY O. LEICHTER
CARMEN PERTIERRA

December 4, 1963

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Enclosed is a copy of the letter we propose to send out to develop mass support for preserving the rent control law. This will be signed by leading representatives of community groups, such as yourself. Our schedule now calls for this letter to get out this coming Monday, December 9. I would appreciate it if you could call me at my office, CI 7-4230, to let me know if we may use your name and identification as shown here, indicating, of course, that the organization is listed as identification only.

Sincerely,

Gene Flatow

Eugenia M. Flatow
District Leader

Enclosure

I called your secretary to discuss this. Congressman Ryan is signing as are NAACP and (I hope) Urban League.

We ask you to join us in a federation of citizen groups to strengthen and extend rent control. On March 31, 1964, the law establishing rent control for New York City officially ends. At least 60 days before, the City Council is required to hold public hearings on the question of permitting the law to lapse or continuing rent control.

The property owners and landlord interests have waged an organized and voluble campaign to kill this law completely, to have it declared unconstitutional or to weaken it so severely that it is entirely ineffective. They have been making their points dramatically at hearing after hearing. The tenant groups must counter with various demonstrations of strength and interest.

We propose a 4-point program:

1. A drive to enlist literally hundreds of people and organizations to testify at the City Council hearings.
2. A mass rally in a demonstration outside the buildings where the hearings will be held.
3. Circulation of petitions to be presented to the Council President.
4. Encouragement of letter - and post-card writing to Councilmen & the Mayor. ~~(and interested officials).~~

To do this we need a federation of local committees representing civic, church, civil rights and political groups to publicize this program and help us to mobilize mass support.

Will you join us in this endeavor?

DEC 1 0 1963

National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing

426 West 58th Street, New York 19, New York
JUdson 6-3460

CHARLES ABRAMS
President
ALGERNON D. BLACK
Chairman of the Board
LOREN MILLER
Vice-President
MYRNA LOY
CRANE HAUSSAMEN
Co-Chairmen
Advisory Council

FRANCES LEVENSON
Director
MARGARET FISHER
Editor,
Trends In Housing

December 9, 1963

Dear Friend:

We know you share our grief over the death of our lifelong friend, Governor Herbert H. Lehman. A pioneer in the struggle for human dignity and equal rights, a friend of all mankind, a steadfast supporter of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, and a member of its Advisory Council, his loss simply cannot be measured.

As you know, the National Committee had planned to honor Governor Lehman and A. Philip Randolph at a party to be given at the home of Mrs. Ronald Tree on the evening of December 12. The party is being postponed. Mrs. Tree, Mr. Randolph, and Myrna Loy, chairman of the Tribute Committee, join me in this expression of deep sorrow over Governor Lehman's death. Each of us will pay tribute in our hearts to this great man, thankful for his life and works.

Herbert Lehman left us a rare heritage. His finest memorial will be the living record of his accomplishments and increased efforts on our part toward the goals he held so important.

Understandably, we are cancelling the gala party of December 12. The enthusiastic response in contributions and reservations encourages the National Committee to re-schedule the event early in the new year.

With thanks for your generous support and warmest good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Algernon D Black

Algernon D. Black
Chairman of the Board

ADB:eh

P. S. Your purchase of tickets or reservations is deeply appreciated. The notice and tickets for the re-scheduled event will be sent to you as soon as plans are definite. If you should prefer that your contribution be returned, will you please let us know.

SCHIFFER & COHEN

Housing

File

DEC 12 1963

Mr. Allan Hoffman December 10, 1963

Housing Problem

Dear Allan:

The following is a summary of the housing situation as I now see it:

1. KAPLOWITZ : With respect to Kaplowitz we are under an obligation to do the following things:

A. To coordinate with Gribetz to see to it that the reinspection is carried out thoroughly and in the presence of CORE people who can assist in securing access and who can photograph disputed violations.

B. To arrange a meeting between Gollar, Gribetz and our people before January 28, so as to be certain that Gollar knows what the reinspection shows and to determine what kind of sentence would be an appropriate one to request (bearing in mind that the Court can do as it pleases).

C. To arrange for a packed court room and the best possible press coverage on January 28, whether Kaplowitz complies or not.

D. To urge the building department to inspect the buildings all over againin order to file additional violations.

E. To arrange for the promised meeting between Gribetz and Birns and the Commissioner in Health so as to get health enforcement, particularly in the heat and hot water area started.

F. To continue to explore the possibility of Kaplowitz really giving up the buildings either to the city or to receivership.

If we fail to follow up in these areas, all the efforts of the last few months would have been wasted. A foul up such as occurred today could easily wreck our whole progress as to now.

COPY

2. ACCOMPLISHMENTS TO DATE : Up to now, NYU CORE has learned a good deal about the housing situation. It has failed to transmit what it has learned to others in a sufficient degree and it has failed to recruit new people in sufficient quantities to carry one the work. The housing conference which you are planning will presumably go into both of these areas. You have now personally experieiced the effect of uncoordinated, unsupervised activities by a local group especially when the group does not have a strong leader. I should add, in confidence, that the youth and general inexperience of the group have at various stages made the whole task much more difficult than might have been . Against this is the fact, overwhelmingly important, that this group did go out to do work that no one else was willing to undertake, did have a successful demonstration and did make possible some of the gains which are now in sight. In evaluating the group at this time, however, please remember that two of the most valuable members are presently almost out of action and several key members are for various reasons much more limited in their effectiveness than they were before. The negative side should be considered mainly in terms of the following: If mature leadership had been available last February, the entire progress with city departments would have been possible then. It is further likely that with mature leadership, the landlord could have been forced to take remedial action without a great deal of court activities. Kaplowitz is even now most anxious to meet with National CORE. His resentment of 24 hour ultimatums given to him months ago, coupled with his general unwillingness to believe in the seriousness of the NUY group have extended this campaign unnecessarily.

We have so far learned the beginings of a technique, and above all the main elements of the complex problem which confronts us. I think everyone now realizes that in housing, demonstrations alone will not suffice but that legislative programs, court action, negotiation and coordination with the city will continue to be important. Nothing

COPY

COPY

less will begin to get these slums cleaned up. It is also now recognized that tenant reeducation programs will ultimately have to be undertaken, for which reason I particularly liked your idea concerning tenants' being employed to fix their own apartments.

We have also made contact with the city in two top level areas, police and housing in such a way that to the extent we can expect cooperation, we will get it. We cannot overestimate the cooperation we will get. It is also clear that if we fail to keep pressure on, the cooperation will evaporate.

Through Mollen and the Building Department ways have been opened to extend cooperation with City Departments into the tax area and the Department of Health. We still lack any suitable arrangements with the Fire Department. We have no direct contact with the Mayor's office. We do have, in Milt Mollen a close friend of the Mayor's. Gollar, incidentally, is in the liberal party, which should be useful in some entirely different connection.

3. OBJECTIVES : The techniques and devices we have acquired, it has become painfully obvious, will require an immense, coordinate effort of National CORE, chapters and every competent professional or semi-professional we can lay our hands on. In recruiting from the universities, we should certainly seek graduate students and law students with a knowledge of Spanish. I think that these people can be recruited individually, for specific jobs, even where they would not enter a membership campaign.

The acquisition of adequate staff in our organization is the first objective because we can accomplish virtually nothing in its absence.

The other immediate objectives are, plainly, the amelioration of slum dwellings and the recruitment of tenants'

COPY

councils. Although closely related, I mention it separately recognizing that the tenants' councils will hopefully function in other areas as well.

To make any substantial changes in the housing conditions of a million and half people is not a possible task for us unless we can select targets whose fate will force others into line. It is for that reason that I have advised concentration on the underdog landlords who are the real slum owners. The discomfiture of these people will drive money away from slum landlords. This, coupled with rent strike and rent reduction techniques will ultimately force more government money into housing rehabilitation. Tenant participation and tenant re-orientation would obviously hasten the process and attract public sympathy.

The attack on the basic 100 landlords will not involve what the Kaplowitz campaign has so far taken and will hereafter require. Many of these landlords have interrelated interests. The basic research as to ownership has been much simplified by the knowledge gained by NYU and the promise of cooperation from the Building Department (Riley). Placing negotiations in the hands of mature, National CORE people will secure results in more and more cases as the seriousness of the campaign mounts. The availability of cooperation of City Departments will mean that the process of getting into court with a large number of violations will be greatly shortened.

In these ways, actual results in particular buildings can be secured. In addition, other landlords will find it in their interest to act before they are reached, causing an expanding effectiveness.

At all times, rent strike and possibly other kinds of demonstrations will be essential periodically so as to keep up the pressure.

COPY

I believe that in 1964 substantial progress can be made; but I think that the project as a whole will last for several years, at least.

4. INDIVIDUAL ACTION : Any citizen may secure a criminal summons for the various building violations, just as a salesman may secure a summons charging a battery. In addition, §2040 of the Penal Law makes it a misdemeanor for lessor, agent, manager, superintendent, or janitor willfully to fail to furnish hot or cold water, heat, light, power etc. The old Bronx tenants' technique involved having each tenant in the apartment house take turns swearing out a summons for particular violations or under §2040. I do not believe that this technique is presently adaptable to our needs. It had the advantage of continually tying up the landlord in court. It requires too much sophistication, time and supervision to be applied on a really large scale. Of course, if it were so applied, the Inferior Criminal Court would come to a standstill. Since we have been unable to get a single §41 complaint filed, I hardly think that we can count on a regular, controlled series of these actions.

The general problem being complex, people avoid it. It is much simpler to regard the problem as hopeless or as calling for a solution by someone else than to take action. In the same way, it is much more attractive and easy to plan a series of demonstrations than a course of action likely to get buildings repaired. The demonstrations without the painstaking detail necessary to corrective action would in my opinion lead to large scale frustration. On the other hand, commitment to an effective course of action will irrevocably alter the structure of CORE and its position in the movement as a whole. More, the housing project is truly interracial and even non-racial despite the existence of large racial ghettos. The housing project is founded on the axiom that slums are not inevitable.

The destruction of slum conditions is fundamentally required for all other programs. We cannot therefore avoid the housing program. I only hope that we will prepare properly for it.

Sincerely yours,

George Schiffer

bcc: Mr. Val Coleman
Mr. Gordon Carey

COPY

file - Housing

Emergency Committee for More Low-Rent Housing

organized by

CITIZENS' HOUSING AND PLANNING COUNCIL OF NEW YORK, INC.

Willkie Memorial Building • 20 WEST 40th STREET • New York, N. Y. 10018

LOngacre 3-5990

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Eleanor Vaughan

CHAIRMAN
Paul T. O'Keefe

DEC 1 6 1963

December 11, 1963

REPORT TO MEMBERS

FROM: Eleanor Vaughan, Exec. Dir.

I have just returned from a quick roundup coverage of Washington, D.C. to check on public housing's prospects there: What does the change in the Presidency mean to public housing? How can ECMLRH contribute to an enlightened and enlarged public housing program for New York City? What is the immediate legislative picture?

I talked with key members of the Housing and Home Finance Agency on Administrator Weaver's staff, with the national professional housing organizations, and with staff directors of both the Senate and House housing committees.

Summed up, here's what's what:

1. President Lyndon Johnson is pro-city and pro-public housing. He has consistently both voted and worked for progressive public housing legislation. Low-rent housing will be in the President's January budget message to Congress.

2. "The formation of the ECMLRH has given low-rent housing its greatest boost in recent years." "Housing will depend on organizations such as yours." (Sorry! off-the-record quotes)

3. The year of decision for public housing may be 1964 -- or it may not be until 1965. The tax cut and civil rights come first. With the expected short Congressional session, any refilling of the empty public housing and the low urban renewal coffers may have to be jammed through at the last minute on an emergency basis. Major housing legislation may thus be passed over to 1965.

   There are tactical factors, too, operating toward a possible delay in housing legislation -- the difficulty of getting Congressional support for "spending" legislation on the immediate heels of "economy" legislation: "I voted to save the people's money yesterday; how can I vote to spend it tomorrow?" Also, in 1965, the popular FHA program will be up

Funds for the work of the ECMLRH were made possible by the generosity of
Mrs. Robert A. Bernhard, a legacy from Louis D. Lasker, and the Phelps-Stokes Fund

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EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR MORE LOW-RENT HOUSING
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Mrs. B. Mildred Fisher
James W. Fogarty
John J. Foley
The Rev. Robert J. Fox
The Hon. Eleanor Clark French
Mrs. Helmut Friedlaender
Frederick G. Frost, Jr.
Lloyd K. Garrison
Paul Gibson
M. Milton Glass
Mrs. Elinor Gordon
Olindo Grossi
Miss Helen Hall
George H. Hallett, Jr.
Miss Helen M. Harris
The Rev. Donald S. Harrington
Stanley J. Harte
The Rev. Edler G. Hawkins
The Vy. Rev. Msgr. Edward D. Head
James G. Henderson
Mrs. Elizabeth R. Hepner
Arthur C. Holden
Saul Horowitz, Jr.
Mrs. Raymond V. Ingersoll
Mrs. Jeremiah C. Ingersoll
Mrs. Stanley M. Isaacs
Morris Iushewitz
Eric M. Javits
Sanders A. Kahn
Sidney L. Katz
Miss Frances K. Kernohan
Rabbi Edward E. Klein
Whitman Knapp
George J. Kupchik
Harry W. Laidler
Mrs. Joseph Lash
Israel Laster
The Rev. Vincent de Paul Lee, S.J.
The Hon. Herbert H. Lehman
Miss Martha Ross Leigh
The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Henry J. Lenahan
William Lescaze
Miss Frances Levenson
Edward S. Lewis
Warren T. Lindquist
Mrs. Madeleine M. Low
Mrs. John F. MacGuigan
H. Robert Mandel
Albert Mayer
Mrs. Edna A. Merson
Robert K. Merton
Philip H. Michaels
David L. Mitchell
Joseph Monserrat
Rabbi Israel Mowshowitz
Mrs. John F. Nields
Theodore Pearson
The Hon. Justine Wise Polier
Miss Lillian Poses
Jacob S. Potofsky
Charles F. Preusse
Henry M. Propper
I. Roy Psaty
Carl Rachlin
Miss Ollie A. Randall
Chester Rapkin
Richard Ravitch
George M. Raymond
Mrs. Barbara Reach
I. D. Robbins
Mrs. Sophia M. Robison
Miss Petra Rosa
Ralph S. Rosas
Mrs. Samuel Rosensohn
L. O. Rothschild
Richard C. Sachs
Michael Sampson
James H. Scheuer
Clarence Senior
Mrs. Ruth M. Senior
Whitney North Seymour, Jr.
Thomas V. Sinclair, Jr.
Edwin H. Spengler
Mrs. Herbert J. Stark
Roger Starr
Clarence S. Stein
Carl S. Stern
Hugh J. Stern
Hope R. Stevens
I. N. P. Stokes
Mr. and Mrs. R. Peter Straus
Mrs. Katherine W. Strauss
The Rev. Gardner Taylor
Walter Thabit
Robert P. Trentlyon
Maxwell H. Tretter
Dr. Francisco Trilla
Dr. Ray E. Trussel
Gilberto Gerena Valentin
Frank A. Vanderlip, Jr.
Canon William S. Van Meter
Bernard G. Walpin
Mrs. Ida B. Webster
Mrs. Vita O. Weiss
Mrs. Helen Crosby West
Geoffrey R. Weiner
Miss Elizabeth Wood

for renewed authorization. FHA might better swing public housing along in 1965 than the less-popular urban renewal reauthorizations necessary in 1964 could swing it next year.

To get any public housing funds through the 88th Congress, about 20 *new* Republican votes will be needed in the House. This is to compensate for the anticipated loss of Southern Democratic votes -- formerly public housing loyalists but now ('tis feared) ready to retaliate against the cities because of the Administration's civil rights stand.

4. Washington continues to look to New York City expertise "for *technical* leadership" in matters housing. However, "too *much direct* pressure" (mass visitations by laymen, for example) can swing away the delicately balanced needle of small town and rural-oriented housing votes."

New York expertise is particularly needed on such tricky matters as:

- The *real* attitudes of non-white families to public housing. Do Negroes want good housing *or* integration *first* -- most? "New York must *eventually* rationalize this conflict for the nation" -- but not by 1964. There is time. To press too hard now for an immediate legislative or administrative solution to this knotty problem "could work in Congress" to the disadvantage of both integration and better housing objectives."

- The continued occupancy of over-income families. Will New York take the lead in using all available legal means to permit more such families to remain in residency? This is looked on as a way to siphon off some of the anti-public housing thrusts by certain articulate tenants themselves and to help to satisfy the social work and related professions.

- The question of community facilities and related preventive and curative social service programs for public housing tenants and their neighbors. Can New York expertise suggest amendments and methods to enhance these vitally needed social measures? What can housing do to make those people better, without the housing dollars taking too large a share of society's obligations to the poor and nearly so?

The immediate situation for New York City remains critical but not hopeless. The number of units to be up for debate this session is unsettled. The ECMLRH's demand for 7,500 annually

from the federal government for New York City for the next 10 years is not too far out of line. If 1964 legislation is to be stopgap only, HHFA will probably go in to Congress for (for New York) 5,000 as a pipeline-refilling measure.

Equally critical, but still not hopeless, is the low-rent program's more long-range future. "Congress is extremely sensitive about eliminating details in the present Act."

Unless the private sector of the citizenry, as individuals and in such groups as ours, articulate a strong commitment, public housing may get lost in a welter of political and more-or-less extraneous housing issues.

On the Congressional front, the faint praise public housing has been getting in recent years from its old champions is not seen as crucially important. The lineup is still between those who abhor the principle of the government as anyone's landlord and those who look to low-rent housing as one in a set of aids necessary to raise up to par the more depressed elements of the population. If legislation can be amended or revived to do the job even better than it has in the past, well and good (but not crucial).

The Congressional housing leadership fully expects public housing's old socially-conscious friends of the 1937, 1949, and 1961 housing acts to come forward in 1964 (or 1965) to stand up and be counted, without quibbling, in order to counteract the major opposition expected from the real estate boards and the home builders.

On the HHFA administrative front, however, it's a bit more subtle. HHFA would like respectable public opinion, such as the ECMLRH represents, to marshall the kind of facts we have that citizens both inside and outside of public housing need public housing, want it, and like it.

Such facts and convictions will serve to support Dr. Weaver and his people when they go before Congress to call for a continued and enlarged public housing program -- with an equitable share for New York City. Dr. Weaver's now stating publicly that Americans must not "foresake a generally effective- if less than perfect instrument while (they) theorize about the development of a workable substitute. The poor in our society cannot wait for theories to be translated into fact. They need housing and they need it now."

DEC 11 1963

RESOLUTIONS

ADOPTED BY THE

FREEDOM CONFERENCE

OF THE
METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING

NOVEMBER 16, 1963

"Discrimination takes many forms. Today the fight against it is being conducted on many fronts—for jobs, housing, education, and the right to vote.

Particularly acute in New York City is the problem of discrimination in housing. Although it affects the Negro and Puerto Rican people first and hardest, it hits us all—those in low-wage brackets, those on fixed incomes, and even middle-income families squeezed between the housing shortage and spiralling rents.

Therefore, in a very real sense, the subject matter of this Conference concerns us all."

= from the preamble to the Call for
the **FREEDOM CONFERENCE** of the
Metropolitan Council on Housing,
November 16, 1963.

The fifth annual Conference of the **METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING** addressed itself to the concept of **FREEDOM TO LIVE ANYWHERE, IN DECENT HOUSING, AT FAIR RENTS.** That the theme struck an important note was evidenced by the fact that 244 delegates and guests were registered.

The experiment of conducting one panel wholly in Spanish, dealing with the subject matter of the other panels, **URBAN RENEWAL, PUBLIC HOUSING**, and **CODE ENFORCEMENT**, was highly successful. Many Puerto Rican tenants, who would not have been able to participate actively in the proceedings, had they been conducted in English, attended the Spanish panel, and contributed to the discussion on the resolution. Both the Spanish resolution and the English translation are included herein.

Noteworthy, too, was the composition of the Conference. Civil Rights groups, which are becoming increasingly active in wiping out discrimination in housing, represented the second largest number of delegates, the first being organized tenant groups.

The Metropolitan Council on Housing was pleased to note that official trade union delegations attended the Conference. It is hoped that their publicly-expressed wish to work more closely with the Metropolitan Council on Housing, in achieving the common objective of freedom of all people to live where they choose, in decent housing, at rents they can afford, will become a reality in the year 1964.

Stanley Aronowitz
Conference Chairman

Jane Benedict,
Chairman, Metropolitan Council
on Housing

URBAN RENEWAL

Rev. Arthur Simon,
Chairman

Frances Goldin,
Reporter

There is unanimous agreement that unless thousands of additional housing units are created annually, there will be no resolution of the housing shortage. It is also agreed that too much housing stock is deteriorated and must be improved, and that new and old housing must be opened to all, regardless of race, religion, nationality or income.

Of the hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers living in inadequate housing, the majority are Negro and Puerto Rican. They usually occupy only the worst of the bad housing. **THERE ARE NO ADEQUATE PLANS NOW PROJECTED BY FEDERAL, STATE OR CITY GOVERNMENT TO DEAL WITH THIS CRISIS.**

Since World War II, our City has projected programs ostensibly to deal with the housing dilemma. Most familiar is Urban Renewal, construction of middle and upper-income projects, which blockbust communities and habitually drive out minorities from integrated communities, creating in their stead higher-income, segregated communities. This was followed by Conservation, which displaces the lowest-paid minorities, an example of which is Chelsea. Simultaneously, by not legislating to prevent it, the City gave the green light to luxury construction, which continues to destroy structurally sound low and middle-rent homes for luxury housing renting from $60-$100 per room per month, with these buildings half empty. The newest program is Rehabilitation, which threatens to raise rents and reward landlords for years of neglect of their buildings and for having deprived tenants of services. All of these programs are draped in the respectable cloak of "citizen participation", which in reality is but a rubber stamp of approval for the City's plans. Where citizens object to those plans they are ignored and abused.

All of these programs have added up to a housing shortage greater than that which existed ten years ago: a shortage of housing needed by low and middle-income people. Indeed, there has been an increase in the number of units constructed, but only in the luxury category, which never has been in short supply. Years of "war on slum buildings" has produced a greater number of deteriorated and dilapidated buildings, according to the census figures of 1960 compared with those of 1950.

The City's programs cannot work, for they are not geared to the tenant living in the worst housing. They are not planned for his benefit. They are geared to the "general good of the City", which means that the Negro, the Puerto Rican, the low-income family in general, pays with his home and with his taxes to improve housing for a higher-income group! Now we are in for more of the same. The Housing and Redevelopment Board has proposed for its 1963 Urban Renewal program the construction of 27,000 "middle" income apartments and 770 low-rental. **THIS SITUATION CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO CONTINUE.**

Urban Renewal (cont.)

A workable, people-oriented program, has been presented to the City at dozens of hearings, and in countless letters and briefs, by the **METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING**. It has been ignored. The program, which the Urban Renewal Panel approved at this Conference, includes building on vacant land and on inappropriately-used land throughout the City, would thus create additional housing. Such a program of mixed rental housing, especially in all-white communities, would further integration.

The crisis requires a moratorium on the demolition of habitable, structurally sound, rent-controlled housing. We need every available low-rent apartment until the shortage is relieved. Housing must be built in stages, allowing tenants living in the worst tenements to move directly into new buildings, at rents they can afford. A massive building campaign, based on a revived and integrated public housing program, joined with genuine middle-income construction, with both low and middle-income tenants housed in one structure, must be undertaken. This would also insure economic integration. Only such a program will relieve the housing shortage and begin to provide an alternative for those families forced to live in ghettoes.

Because the housing crisis has become unbearable for the tenants of our City, we must continue to press for a sane and humane program. Tenants living in areas to be "urban renewed" "conserved" or "rehabilitated" are not willing to lose their homes to a more fortunate group, nor to be "relocated" into ghettoes, or forced to pay double rents for new accommodations. (Relocation Commissioner Badillo estimates he will be required to relocate more than 86,000 persons in 1963 and 1964!)

THEREFORE, the delegates convened at the fifth annual Conference of the **METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING**, resolve:

1. That an action committee be set up in conjunction with the Panel on Public Housing, consisting of housing organizations, civil rights groups, local community groups, churches and interested labor organizations, to fight existing City housing programs, and to demand instead programs which will create housing to end the shortage and to end discrimination in housing. The committee should take into full consideration the revolution taking place in our country today, and act to stop minority groups from being driven from their homes in either integrated or segregated communities, and placed in segregated locations. All white areas must become integrated. The committee must plan actions, demonstrations, picket lines; promote legal changes; and organize rent strikes in rehabilitation and renewal areas, in order to advance our program. Specifically we recommend:

    a. Active assistance to organize and support those tenants who refuse to move from their homes ("live-ins"), in the face of eviction for urban renewal, conservation, luxury housing construction, public housing, or rehabilitation.

b. That the Action Committee plan a demonstration before the Housing and Redevelopment Board offices, with placards telling the stories of the local areas: (Bellevue South—2100 middle income and high rent apartments—NO low-rent apartments. Tompkins Square—167 families to be relocated out of the area; 900 middle and upper income units—NO low-rent apartments. Children's Museum area, Brooklyn—Rehabilitation at tenants' expense!) and dozens of others along these lines. This demonstration would demand low and middle-rental apartments in one building, and an end to segregated projects with a token representation of minority tenants.

c. A March on Washington should be considered, with the slogan **REBUILDING A DEMOCRATIC AMERICA**, dealing with (i) jobs; (ii) redistribution of the federal budget to provide sufficient funds for housing and other necessary community facilities; and (iii) an end to segregation in all areas (jobs, housing, etc.)

d. A proposed action in front of the trailer of the New York State Division of Housing, at 6th Avenue and 8th Street, which is paid for by public funds, and is acting as an agent for the sale of privately owned and sponsored high-rent apartments. It was proposed that signs be made demanding housing for those who need it, at rents they can afford, from the State, and that the State should stop bailing out private landlords.

2. The Panel approved the following specific legislative recommendations:

a. A method to finance rehabilitation by setting up a rehabilitation bank to lend money at 1% interest. Landlords wishing to rehabilitate their buildings and correct all violations would receive tax abatement. Such buildings would remain under rent control regulations. The cost of rehabilitation would not be passed on to the tenant, but would be borne by subsidies from federal and state funds. (This proposal was made by the Parkway-Stuyvesant Community Council. More details are available upon request from the Metropolitan Council on Housing.)

b. Refer to the Law Committee of the Metropolitan Council on Housing for drafting of necessary changes in existing legislation, to permit one comprehensive City agency to construct both low-rent public housing and publicly-aided housing in a single building. This would mean the combining

Urban Renewal (cont.)

of agencies such as the Housing and Redevelopment Board with the New York City Housing Authority, so that all types of public funds could be used jointly. Such legislation would serve to eliminate built-in economic stratification, and help to develop integrated neighborhoods.

c. The drafting of legislation to open existing all-white housing in privately-owned multiple dwellings, projects of all kinds, and in all new housing to be built; to freeze all apartments as they become vacant. Such apartments shall be rented to minority-group tenants. All vacant apartments shall be listed with a central agency, so that all members of minority groups needing apartments shall be made aware of these vacancies. The criteria for determining open-occupancy percentages to achieve an integrated City shall be suggested by a committee of the Metropolitan Council, established for this purpose. Simultaneously, a campaign of education of white tenants in a given building or neighborhood shall be undertaken, to encourage the welcoming of the minority-group tenants.

3. The Panel approved the following general resolutions:

a. That the State Committee against Discrimination and the City Commission on Human Rights be informed of the Panel's objection to the failure of both agencies to accept as complainants those tenants from Urban Renewal areas suffering from economic discrimination, since economic discrimination is, in fact, based on racial discrimination.

b. That all documents issued by the Metropolitan Council on Housing, such as those dealing with Conservation and Rehabilitation, be issued to the press, so that millions of newspaper readers may know of our position on these and other housing issues of deep concern to all tenants.

PUBLIC HOUSING

Jacob Volkman,
Chairman

Herbert Hines, Jr.
Reporter

More than 200,000 families are now on the waiting list for public housing in New York City. Thousands more have applied, but have not been accepted because of unfair eligibility rules. Thousands more are in need of public housing, but have never applied because of the rules, and because they know that an application is hopeless.

New York City needs 500,000 new units of public housing to take care of the waiting list, to rehouse families living in slum housing, to house our growing population, and to create a reserve of housing.

That desperate need has been given a flat "NO" by both federal and state governments. The federal government says that New York City has used up its quota limit (15% of the national total of 35,000 per year).

The State says that public housing subsidy funds are running out. Governor Rockefeller and the State Legislature have refused to appropriate more funds. Thus new public housing construction in New York City will soon end, unless more funds are made available from both federal and state.

Some of the persistent problems of public housing cannot be solved without a big increase in the supply. One of these problems is de facto segregation. This is because most low-income families are also minority families, due to discrimination in employment. Urban renewal and demolition have dislocated many minority families, forcing them to seek public housing. Discrimination in private housing, and the housing shortage itself have resulted in a futile search for housing at rents they can afford.

Another problem has been the rental range. In recent years public housing has been rented at $18-20 per room, thus excluding those in desperate need, who can afford a range of but $10-$18 per room. Many who could pay $20-$25 per room cannot afford the buy-in for cooperatives. The solution is economically-integrated housing, containing all rent and income ranges in the same buildings.

In the last few years public aid has been given to so-called private middle income or cooperative housing, and public housing has suffered. The Housing and Redevelopment Board has proposed the construction of 27,000 publicly aided middle income private or cooperative units and 770 units of public, low-rent housing.

The Housing and Redevelopment Board must recognize the overwhelming need for public housing. The proportion of 27,000 to 770 must be changed to reflect the greater need of low-income families. No urban renewal plan should be adopted which fails to provide for at least sufficient new public housing to rehouse those families on the site who require it.

The demand for more public housing is essential to the fight for more and better housing generally.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That the public housing program be revived and vastly increased. New York City must be granted sufficient funds to build 500,000 units in the next ten years, or 50,000 units per year. The savings from the cut in foreign aid should be added to Public Housing funds, for use in New York City and throughout the United States. Funds for public housing should be augmented as part of a program providing that 75% of the federal budget be geared to life and creativity. Such a provision would be an immediate means for providing jobs in an integrated construction industry.

2. That the METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING take the following direct action to achieve this demand:

   a. A public information program to alert tenants;
   b. A demand that the eligibility rules for admission to public housing be made public by the New York City Housing Authority;
   c. Community meetings be held by local organizations on the need for public housing funds. The Metropolitan Council on Housing will help in the organizing of these meetings and will supply speakers, on request;
   d. Establish picket lines at the State and Federal public housing offices, and at the Housing and Redevelopment Board, to protest the death of public housing; to demand more funds for it; and to insist on public housing units in every urban renewal site.
   e. Organize groups of tenants who have long waited for public housing, for face-to-face meetings with Governor Rockefeller. These meetings should be held in New York City. We believe that the Governor has a duty to meet the people whom he is depriving of public housing by his refusal to demand additional public housing funds.
   f. A mass delegation to Washington, D.C., to meet with housing chief Robert Weaver, concerning the need for more federally-aided public housing for New York City.

CODE ENFORCEMENT AND RENT CONTROL

Dr. Helen Harris,
Chairman

Hy Bershad,
Reporter

The housing shortage is continuing. It has been worsened by the bulldozing of habitable houses, and by the failure of the federal, state and city governments to adopt any program to relieve that shortage. The shortage is felt by all tenants who are in the low and low-middle wage brackets and those living on fixed incomes, and most severely by the minority groups of our City.

Except in the few cases where the receivership law has been invoked, the City has failed to deal adequately with the violations in the Building and Health codes, and with the loopholes which exist in the Rent Control Law.

Instead of pursuing a policy of real action against the landlords to force them to make needed repairs without rent increases, the City agencies have, by their lax attitude, permitted the houses to deteriorate. The Rent Administration has continued to grant increases in rent to landlords for alleged capital improvements, despite the failure of the landlords to maintain services and to correct violations.

The City has recently proposed a most unrealistic program for the rehabilitation of housing which would, if adopted, put the entire financial burden on the tenants least able to afford rent increases--the minority groups, the aged, and those generally in the low-wage bracket. The rehabilitation program will not add to the housing supply. It would profit only the banks, the contractors and the landlords.

Thousands upon thousands of violations exist, unrecorded, while the tenants' pleas to landlords and to the City for relief remain unheeded. The leaking roofs, the defective boilers, the rats, roaches and falling plaster, the lack of hot water, MUST be corrected at once.

THEREFORE, the Plenary Session of the **METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING**, at its fifth annual Conference, believes that the condition of these tenants and their housing is comparable to that suffered by victims of flood, fire, tornado or earthquake—despite the fact that it is of long-standing and not an Act of God, but of man. We call for action in the following manner:

1. The **METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING** is directed to call upon the President, the Governor and the Mayor to declare as disaster areas those sections of our City most seriously affected: **HARLEM, EAST HARLEM, SOUTHEAST BRONX, LOWER EAST SIDE, BEDFORD-STUYVESANT** and **BROWNSVILLE**, and thus recognize the disaster that has befallen the tenants living in those areas, by making available men, money and supplies to alleviate

and correct the conditions causing the unwarranted sufferings of the men, women and children living in the blighted housing in those areas.

2. The METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING, in conjunction with other interested and concerned organizations, should take more specific action throughout the City to encourage and educate tenants to know their rights, by means of posters, throwaways and other methods; to act against the landlords and the City agencies by rent-strikes, sit-ins, move-backs and picketing, to force the repair of sound structures for habitable use, WITHOUT EVICTIONS OR RENT INCREASES. We propose that a Continuations Committee meet to consider plans for a City-wide rent strike, picketing of slumlords and City agencies, as well as other actions.

3. The Plenary Session of the Conference unanimously goes on record as ratifying the work of the Rent Control Committee of the METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING for the renewal, strengthening and making permanent of rent control. We further ask the METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING to call for a mass demonstration of all interested and concerned groups and individuals at the public hearings on Rent Control to be held in the near future at City Hall. We reaffirm the resolutions adopted at the fourth annual Conference of the Metropolitan Council on Housing on the subject of Rent Control.

4. The Mayor, the City Council, and the State Legislature must concern themselves with the strengthening of the Receivership Law and the setting aside of large sums of money to implement it.

5. Legislation must be enacted giving authority to judges to fine landlords sums commensurate with the cost of the repairs required to correct violations. At the present time the fines are deposited in the City treasury, while the tenants continue to suffer from the landlord's continued refusal to make the needed repairs. City agencies shall be responsible for seeing to it that these repairs are made.

6. We are opposed to the granting of rent increases by the City Rent and Rehabilitation Administration to landlords for improvements which increase the value of their investment. This section of the resolution refers to all improvements made by the landlord over and above those required to correct violations.

7. In enacting this resolution the Conference expresses its belief that in the implementation of the actions proposed, not only will the bad housing be improved, but the landlords of housing in need of less repair will be forced to make those repairs, and thus prevent the further deterioration of such housing.

8. The Plenary Session of the Conference believes it is becoming clear that the need for housing that is habitable is as necessary to the well-being of the people of our City as pure water and pure food, and that there should therefore be established a Commission on Housing, which should declare all housing to be deemed a PUBLIC UTILITY.

The following resolution, translated
from the Spanish, was adopted at the
Plenary Session

ACTION FOR DECENT HOUSING

Mario Abreu,
Chairman

Emilio Flores,
Reporter

We are in agreement that the housing conditions for Puerto Rican and other Spanish speaking groups in New York City are the worst in the City. The landlords have exploited the Spanish-speaking population, charging high rents for apartments whose condition has violated the codes of health and sanitation.

Furthermore, the Puerto Rican people have been especially affected by the Urban Renewal policies of the City administration. In areas such as Chelsea, Lincoln Square, Penn South, and Seward Park, the City has forced thousands of Puerto Rican families to move elsewhere to make room for the construction of expensive housing for middle and upper class families, which are naturally beyond the reach of the people forced to move.

As a result of the housing practices of the City, decent, low-income housing continues to decrease while at the same time housing demands are increasing. State and federal funds for low-income housing in New York are practically depleted. 200,000 families are on the lists awaiting placement in public housing; thousands more do not even appear on the lists because they do not qualify for public housing.

The total situation of housing for Puerto Ricans in this City reveals evidence of discrimination and segregation in housing which leaves an ugly scar on the moral record of this administration.

The severity of this problem demands more action on the part of the Spanish speaking people, in cooperation with other groups interested in better housing. Therefore this resolution has been voted by this Panel, to recommend to the METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING to hold a meeting of all interested parties to consider a program of action among the Puerto Rican people of our City to confront the housing problem in open discussion.

Immediately after this Conference the meeting should decide on a date for a future meeting to consider various methods of pressure to dramatize the problems.

Finally, we think that discrimination in this City against the Puerto Rican people in housing is part of the greater fight of Negro and other minority groups to attain complete civil rights and equality.

ACCIÓN PARA VIVIENDAS DECENTES

Mário Abreu, Emílio Flores,
Presidente Reportero

Las condiciónes de viviendas de puertorriqueños y otros grupos de gente de habla espanola en Nueva York son las mas peores en la ciudad. Los dueños de casas han esplotado a las población de hable española cobrando altas rentas por el alquiler de apartamentos cuyas condiciónes estan violando los codicos de vivienda, salud y sanidad.

Ademas, los grupos puertorriqueños han sido especialmente afectado por la política de renovación urbana de la administración de la ciudad. En áreas tales como Seward Park Extension, East Harlem, y el sur de Bronx, la ciudad ha forzado a miles de famílias puertorriqueños a renbicarse en diversas zonas de Nueva York para dar espacio a la construción de viviendas caras para grupos de famílias de clase media y alta. Éstas viviendas naturalmente son demasiado caras y estan fuera del alcance de las famílias residentes en las áreas para renovación.

Como resultado de la política de vivienda de la ciudad, la provisión de projectos de vivienda para grupos de baja renta así como otros typos de vivienda económica y decente continué disminuyendo al mismo tiémpo que la demanda aumenta. Los fondos estatales y federales para vivienda barate en projectos estan casi agotados para Nueva York. 200,000 familias estan en la lista de solicitantes que esperan adjudicación de casa en los projectos. Miles mas no aparecen en éstas listas ya sea porque no han solicitado vivienda, o porque han sido rechazados por no reunir las condiciónes exigidas, pese a que necesítan uno vivienda tanto los aceptados como solicitantes.

En totál, la situación de viviendas para los puertorriqueños en esta ciudad revela evidencia de discriminación y sagregación en viviendas que deja una cicatriz muy fea en el record morál de esta administración.

La severidad de esta problema demanda mas acción de parte del pueblo puertorriqueño e hispaño en general, en coperación con otros grupos que de preocupen por mejoramientos en viviendas.

Hay gran necesidad de que estos grupos se unan para lanzar en ataque unificado a contra de arrabales los caseros esplotadores, y el monstra de renovación urbana que lo que hace es liquidar familias pobres de sus comunidades y empujarlas en arrabales, y la necesidad de mas viviendas publicas en nuestra ciudad.

SEA RESULTO:

Esta panel recomienda al **METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING** que se llama a una reunión de este panel y a las partes interesades para considerar un programa de acción que se haga frente al problema de viviendas entre los puertorriqueños en nuestra ciudad.

Accion Para Viviendas Decentes (cont.)

Finalmente, creemos que la discriminación en esta ciudad a contra de los puertorriqueños en viviendas, es parte de la lucha general de los negros y otros grupos minoritarios para alcanzar completamente derechos civiles y igualdad.

MEMORANDUM FROM SCHIFFER & COHEN
40 EAST 49th STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017 • PLaza 2-8060

File

TO: CORE DISTRIBUTION LIST

DATE: December 17, 1963

RE: Housing - Shipulsky

A meeting was held at one o'clock today at the offices of CORE. Present were: Shipulsky, Gordon Carey, Bob Gore, Sandy Baron, John Kaufman, and George Schiffer. The meeting had been requested by Shipulsky. Shipulsky has become owner of 209-11 Eldridge in lieu of foreclosure.

We explained to him the outlines of CORE policy: that it was our desire to have the buildings fixed to a decent standard in compliance with law; that we desired to cooperate with the landlord to that end; that if the landlord did not cooperate, we would do everything we could to secure vigorous law enforcement; that we understood the landlord's problem and would cooperate with him in putting buildings voluntarily into city receivership if they were such that the cost of repairs made them totally uneconomic; that we desired to fix a schedule for a joint inspection by him and our people of the buildings, to be followed by a repair program. We further stated that the repair program would be closely timed.

The landlord appeared amenable to fixing the buildings. He made statements such as "We are on the same side of the fence" and "These things are required by law and you can avoid complying with the law only so long."

Consequently, the following arrangements were made:

1. As quickly as possible, John Kaufman or Sandy Boyer or both are to determine when a tenants' meeting can be held for each building. The landlord is then to be notified of these two meetings.

2. The landlord will attend each meeting, at which complaints may be stated.

3. After the meetings, an effort should be made to take the landlord through each building, apartment by apartment, to list all repairs which are to be made. This list will include all existing violations as well as those not yet on record. Our people understand that they must act reasonably. The landlord understands that all significant plumbing, plaster, paint and fire violations must be removed and that vermin must be exterminated.

4. The landlord has represented that he now has a painter, a plasterer, a carpenter and a plumber working in the two buildings. We have indicated that we expect all listed repairs to be completed by about the middle of January. The landlord seemed to believe this a reasonable position.

5. If the listed repairs have not been substantially completed by the middle of January, in the absence of a major disaster such as a blizzard which ties up the town for a week, immediate steps to convert the unfixed

TO:_______________________DATE:___________

RE:_______________________

violations to court action will be taken by us. In other words, if the landlord does not show good faith immediately, there will be no further effort to negotiate.

6. If the landlord shows good faith with respect to these buildings, we will proceed to discuss with him all other buildings which he and his family owns. NYU CORE has already begun compiling a list of these buildings. If there is no show of good faith, the complaint technique will be applied to a group of his buildings promptly.

7. If the landlord shows good faith, the two buildings should be in substantial repair by the middle of January. If he does not show good faith, he should be at the conviction stage by the middle of March, with respect at least to the two buildings and possibly more.

8. The rent strike will continue in the two buildings until repairs are made. Presumably, rent strikes will be extended if good faith is not shown.

9. The problem of tenant re-education is of primary importance. All of us are aware that, if the landlord does fix the buildings, tenant carelessness can reduce them to the condition in which they are now within six months. Either CORE or a social service agency in the area will have to persuade the tenants to take care of the buildings once repairs are made. This applies equally to the Kaplowitz situation.

10. We broached the idea of the landlord's hiring tenants to do some of the repair work without eliciting any particular response. I think that Shipulsky might be a good landlord with whom to explore such a program, in other buildings.

I believe that the consensus of impressions was, that Shipulsky will be easier to work with than Kaplowitz and that there is some hope that he means what he says. All of us are naturally skeptical and ready to proceed to other techniques as soon as necessary. Shipulsky was clearly impressed by the trouble we had caused for Kaplowitz. Since Shipulsky controls a substantial number of buildings, gaining his cooperation may prove significant. The contrast would unquestionably carry weight with other slumlords. Of primary importance, with respect to other landlords, is to show them in the Shipulsky case that we have learned to move much faster than in the Kaplowitz situation.

I should like to add the following comment. Psychologically, it will be important to attack other Kaplowitz buildings while the Shipulsky

TO:______________________________ DATE:______________

RE:______________________________

matter continues and while Kaplowitz is still under threat of sentence with respect to the Eldridge Street buildings. This will demonstrate to other landlords that we do not mean to pick on just one or two of their buildings, letting them do as they please with the rest.

An attack on other Kaplowitz buildings is not really within the capability of NYU CORE at this time. That group simply does not have enough people. It would, however, prove an excellent target for another CORE group. The prospect is that Kaplowitz, having been through the mill once, will give up much more easily the second time around. This would give another CORE group a good start in the housing area. Since Kaplowitz owns buildings all over the lower east side it would seem appropriate to hand him over to downtown CORE or to another CORE group operating in the area. In this connection, assistance may be secured from the mobilization people whom, Mike Schwerner has stated, he thinks he can recruit.

Practically, the most important specific request which Shipulsky made of us, and which indicates a note of great tactical strength for us is that he claims to have had difficulty in securing access to apartments to make repairs. NYU CORE will therefore undertake to arrange access in accordance with a schedule determined by the landlord, his workmen and CORE. On the one hand, this places a responsibility for detail work on NYU CORE. On the other hand, it creates a situation in which CORE will have day to day knowledge of progress and an opportunity to keep its inspection current. More generally, if the landlord in fact requires help to secure access, he needs CORE to keep from being convicted of violations since CORE will always arrange access for City inspections.

Riverside Democrats, Inc.
★ Official Democratic Organization ★
Seventh Assembly District
250 WEST 106th STREET, NEW YORK 25, N. Y.

UNiversity 5-4438

President
ERIKA TEUTSCH

District Leaders
FRANZ S. LEICHTER
EUGENIA M. FLATOW

DEC 18 1963

Dear Mr. Farmer,

This is the letter which went out today. In accordance with your wishes, your name was omitted. I would appreciate the opportunity of a personal appointment to set the record straight as I am convinced you must have been misinformed as to our objectives.

Gene Flatow

file HOUSING

Committee To Save & Strengthen Rent Control

3rd Floor, 23 West 45 Street, New York 36, New York • CIrcle 7-4237

We ask you to join us in a federation of citizen groups to strengthen and extend rent control. On March 31, 1964, the law establishing rent control for New York City officially ends. At least 60 days before, the City Council is required to hold public hearings on the question of permitting the law to lapse or of continuing rent control.

The landlord interests have waged an organized and voluble campaign to kill this law completely, to have it declared unconstitutional or to weaken it so severely that it is entirely ineffective. They have been making their points dramatically at hearing after hearing. The tenant and community groups must counter with various demonstrations of strength and interest.

We propose a 4-point program:

1. A drive to enlist literally hundreds of people and organizations to testify at the City Council hearings.
2. A mass rally in a demonstration outside the buildings where the hearings will be held.
3. Circulation of petitions to be presented to the Council President.
4. Encouragement of letter-and post-card-writing to Councilmen and the Mayor.

To do this we need a federation of local committees representing civic, church, civil rights and political groups to publicize this program and help us to mobilize mass support.

Will you join us in this endeavor?

COMMITTEE TO SAVE AND STRENGTHEN RENT CONTROL
(Committee in formation. Organization listed for identification only).

Ruth Beinart, *Chairman Housing Comm.*
Riverside Edgecombe Neighborhood Assoc.

Jane Benedict, *Chairman*
Metropolitan Council on Housing

Hy Bershad, *Tenant Welfare Comm.*
Parkway-Stuyvesant Community & Housing Council

Hyman Bravin
Bronx County Chairman
Liberal Party

Rev. Henry J. Browne, *Chairman*
Housing Committee, Stryker's Bay Neighborhood Council

Rev. Eugene Callendar
Pastor, Church of the Master

John Carro, *former President,*
Puerto Rican Bar Assn.

Leon J. Davis, *President Local 1199*
Drugs & Hosp. Workers Union

Eugenia M. Flatow
Democratic Leader
7th A.D., Manhattan

Rev. Donald Harrington
Minister, Community Church of N.Y.

Dr. Helen Harris
Bronx Council on Rents and Housing

Rev. Edler G. Hawkins
St. Augustine's Presbyterian Church

Nicholas Kisburg
Legislative Representative
Joint Council 16, IBT

Assemblyman Jerome Kretchmer
3rd District, Manhattan

State Senator Joseph R. Marro
24th District, Manhattan

Rev. Howard Moody
Judson Memorial Church

Basil Paterson, *Chairman*
Political Action Committee
NAACP

Petra Rosa, *Chairman*
Puerto Rican Citizens Comm. on Housing

Congressman William F. Ryan, *20th District, Manhattan*

DEC 2 7 1963 Housing

Emergency Committee for More Low-Rent Housing
organized by
CITIZENS' HOUSING AND PLANNING COUNCIL OF NEW YORK, INC.
Willkie Memorial Building • 20 WEST 40th STREET • New York, N. Y. 10018
LOngacre 3-5990

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Eleanor Vaughan

CHAIRMAN
Paul T. O'Keefe

ACTION FLASH NO. I

At least 200,000 of New York City's very worst-housed families cannot possibly afford any decent housing except public low-rent housing. No other housing solution will work for them. Without publically-subsidized apartments, they will continue fighting rats, accidents, fires, and the human indignities of the slum for the rest of their lives. Yet, both state and federal financial support for low-rent housing face an imminent end.

Housing legislation and finance is a complicated business. Even if one knows what is needed, it is often hard to know what to do about it! We hope this series of Action Flashes will help to untangle some of the complications and suggest methods for citizen action at appropriate times.

HERE'S WHAT IS NEEDED AT THIS TIME TO GET THE STATE LOW-RENT PROGRAM MOVING

1. Over the past four years, New York City has received only enough financial aid from the State government to build a total of 427 low-rent apartments. During the preceding seven years, approvals for State-aided low-rent apartments in the city were coming in at the average rate of 2500 a year.

THERE IS STATE MONEY AVAILABLE TO BUILD MANY MORE LOW-RENT HOUSING UNITS HERE. THE PROBLEM IS THAT IT IS NO LONGER BEING RELEASED BY ALBANY AS FAST AS IT MIGHT BE.

What to do: Get in touch with Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller and State Housing Commissioner James Wm. Gaynor. Demand the release of low-rent public housing funds at the maximum legal rate, with a share of those funds allocated to New York City consonant with its housing needs.

2. Remaining State funds for low-rent housing -- even if spent at the rate permitted by law -- are far from enough. New money is needed to keep the program alive.

THEREFORE, A BOND ISSUE OF AT LEAST $500 MILLION AND A SUBSIDY ISSUE OF AT LEAST $13.5 MILLION MUST BE PASSED AT THE 1964 LEGISLATIVE SESSION AND GO ON THE BALLOT AS PROPOSITIONS TO THE PEOPLE IN NOVEMBER, 1964.

What to do: Get in touch with your State Assemblymen and Senators. Discuss with them the need for low-rent housing as you know it. Ask them to push for the essential bond and subsidy legislation as soon as the Legislature convenes.

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File:
Housing

MEMORANDUM January 31, 1964

TO: CORE

RE: **DEMANDS TO EFFECTUATE LONG RANGE OBJECTIVES IN HOUSING**

This memorandum is written primarily to raise questions. To the extent that it suggests courses of action or demands, these suggestions should not be cconstrued as expressing a firm position. This is merely intended as a concrete starting point for the formulation of a program which will have to be submitted to public officials and will have to be publicized during the next few months. The existence and vigorous prosecution of such a program is essential to justify attention to interim goals in housing. Under no circumstances should the interim goals be permitted to be treated as more than temporary, emergency expedience which are necessary to make effective programs in education and employment.

This memorandum deals directly with the situation in New York. The principles adopted here, however, and a large part of the tactics should be transferable to most Northern metropolitan centers. They will also be applicable in the South once the fundamental southern problems have been resolved.

1. OBJECTIVES : The ultimate purpose of a housing program is to achieve housing which is integrated and which is at least equal to census standard. In the 1960 census of housing, three terms are used and defined: Sound housing, deteriorating housing and dilapidated housing. "Sound" is defined as "that which has no defects, or only slight defects which are normally corrected during the course of regular maintenance". It would be folly to suggest that a building originally constructed as a slum in 1875 could ever be sound housing. Substantial sections of the lower eastside of New York, therefore, will never be sound housing until the buildings are torn down and replaced. Many buildings in Harlem, on the other hand, which were built before, during or after the First World War, were originally constructed as luxury housing and could be made sound. Sound housing is a prerequisite to integrated housing in what are now ghetto areas. It should be recognized, however, that sound housing does not assure integration in fact (as witness some of the city projects). The resistance

to project living and the resistance to the destruction of existing neighborhoods necessitated by title one projects require the adoption of a whole new concept of area reconstruction if the primary objectives are to be achieved. These concepts are now being developed as a result of critical analysis with the experience with projects built since the war. CORE should take an active part in this analysis, which will determine the cost of public housing during the next generation. It is equally undesirable to build a project which will be occupied in large part by Negroes of by any other group as it is to remove a Negro population from an area to construct so-called middle income or luxury housing beyond the reach of Negro families. One concept which CORE should consider supporting involves the deliberate mixing of economic, social and racial groups in a given project building. Similarly, CORE should consider the desirability of requiring that any new project built contain adequate provision for this kind of mixing.

It must be understood that the ultimate objectives have to involve a series of stages extending over a thirty year period not because there is any necessity of delay, but because anything undertaken at this time will have an impact and will indeed determine the course of the next generation. It would, for example, be inane to plan in relation to a metropolitan area of 15,000,000 when every useful projection indicates that by 1985 the metropolitan population will be 23,000.000. It will also be foolishness to deal with a five borough situation, treating Westchester, Nassau and Sufolk counties as suburban, when in fact all reasonable projections indicate that the greatest population increases will occur in these counties and the New Jersey counties adjacent to New York, To the extent that any geo-political projections are useful, the indications are that those counties now adjacent to metropolitan counties will be metropolitan within the next twenty years. Anyone personally familiar with the changes which have occured during the past twenty years in the suburban counties can readily appreciate that it will take a national disaster to keep Westchester from looking like Queens in twenty years. It is therefore suggested that while the present metropolitan counties require immediate attention for remedial purposes, provisions must be made in the other counties for the reservation of land to prevent similar conditions from developing. If, for example, Suffolk farm land were now taken by eminent domain and leased until needed, it would be cheaply available for the construction of public housing in the next generation.

One of the main supportive objectives of any housing program must be that the government (for these purposes, federal state or city) assume the major responsibility for the construction and probably maintenance of the bulk of all housing. There is no fundamental reason why the federal government should support private profits in housing. This peculiar concept is having a short vogue for obvious reasons. It cannot be conidered sound that this concept be extended into the next generation. To the extent that the federal, city or state government does not wish directly to control housing (to which direct control there are other objections), the cooperative or condominium approaches are to be favored. Unions have experimented extensively with the cooperative approach. The condominium is probably more sound. The true cooperative is probably to be preferred, except that it is not adapted to large scale housing.

The present cooperative concept gives merely a nominal ownership to the tenant and may be regarded as a deceptive way to secure financing for construction. By "true cooperative" is meant the acquisition of housing by an articulated group, with ownership vested in the group. If we cannot give the country back to the Indians, at least we can learn something of their concept of community ownership of real property.

The support of governmental housing does not have a political basis as far as CORE is concerned. The basis, it is suggested, is that no other device will provide sound housing at a reasonable cost for the bulk of the population. The problem of private housing becomes too complex to make possible the mass construction and maintenance of private housing under the pressure of a real estate boom extending over several generations.

It must, however, be considered that to attain the ultimate objective with regard to ownership will require considerable time. For this period, it will be necessary to deal with privately owned housing and new private construction. CORE should, therefore, support programs which create improved private housing. These programs are related both to the interim requirements and the long range requirements. CORE should not, however, support programs which encourage further governmental investment in private housing, since such investment is inconsistent with the principal long range objectives.

2. EXISTING PROGRAMS: There is a fantastic diversity of programs in the housing field, a new program, commission, committee or board being set up in response to every protest. In fact, few of these programs are actually implemented. The objectives of several of the programs are inconsistent. I cannot claim that even a rudimentary understanding of all the available devices already enacted for the improvement of housing or the construction of housing is apparent, however, that the use of direct action tactics will result in opportunities to take advantage of existing programs in this sector.

Similarly, programs exist for law enforcement and imposition of penalties on landlords who fail to maintain adequate housing. Enforcement depends largely upon the degree to which protest is made and supported by patient, repetitious, insistence.

On balance, the existing programs are defective in several respects. First, since they are inconsistent and in some cases conflicting, overall policy direction is required. Second, the existing programs are not sufficient. Third, the enforcement sector requires considerable strenghtening. CORE should formulate specific demands to remedy these defects.

On the other hand, CORE should plan to take advantage of the existing programs, primarily to meet its interim requirements. While, for interim purposes, strenghtening of some programs, particularly in the enforcement sector, would be sesirable, the interim objectives can probably be achieved without any legislative change at all. Surprising as it may seem, city officials have repeatedly requested legislative action in these areas which is far more reaching than anything that CORE has yet demanded. These activities are now continuing and may be expected to continue. CORE should give some support to these activities. The real conflict with the city government will occur when CORE formulates and presses its long range demands which are inconsistent with the objectives of the present power structure. CORE should therefore engage the city in a dialogue, as a sort of canape. Strategically, it should prove most useful to engage government thoroughly in the full exploitation of present programs while preparing and mounting the major attack for the long range objectives.

In this sense, the interim program serves a most important function, of constantly exposing the city's failure to enforce its own laws and its recognition that change is necessary. In consequence, official opposition to wholesale governmentally supported housing becomes outflanked.

3. PUBLIC ATTITUDE : For both interim and long range purposes, it is essential that the public come to recognize the landlord who fails to provide adequate housing as a serious criminal. The city itself has had much success in persuading the public that traffic violators do not much sympathy. Clearly the slumlord does much more harm than any scofflaw. More important, the slumlord is a much more dangerous criminal than the murderer. Our legal system places considerable emphasis on the protection of property, There is an unspoken current of thought underlying much judicial rational, to the effect that liberty is protected by securing property. Consequently, legislature find it difficult to take a building away from a landlord merely because he causes the tenants to live in misery. To effect a significant change in this area requires the persuasion of the public. It is suggested that any legislative program depends on creating this kind of public attitude. Initially, it should be possible to arouse middle class feeling by demonstrating the fact that slumlord profits directly raise taxes.

4. GENERAL APPROACH TO DEMANDS: With the foregoing in mind, the first category of demands should deal with effecting the private housing sector which now predominates. The demands should be planned first to improve existing housing and second to discourage over-priced private housing in the future. One approach is to deal in terms of a system of penalties and reward. Such a system now in fact exists; but the penalties have not been strong enough or have not been enforced, and the rewards have not been given.

In more specific terms, it is necessary that there be minimum fines, to avoid the problem of judges who regard slum violations as insignificant; higher fines for both offenses and misdemeanors; stronger jail terms; procedural simplification making it difficult for a landlord to secure a delay; proposals for this kind of legislative change are being made by city departments and should be supported by CORE. In addition, CORE should oppose the City Bar Association's proposed rent strike bill and should make suggestions of it own for legislation which encourages rent strikes.

In addition, CORE should press for the establishment of higher standards in the building department on the question of complaint, It is well known that a small plaster crack in a luxury dwelling will result in a violation; while a large crack in a slum will not. ~~Simi~~ Similarly, the building department has no authority to require reconstruction of a building, but does have to require adequate repair. This authority is not used, for example, to r equire replacement of a whole of wall of rotten plaster (even though patching has merely a temporary effect).

In addition, the city should be empowered to ~~rais~~ raise taxes on slum dwellings on the ground that the cost of providing city services to these dwellings is greater, in relation to their assessed valuation, than the cost of providing such services for other buildings.

In addition, enforcement agencies should be strengntened by giving additional personnel and agencies, such as tax departments should be encouraged to participate by investigating known slumlords.

Above all, the Mayor should be encouraged to appoint a single official ~~to~~ with power to coordinate city departments having any jurisdiction in the housing area and corporation counsel should be instructed to furnish adequate manpower for enforcement ɸ purposes.

In relation to the receivership program,significant additional funds should be ~~exp~~ provided and the procedure should be simplified so as to permit a taking by eminent domain. Finally, arrangements should be made to arrest landlords, not merely to serve them with summonses when misdemeanor violations are involved. To this may be added the suggestion that " maintaining a slum dwelling" shall be a felony.

On the reward side, the existing program of loans to be made to landlords for rehabilitating buildings should be implemented instead of being allowed to lye dormant. Further, the city's present power to give lower taxes for rehabilitated buildings should be freely exercised. Rent increases should be granted expeditiously or major improvements made, but only in the event that the city, state of federal government is prepared to subsidize rehabilitated housing at least to some extent. It is significant that other cities have had excellent experience with rehabilitating existing buildings in lieu of building new projects. This may be accomplished here as well. One of the subsidy occurs in the form of cheap construction money, direct rent subsidy or in some other form, is not particularly significant. These rewards would be self limiting in that a reconstructed dwelling would not normally have a life expectancy in excess of twenty years. Arrangements could in fact be made subject to new legislation, that the city would furnish funds for reconstruction in exchange for receiving a clear title at the expiration of twenty years. Such a program would serve the dual purpose of immediate repair and ultimate city ownership of dwellings ready for destruction (to allow for new governmental housing). Above all, such a program would eliminate or largely limit, the role of the speculator in the slum housing market. It should be remembered that the condition of slum housing is in significant part attributable to the fact that landlords purchase these buildings as much for future land value as for current return. The city would benefit greatly by such a program, since the city must anticipate its own requirement to buy the land by eminent domain in the foreseable future. By making a limited amount available for reconstruction now, the city may be saving a much greater amount which would be required in the future to buy the same land.

The demand for direct subsidies requires considerable study. The present existence of subsidies in many areas suggests that if the demand is properly phrased there is considerable chance of almost immeidate success. One approach may be to demand a cooperative law, offering government funds to group of tenants desiring to purchase their building and rehabilitate it, or to non-profit groups desiring to have housing constructed for their own use.

TIMING: In view of the accelaration of the rent strike movement, overall policy direction is essential in both the interim and the long range phase. Rent strike should have accumulated a very great momentum by April. If CORE is to lead the movement, the long range program must be announced no later than the middle of March. The first accouncement should deal with the immediate legislative objectives and should state the long range objectives in rather general terms. By September, there should be significant indication of the effectiveness of the interim program. At that point, and in time to have an impact on the election, there should be a more detailed announcement of the long range objectives.

George Schiffer

FROM: GEORGE SCHIFFER   TO: CORE
RE: HOUSING ACQUISITION PLAN   1/31/64

In order to assure that repaired slum housing will be replaced and in order to secure land for public housing at minimum cost, it is suggested that the City make available repair funds in exchange for a title deed subject to an estate for twenty years or less.

This approach is analogous to that used by the federal government in acquiring national park land. People presently living in areas to be made parks are given a choice of selling out now or of selling out the remainder interest after they die.The remainder interest is valued according to commonly accepted formulae.

The plan would work as follows : If a building required a repair investment of $20,000,the city would furnish the full amount.If the city projects that it will require the land in ten years,then,using the treasury's 3½% table, ~~15x865%xof~~ 50% the building's value would be the purchase price of the remainder;on a twenty year basis the figure would be about 40%. If a higher interest rate were used,the percentages would be lower.

If the building has a present value of $40,000, 50% of that amount would be made available for repair without ~~inx~~ interest in exchange for future ownership. This would greatly reduce the pressure for rent increases. In the specific example, all the repair cost would be available without interest.

The City would plan acquisitions so that it acquires buildings in clumps at the time anticipated for reconstruction.

The plan eliminates the real estate speculator from slum housing. It enables the City to acquire needed land at present prices, despite the fact that the land will have much greater value when the city takes actual possession. Thus the paln is fiscally sound from the city's point of view.

The plan also gives the effect of slum rent subsidies without any actual subsidy.

The other benefits of the plan include the possibility of immediate action;the probability of wide-spread support of political and real estate groups;and the consistency with long range objectives.

TENANT NEWS

METROPOLITAN
COUNCIL ON HOUSING
215 West 23rd Street, New York 11, N.Y.
SP. 7-8900

Rent strike - make manila folder - put in dir. action proj

RENT STRIKES SPUR "MARCH ON ALBANY"; TENANTS UNITE TO FIGHT FOR SPEEDY EMERGENCY REPAIRS & PUBLIC HOUSING

TUESDAY, MARCH 10 -- that's the date set for a TENANTS MARCH ON ALBANY. The date was set at a rousing Rent Strike meeting and conference on Feb. 15. Called by the Community Council on Housing the conference drew support from the Metropolitan Council on Housing and its affiliates, from the Lower East Side Rent Strike, the Bklyn. Rent Strike Coordinating Comm., CORE, Local 1199 and District 65, the Comm. for Civil Rights Action and many political clubs and legislators.

A coordinating committee with these organizations and others was formed to extend and coordinate the rent strikes and to work out plans for the MARCH ON ALBANY. On March 10, tenants will join forces in Albany with civil rights groups and unions lobbying for the $1.50 minimum wage.

The Marchers will have two main demands: 1) Lots of new public housing and 2) Laws to get immediate repairs to emergency violations such as no heat, rats, and other health dangers.

All MCH affiliates and other tenant organizations are urged to make arrangements immediately to send delegates to Albany. Collect money for delegates' fares, elect delegates and, where possible, charter buses. For information and details, contact the Metropolitan Council on Housing, 215 W. 23 St., SP 7-8900.

DON'T JUST STAND THERE . . . .

Join the TENANTS MARCH ON ALBANY,

Tuesday, March 10

Vol. II, No. 6
February, 1964

LOWER EAST SIDE RENT STRIKE HITS 5 BUILDINGS; MCH RENT STRIKE INSTRUCTIONS, LEAFLET AND PROGRAM NOW AVAILABLE

Lower East Side Rent Strike is the name of a new coordinating group in which a dozen organizations are working together to show the landlords and the City -- "We don't pay for what we don't get! No services -- no rent!"

About 50 buildings are now withholding rents after six weeks of organization. Grace Cade of the Negro Action Committee is chairman and Pedro Otero of the Council of Puerto Rican Organizations is vice-chairman. Coordinators in each of three areas direct the organizing. These are Genoveva Clemente of Integrated Workers, Frances Goldin of the University Settlement Housing Clinic, and Loriman Rhodell of Downtown CORE. Two of the 12 cooperating organizations are MCH affiliates. The LES Rent Strike has headquarters at 332 E. 4th St.

On Jan. 28 a huge torchlight parade and rally was held. It was addressed by LES Rent Strike leaders and by Jesse Gray, leader of the Harlem rent strikes. After the parade the tenants came in out of the bitter cold to meet at the University

(please turn to page 4)

Torchlight parade on the Lower East Side
(Photo by Alan S. Gelb)

NO REPAIR
NO RE

LEGISLATIVELY SPEAKING

by Frances Goldin

Again this year -- on March 10 --tenants will board buses to Albany, armed with a program that can provide new housing and restore services and repairs in old slum buildings. Our program will have the support this year of thousands of rent-striking tenants and of labor unions.

This year, the 13 key demands are:

* A crash program for low and middle income integrated public housing on vacant and badly-used commercial land. Rents would be no more than $25 per room.

* Additional subsidies to allow public housing to rent at $10-18 per room.

* A moratorium on the demolition of structurally-sound, habitable, rent-controlled housing.

* The Wilson bill which would set up a City repair squad to make emergency repairs and restore heat.

* Improve the receivership law for faster action and more effective service. The City should keep the buildings after repairs and not return them to slumlords.

* Enact Judge Moritt's decision into law. No service, no rent -- to the landlord, court or anywhere else. "You don't have to pay for what you don't get."

* In all publicly-aided middle income housing, at least 20% of the apartments should be allotted to the HousingAuthority for subletting to low-income tenants.

* Establishment of a Fair Housing Rental Service to handle all apartment vacancies which would be filled on a non-discriminatory basis.

* Other points deal with protection of public housing tenants from unfair eviction regulations; exclusion of majority of earnings of wife and children in figuring family income in public housing; protection of the right to jury trials for tenants; and a plan for rehabilitation without rent increases.

Write or phone MCH for a more detailed copy of this program.

SPOTLIGHT ON
THE MORNINGSIDE SIX

About two years ago the tenants of six buildings along Morningside Dr. and Amsterdam Ave. received a surprising letter in the mail one morning from Columbia University's College of Pharmacy. They were asked to vacate the premises for the College's expansion. Four of the buildings were pleasant 6-story walkups, one boasted an elevator, one was an SRO (single-room occupancy). Morningside Six was formed by the angered tenants to fight the demolition of their homes. It affiliated to MCH and enlisted the aid of able MCH lawyer, Richard Levenson.

"We lost the SRO," says Marie Runyon, one of the group's key organizers. "The tenants were offered $25 to get out. They were Spanish-speaking and didn't know their rights. They were told 'We don't have to give you anything.' The X's went up on the windows, the usual thing." In November another building was demolished. "The bounty went up to $250. I guess we're technically now the Morningside 4."

"The College does not have sufficient funds for its new building. They don't even have plans approved by the Dept. of Bldgs. They scared tenants out a year before applying to the RRA for eviction certificates which are still pending. We want Columbia to meet with us instead of trying to steam roller this through."

The 107 tenants in the 52 apartments still occupied (average residence: 18 years) are now political veterans. On January 24 they held an open meeting to enlist neighborhood support and drew 500 residents of Morningside Heights. It was addressed by Cong. Ryan, Paul Goodman and MCH chairman Jane Benedict.

At a followup meeting on Feb. 13, a larger group was formed -- Morningsiders United -- with Edward Simpson as chairman. It aims to continue and extend the work of the Morningside Six.

"George Washington fought at Morningside Heights. We are fighting also for our community -- for a balanced, integrated neighborhood for all, not just for the University, the big institutions and their staffs."

THE DAY THE TENANTS WALKED OUT

Some 3,000 indignant tenants marched on City Hall on Jan. 23 demanding that rent control be continued and strengthened.

They came from most of the tenant organizations in the city and wore signs expressing their views on rent control, rent strikes, slumlords, bureaucrats and the present City administration. At its high point the line of marchers, singing rent control songs by Frances Goldin, Meryl Lewis and Bill Tatum, stretched out in an unbroken line aroundCityHallPlaza.

When the tenants ended the demonstration and tried to enter CityHall for the hearings, they found that landlords had filled all the seats there. Hundreds of tenants, including listed speakers, were barred and kept out in the cold.

As a result, Jesse Gray of the Community Council on Housing, after consultation with MCH, staged a tenant walkout. Larger quarters were demanded for such an important hearing as that on rent control.

After the walkout and a brief meeting outside, more tenants were admitted to the hearings. Jane Benedict spoke for MCH and other tenant organizations. She protested the exclusion of tenants from the hearings and refused to present her prepared testimony under such conditions.

On Mon., Feb. 3 the atmosphere was less crowded and more peaceful at a hearing to consider decontrol of over-$250 apartments. MCH and its affiliates were among dozens of organizations which spoke and opposed any decontrol at all.

Bill Tatum

Tenants demand strong rent control
(Photo by Lucille Flato)

MARCH WORKSHOP ON "HOW TO ORGANIZE A BUILDING AND GET ACTION . . ."

A Leadership Training Workshop -- or "Do It Yourself" course for tenant leaders will begin Mon., Mar. 16 at the McBurney YMCA, 215 W. 23rd St. The 5-session series is sponsored by MCH's TenantWorkshopCommittee. The first workshop will be held on "How to Organize a Building and Get Action Out of the RRA and Health and Buildings Departments."

All workshops will begin promptly at 8 p.m. and end at 10 p.m. Further sessions on rent strikes, evictions, demolition & receivership, on the courts and on how to fight landlords' applications will be held in March, April and May.

Your organization is urged to send new and experienced leaders -- no limit on numbers attending and no charge for the series. For details, contact Met Council.

A SENSIBLE SONNET

"What's going up here?
A new house for us, I hear.
No, it's another fake.
More rent for the landlord's take."

These rhymes were neatly lettered on the temporary wooden construction front at a 3rd St. "renovation" job.

David Gurin

MOVE TO LEGALIZE ARTISTS' HOUSING

On Feb. 6 representatives of 6 artists' housing groups got their first look at State Sen. Mitchell's bill legalizing the use of lofts by artists. The bill defines the word "artist" and permits artists to live and work in non-manufacturing commercial buildings of less than six stories. The building must be fireproof, have a sprinkler system and meet various fire retardation requirements.

Helen DeMott, representing MCH, and the Tompkins Sq. Artists, Cooper Sq. Comm. & the Phoenix Reform Dem. reserved judgment until they had time to study the bill. Artists Ten. Assn. & West Village Citiz. Comm. approved the bill with changes.

Helen DeMott

SAVE THAT DATE -------- MONDAY, MARCH 30

MET COUNCIL MEMBERSHIP MEETING

215 West 23rd St. ----- reports, action!

MET COUNCIL DIARY

Housing Committee, Local 1, Dining Room Emp. Union, Jan. 28: Jane Benedict, MCH chairman, met with this union committee.

Urban League, Jan. 29: Ruth Beinart, MCH bd. member, represented MCH at a meeting to plan the New York Urban League's April conference on open occupancy.

Bronx Neighborhood Council of Hotel and Club Wkers., Jan. 31: Mamie Jackson, MCH bd. and exec. secy. of the Bronx Council on Rents & Hsing., addressed this group.

Tilden Houses Tenants Assoc., Bklyn., Feb. 3: Herb Hines, MCH vice-ch., spoke on the history, purposes and program of MCH.

Local Bronx Planning Bd., Feb. 7: Dr. Helen Harris, ch. of Bx. Coun. on Rents & Housing and MCH bd. member, was appointed to the Hunts Pt. planning board.

MCH on the air, Feb. 11: Jane Benedict spoke over WWRL on Alma John's program.

City Hall-Brooklyn Bridge Plan, Feb. 11: Esther Rand testified before the City Planning Commn. against the plan because it is not economically or racially integrated and contains no public housing.

Artists are tenants, too, Feb. 13: Jane Benedict participated in a panel discussion at the Architectural League. The topic was "Artists' Housing."

RENT STRIKE ACTIVITY (cont. from page 1)

Settlement House. There the overflow crowd shouted its determination to support and spread rent strikes.

Meanwhile in other parts of Manhattan & in other boros the rent strikes caught fire. In Brooklyn the Tenant Welfare Comm. of the Parkway-Stuyvesant Community Council and the Brooklyn Tenants Council, both MCH affiliates, are cooperating with Brooklyn CORE. Their work has resulted in putting about 50 buildings on strike.

In the Bronx a Rent Strike Rally was held on Feb. 13 to initiate the strikes there. Mamie Jackson of the Bronx Counc. on Rents and Housing, a MCH affiliate, and Jesse Gray were among the speakers.

In Harlem the rent strikes continued and increased. In addition to the Community Council on Housing, CORE and the Harlem Action Group (Northern Student Movement), two unions have thrown their energy into the rent strikes. These are Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Wkers., and Dist. 65, RWDSU. A total of 300 buildings are reported on strike in Harlem. Local 1199 has also organized strikes in the Bronx. Rent strikes have been started in East Harlem and more are expected.

The Rent Strike Committee of MCH, under the chairmanship of Stan Aronowitz, has issued instructions for rent strikes, a rent strike program, and has also printed a rent strike leaflet which may be ordered in quantity and stamped with the name of the local organization.

THE METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING welcomes the support of every organization and individual interested in "decent housing at rentals people can afford." Yearly membership is $10 for organizations; $5 for individuals. You may join by signing this address label ---- and sending it with membership fee to Met Council on Housing, 215 West 23 St.

TENANT NEWS is a publication of the Met Council. $1 per year for 10 issues; free to members; bulk orders, $2 per 100.

Chairman, Jane Benedict; Editor, Ruth Beinart; Staff, Frances Goldin, Herbert Hines, Jr., Meryl Lewis; designed by Helen DeMott.

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MAR 5 1964

Housing

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APR 7 1964

April 6, 1964.

Mr. James Farmer, Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N.Y.

Dear Jim:

I was watching an educational TV presentation of a discussion on the South Houston Redevelopment Area several days ago, and was amazed to hear CORE listed among the organizations supporting Mi-Cove's request for this land for a middle-income housing project. It wasn't clear whether this was the national office or the New York chapter, so I am sending a copy of this letter to Norman Hill.

I don't know whether you are familiar with Dr. Rapkin's report on the area prepared for the Planning Commission. I did a little work on it myself, so I can vouch for the care which went into its preparation, the reliability of its statistics and other data, and the concern with which the recommendations were made. There are 12,700 workers in the area, of whom 20 percent are Negro and 40 percent Puerto Rican. I need hardly call to your attention the incidence of unemployment among both these groups, and the unlikelihood of these jobs being replaced if they are destroyed. It is true, as the Mi-Cove people said, that there are 4,000,000 square feet of empty loft space in Manhattan. But aside from the question of the suitability of its location and rent as a place in which these firms might relocate, there are 5,500,000 square feet in use in the area. It has been the experience of all redevelopment areas that a substantial number of firms go out of business rather than move or move to suburban locations, where these workers would have difficulty in continuing to work; there is no reason to suppose that this would be an exception.

The second question revolves around the use of available funds. The land write-down alone would amount to some $6,000 a unit, if Mi-Cove's plans are carried out, taking almost the entire redevelopment funds for the City of New York for a year, aside from the continuing subsidy in tax remission. If the people moving into the development were low-income families, unable to obtain decent housing otherwise, there would still be a question of whether this was the wisest location to use. But again experience has shown that middle-income housing for

/Continued......

the most part is occupied by people who can afford to rent and could obtain good housing if they went to Queens or Brooklyn, rather than Manhattan. I have no objection to people living in Manhattan if they don't like the trip to the other boroughs and they can afford it, but I do object to taking money which should go to helping real and involuntary slum-dwellers, in effect from people who do live in other boroughs, in order to make it possible for a favored few to live in downtown Manhattan. It would seem to me that CORE also should be more concerned with obtaining low-cost housing for people now living in Harlem, East or West, or Bedford Stuyvesant, or any of the other areas where people require new housing rather more than those living in Greenwich Village semi-luxury apartments.

I don't want to make this into a lengthy letter, with all details. Under separate cover I'm sending a copy of the Rapkin report which gives all the figures; the last chapter summarizes the findings and policy considerations. I should just like to point out that the Board of the Citizen's Housing and Planning Council, a group whose concern with housing cannot be doubted, after careful consideration just last week adopted a resolution turning down the Mi-Cove proposal, by a vote of 18 to 3. I would hope CORE would re-consider its position.

My best to Lulu.

Cordially,

Grace

(Mrs.) Grace Milgram
Research Associate

GM/hi

c.c. Mr. Norman Hill
New York Chapter
CORE

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, APRIL 27, 1964.

TV: Topical 'Bonanza'

Racial Issue Treated on Western Series With Story of a Negro Opera Singer

By JACK GOULD

THE efforts of television's enlightened elements to incorporate a greater number of dignified Negro characterizations in running weekly dramas found constructive reflection last night in "Bonanza," the highest-rated serial on the air.

The story of a Negro opera singer visiting the frontier community of Virginia City had the strong narrative values characteristic of a show designed for mass appeal, yet at the same time the hour-long presentation registered several points of contemporary pertinency and value on the issue of racial equality.

●

That last night's "Bonanza" was done at all merits a welcome footnote in TV history. Not too many weeks ago the cast of the show declined to make a personal appearance in front of a segregated audience in Jackson, Miss. When last night's installment was originally announced, the General Motors Corporation, the sponsor, indicated apprehension that the hour might be controversial.

To its credit, the National Broadcasting Company stood firmly behind the program, and as a consequence the commercials for the Chevrolet division of General Motors were carried as usual.

The program, entitled "Enter Thomas Bowers," was written by Jessica Benson and Murray Golden. Their plot concerned the appearance of a Negro singer who had been invited to Vriginia City without advance knowledge of his color. The man encounters different forms of prejudice that have so recently been in the news and moreover is jailed after the sheriff receives a wire that an escaped slave of similar appearance is being sought for murder.

Within the intricacy of the story structure, however, Miss Benson and Mr. Golden inserted valid commentary on the evils of prejudice through the voices of the Cartwrights. The conflict between an older Negro's deferring to the uncivilized white and his daughter's championing human dignity was brought out. And the importance of appealing to the uncommitted middle in achieving a solution to the racial problem was related in the final scene when the Negro singer forgets his humiliation and gives his concert.

Certainly, in the context of mass drama, the happy ending bespoke the changing times of the nineteen-sixties; for the viewer, there was a rewarding sense of satisfaction in seeing the good guys win on a straightforward matter of principle. Last night's "Bonanza" could be more important than many a show that noisily boasts of its feeling of protest and indignation.

●

William Marshall, as the Negro opera singer, was a commanding figure beneath whose dignity lay the fire ignited by years of frustration and humiliation. Ena Hartman, as the daughter of the only Negro resident in Virginia City, was an immensely personable and attractive exponent of standing up to the racial problem. Ken Renard, as the father, was touching in the scene where he found his self-respect. Dan Blocker, as Hoss, was particularly effective as a giant of a man showing gentle compassion.

David Dortort, producer of "Bonanza," added last night to the stature of popular TV entertainment.

Housing

APR 30 1964

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SPECIAL DELIVERY

File

April 28, 1964

Mr. James Farmer, National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Your letter of April 17 was most gracious and thought-provoking. In fact, your observations about polarization in the national community are so discerning that I was tempted to write a few notes to pass on to you. However, I naturally am very conscious that you most likely already have too many "armchair generals" advising you what to do. So I put the notes aside to let them percolate or evaporate.

Then, in the last day or two, several things happened at once. I read the Harris poll in the New York Post which indicated the steady rise since November, 1963, in the public support registered for the Johnson-Kennedy civil rights bill. Then, the night before last, I happened to catch the "Bonanza" show on TV quite by accident. As you might know, this show has a larger TV audience than any other in the country. The story reflected a most skillful introduction into their program pattern of a racial story; I basically agree with Jack Gould's estimate in the New York Times which I am enclosing.

Last night on the Huntley-Brinkly hour, there was a picturization of the round-the-clock vigil maintained by groups of three mature students representing Jewish, Catholic and Protestant training institutions. As you know, they are standing quietly at the Lincoln Memorial, answering questions put to them by many visitors, otherwise not moving about or "demonstrating". Finally, there have been the increasing number of newspaper items indicating some growing restlessness in the country and in the Congress about the extent of the current filibuster. At any rate, this concurrence of events has weakened my normal restraint, so I pass along the gist of my original notes regarding your letter of April 17.

One thing I came to sense in Franklin Roosevelt was what the observers called his keen "sense of timing". When the flow of events he wanted was stalled or running against him, he was most active in stirring up the kind of action which started the tides to running the other way. Once he got them moving in his direction however, he seemed to know how to "rare" back and rest on his oars and let the tide seem to carry him.

Your care in making protests pointed and specific would seem sound. It may be, too, that with the things you have gotten started, the nature of the next "positive" actions might be very carefully considered.

Without doubt -- if only for its psychological effect -- the primary thing nationally right now is to get a strong civil rights bill passed. I am glad the spiritual leaders are taking over the "pray-in". I hope that everybody who protests otherwise might get at least five others to both write their senators and congressmen as well as register to vote in the primaries as well as the elections. If we have any money, strategically placed full-page ads in selected national newspapers might be used to straighten out the facts such as the statement by Congressman McCulloch in the New York Times of April 24.

I think, too, now would be the time to have even more of our liberal and intellectual friends who are not Negroes to take a large part in acting, talking and writing and otherwise performing in such ways as to serve to help split the left-right alliance.

Your own demonstrations at the Fair are in good point, especially when you are able to show specific things like the cattle prodders, blown-up pictures of police dogs attacking victims, the power of Bull Connors' fire hoses, etc., and maybe a few facts like how much is spent for the education of the white child in Florida, for instance, compared to what is spent for the Negro child. Your recent statements after seeing the Mayor and the Police Commissioner regarding police brutality fell right on the nose. The issue of a citizens' review board for the Police Department is something that growingly will pick up the support not only of Negroes and Puerto Ricans, etc., but of white liberal leadership and organizations. I note that the City Club of New York in its newsletter for April 1, "City Club Comments", argues rather strongly for the need of such a review board right now.

On the school issue, I notice the beginnings of middle-of-the-road approval for the educational "park" concept and, certainly, the rent strikes have won not only City administration's support, but that of the Urban League and other such groups.

Of course, the civil rights bill -- even without any watering down -- has, as you know, little direct application to New York City or State since our laws are already largely beyond that. However, it will mean so much to the rest of the country, at least as kick-off points, and a good deal to New York psychologically. It must be passed. And naturally, as you know better than I, this is where the fight just begins as far as New York City is concerned, especially in employment, schools and housing. Certainly we will need to store up all the fire power we can to be sure that your prediction comes true that this will be a "long, hot summer."

I am sorry to ramble so, but you can just write it down to chafing at the bit.

Sincerely yours,

Frank Horne

FRANK S. HORNE
Consultant on Human Relations

Enclosure

17 April 1964

Dr. Frank S. Horne
Consultant on Human Relations
Housing and Redevelopment Board
2 Lafayette Street
New York, N. Y. 1007

Dear Dr. Horne:

Thanks for sending me the Commentary piece, and also for your flattering comments concerning the things that I am trying to do.

I think Danzig's article does, as you day, reveal rare insight into the problem. His concluding observations, drawn from Phil Randolph's position and others regarding the need for a coalition, is accurate and well stated. This direction is not yet really a trend. There is hardly more than a "leadership dialogue" going on. However, it must become a trend.

An opposing, and very dangerous, trend being fostered by some left wing political groups for their own interest, as well as by extreme right wing groups for their own interests, is to try to force a polarization inthe national community. It would almost appear that, as sometimes occurs, a left-right alliance is trying to form. The alliance of which Randolph speaks must prevail.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

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Housing and Redevelopment Board

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April 3, 1964

APR 6 1964

Mr. James L. Farmer, Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear James Farmer:

As you may know, I have seen a lot of them come and go since Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and Kinkle Jones and Walter White. Naturally, your own vigorous leadership, especially among the front line fighters, has been stimulating and reassuring.

I thought I would like to call your attention to the enclosed article from February Commentary. I think it reveals rare insight in the sources and direction of current leadership. At least David Danzig contributes something to the job you are now doing so well and so persistently -- pounding away at why the non-involved must become totally involved.

Sincerely yours,

Frank Horne

FRANK S. HORNE
Consultant on Human Relations

Enclosure

DAVID DANZIG

THE MEANING OF NEGRO STRATEGY

In May of 1963, the world was abruptly made aware that a new minority community had emerged as a significant and self-conscious force in American society. The evidence was clear, eloquent, and disturbing. In Birmingham, Alabama during the week of May 13, the formerly dispersed and demoralized masses of Negroes suddenly became a well-organized, resolute body of citizens, marching forward to their daily encounter with the city's police force and fire department. The following week in Nashville, Tennessee, students of Fisk University led a protest march of their fellow Negroes through the main avenues of the city as part of a new campaign for complete desegregation. In Raleigh, North Carolina, five hundred college students broke three years of relative racial peace that had followed the desegregation of lunch counters, and launched a similar drive for total equality by a demonstration at the Governor's mansion. In Greensboro, North Carolina, a thousand Negroes attempted to sit-in at two movie houses and a public cafeteria. In Cambridge, Maryland, as in Albany, Georgia, the long, desperate struggle was joined again, while in Selma, Alabama, the first stage of a new one was initiated by Negro leaders in a campaign to register voters. But it was not only in the South that the presence and pressure of a coherent movement were unmistakably apparent. Immediately following "Birmingham," the groundwave of protest began to swell in the Negro ghettos of New York, Chicago, and Detroit, as well as in pleasant suburbs like Orange and Englewood in New Jersey. Following these two weeks in May the tide of Negro group action continued to grow through the late spring and summer, rolling across the Eastern half of the nation and culminating in the great demonstration in Washington on August 28.

The most immediate and dramatic reaction of the white community was that of resentment and resistance. Nothing was quite to match that long Saturday night of May 18 in Birmingham when the motel where Martin Luther King had set up headquarters and the home of King's brother were both bombed, and when for some hours Negroes and police struggled amid the havoc and terror of an incipient race war. But almost everywhere that Negroes protested there was violence or the threat of it. The demonstrations in Nashville ended in knife-fighting between Negroes and whites; in Greensboro 241 marchers were arrested while a mob of whites swirled about them under the banners of "Blacks, Go Home," and "Go Back to Africa." And the mood of white resistance was to continue making itself felt in the infamous church bombing in Birmingham, and in the chain of assaults and police harassment that eventually extended from Jackson, Mississippi, to New York.

This outcropping of violence and intransigence, bombings and imprisonment, however, tended to obscure the less dramatic but more significant development of a new stage in Negro-white relations. For example, even as the Birmingham police were packing the marchers off to jail, an unprecedented series of negotiations was taking place between the leading businessmen of the city—six white and six Negro—which culminated in an agreement providing for a phased integration of lunch counters and the opening of job opportunities to Negroes. So, too, the Negro demonstrations in Nashville, Raleigh, and Greensboro were promptly followed by the establishment of new bi-racial committees to plan further desegregation, backed by statements from the white business leaders of both cities calling for the removal of all public and business policies that denied rights and services on racial grounds. And similarly, in Orange, New Jersey, the efforts of the Negro community resulted in an order from the State Commissioner of Education to present a plan for integrating a segregated elementary school in that town.

In other words, what underlay the specific conflicts both in the South and in the North during

David Danzig is associate director of the American Jewish Committee and a lecturer in intergroup relations at the Columbia University School of Social Work. His previous contributions include "Christianity in a 'Post-Western' Era" (January 1961) and "The Radical Right and the Rise of the Fundamentalist Minority" (April 1962).

Reprinted from

Commentary

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this two-week period in May was the emergence of an organized Negro community in each town representing the interests of its members and able to negotiate for them. Even the agreement reached in Birmingham—though it was soon to be repudiated by the business community of the city, not to mention the city government, the state police, and the fanatical terrorists—is an illustration of this development. Written in the spirit of civic pragmatism that has been displacing the rabid intransigence of the racists, the Birmingham agreement reads like what it essentially is: a pact between two distinct political bodies:

> Responsible leaders of both Negro and white communities of Birmingham, being desirous of promoting conditions which will ensure sound moral, economic and political growth of their city, in the interest of all citizens of Birmingham, after mutual consideration and discussion of the issues relating to the recent demonstrations in the city, have agreed to . . .

What we have here, in effect, is a radical departure from the traditional conception of civil rights as the rights of individuals. This departure lies at the heart of the "Negro Revolution," and may, indeed, almost be said to *be* that revolution. Today, in America as elsewhere, the Negro has made us forcefully aware that the rights and privileges of an individual rest upon the status attained by the group to which he belongs—that is to say, by the power it controls and can use. That this fact determined race relations in the 19th century is clear enough: Hillaire Belloc, disdaining to rationalize colonialism as "the white man's burden," put the matter very simply: "When all is said and done, we have the Gatling gun and they have none." To the extent that power is available to him, the Negro is now responding in kind. And in the American pluralistic pattern, where social power is distributed by group, the Negro has perforce come to recognize that he can achieve equal opportunities only through the concerted action of the Negro community. No longer addressing himself exclusively to the white man's attitudes of prejudice, to effecting changes in "the hearts and minds of men"—an approach that dooms him to gradualism—the Negro now confronts the white society on the issue of his rights with all the political and economic strength that his group is able to wield.

The Negro bloc of yesterday, in short, has become the mass movement of today. The speed with which this change has occurred, as well as its tendency to become identified with specific personalities like Martin Luther King and with specific incidents like those in Birmingham or Jackson or Albany, have deflected attention from the more general meaning of what has been happening. First of all, it is clear that the upsurge of Negro action is not merely a matter of temporary fervor; it is rather a profound response to a number of pressures which have been generated by the Negro's changing relation to American society and which, taken together, constitute a social upheaval of major significance. Among the more salient of these pressures is the accelerated migration of Negroes from the South to the North and from rural areas to the cities. While the state of Mississippi has been losing over thirty per cent of its Negro population in each of the past two decades, cities like Chicago, Detroit, and Los Angeles have been experiencing an equally phenomenal rise in their Negro populations. Within the deprived and impacted Negro ghettos, the demands steadily grow for improved housing, education, and other public services. At the same time, the mounting population and its concentration in big cities provide Negro leaders with an increasingly strong base of political power. For example, in the Woodlawn neighborhood of Chicago's Black Belt, whose Negro population has increased by 80 per cent since the war, a grass-roots political movement has sprung up recently which has been agitating effectively for better police protection, school facilities, and housing, and which has forged a new spirit of group solidarity and communal responsibility that has enabled its leaders to oppose the acquisition of the best sections of the neighborhood by the powerful University of Chicago.

In the economic sphere, similarly, the advent of automation and other technological advances has produced a growing unemployment rate among Negroes and a widening split between Negro and white incomes. As the pressures of Negro poverty and frustration mount, the barriers of job discrimination become that much more unendurable; the result has been a concerted effort to breach them through mass demonstrations against labor and management alike, as well as through boycotts, selective buying, and other pressure tactics.

GIVEN ALL THESE tensions within the Negro population, it is not surprising that they should be pressing for action. What is surprising, however, is the solidarity and skill which have characterized Negro action during the past year. The March on Washington presented an especially conclusive example of Negro unity. Such unity—indeed, unity of any kind—is new in Negro life; one of the important effects of the strategy of mass demonstrations has been to create a sense of community among a people whose group ties were deliberately and persistently shattered during the period of slavery and whose subsequent social history has produced, for the most part, no larger unit of community than the church congregation. The spectacle of 200,000 people marching last summer through Washington, along with the other group demonstrations in the North and South and the innumerable acts of individual heroism, have produced a new feeling of collective self-awareness, of peoplehood. The March on Washington, moreover, was a testimony to the rapid progress that the Negro has been making in wielding power. The organizational feat involved in planning and carrying through the huge demonstration, and the discipline of the marchers themselves, most of them Negro, marked an impressive stage in the maturing of the community. And it showed that a new Negro bureaucracy had come to the fore whose political sophistication and organizational talent were comparable to those of the best leadership found among the other ethnic and religious groups.

Thus, within a very short time, the Negro has developed the rudimentary group coherence and indigenous leadership that enables him to speak for his own rights and interests. Lacking these strengths, the Negro has in the past necessarily been dependent upon whites to represent him in American society. Both the Urban League, his main social agency, and the NAACP, his main political action group, were founded by whites and until recently have functioned within the ambience of the white community. Similarly with the Negro's political power, which has been mortgaged to the liberal coalition of the big-city political machines and the CIO that was created a generation ago under the New Deal. While the Negro has not as yet withdrawn from this coalition, he is no longer willing to accept the theory that what is good for the Democratic party is necessarily good for him. Nor is he any more patient with the "trickle-down" concept of prosperity when it is advanced to him by Big Labor than was the union man himself when he heard it expressed by Big Business during the Hoover years. Having taken into his own hands the reins of his destiny in American society, the Negro has found that the gradualism to which so many Northern liberals are committed can be as pressing an obstacle as the intransigence of the Southern conservatives, and consequently he has been forced to assert specific Negro demands in the North through his attacks upon the unions, upon de facto school and housing segregation, and through his drive for greater political patronage and a more independent use of the vote. What is now perceived as the "revolt of the Negro" amounts to this: the solitary Negro seeking admission into the white world through unusual achievement has been replaced by the organized Negro insisting upon a legitimate share for his group of the goods of American society. The white liberal, in turn, who—whether or not he has been fully conscious of it—has generally conceived of progress in race relations as the one-by-one assimilation of deserving Negroes into the larger society, finds himself confused and threatened by suddenly having to come to terms with an aggressive Negro community that wishes to enter it *en masse*.

Accordingly, in the arena of civil rights the Negro Revolution has tended to take the struggle out of the courts and bring it to the streets and the negotiating tables. Granting the potential for unprecedented violence that exists here, it must also be borne in mind that what the Negro people are now beginning to do, other ethnic minorities—who brought to America their strong traditions of communal solidarity—did before them. With this powerful asset the Irish rapidly acquired political strength, and the Jews succeeded in raising virtually an entire immigrant population into the middle class within the span of two generations. Viewed in this perspective, the Negroes are merely the last of America's significant ethnic minorities to achieve communal solidarity and to grasp the role of the informal group power structure in protecting the rights and advancing the opportunities of the individual members of the community.

INDEED, ETHNIC GROUPS (including of course the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant group) have played a much more significant role in American society than is commonly recognized or at least admitted. Except in the realm of politics, where the backing of a given ethnic group is often the primary qualification for office, we tend to maintain the fiction that American society is made up of isolated individuals who depend mainly upon their own talents for the position they achieve in it. The truth is, however, that the economic structure of the nation has been no less strongly influenced by ethnic factors than political ones. Wherever we look—whether at heavy industry or dairy farming, public utilities or banking, the building or the garment trades, organized crime or law enforcement—we find clearly marked ethnic patterns of occupation opportunities. Though these patterns have been breaking down in recent decades, in many of the older industries and vocations it still makes a difference whether one's forebears came from Ireland or Italy or whether one's first name or last name is Milton.

The converse of the fiction of social individualism has been the idea that minority organization hinders assimilation and perpetuates the disabilities of minority status. In the light of this idea, the immigrants pouring into America at the turn of the century were repeatedly advised that naturalization was an individual—and not a group—process and were admonished to shed their group identities and organizations as rapidly as possible. Today, Negro solidarity and its forms of collective self-assertion are provoking a similar anxiety and counsel from the dominant group. Disapproval by the majority, however, is unlikely to have much influence on the new Negro movement. The traditional approach to civil rights and equal oppor-

tunities as the slow but continuous expansion of democracy on an individual basis means little to a group which is demanding the immediate rectification of a severe and continuous injustice to it. Moreover, when the authority of state governments and the power of most social and economic institutions have been used to deny the individual Negro his rights and opportunities merely because of his membership in the Negro group, it seems only fitting that he should muster the power he possesses to establish his rights and opportunities on a group basis.

But Negro action has not only turned the civil rights program into a conflict between groups, it has also extended this conflict to employment, housing, and education. Looking beyond the demand for civil rights, Negro leaders see that the "open society" of 1964 is in many areas even more closed to their community than was the ethnocentric WASP society of 1900 to the waves of new immigrants, and that the inequities suffered by Negroes are more extreme. Even in jobs, residential neighborhoods, and schools where Negroes are not excluded by explicit policy, their absence in significant numbers is rightly seen as proof of discrimination. The sad and brutal truth is that de facto segregation permeates our institutions and exerts a cumulative force: like a tropism beyond the reach of law, it impels the white man to identify with his race and to turn his back on the Negro.

The real issue, then, is not that of giving special consideration to Negroes to compensate for past injustices, but that of adopting realistic measures which will begin to correct a profound tendency in our society to exclude and penalize the Negro. So profound is this tendency that even where the formula "regardless of race, creed, or color" has been taken seriously, the Negro has found himself excluded on the ground of inadequate qualifications. The present anxiety about "maintaining standards" is far from new: it is a traditional ethnocentric reaction to any serious threat from outsiders, and it is as often a rationalization for prejudice as a concern for quality. Certainly the recently expressed determination of the building trades unions to maintain the "standards" of their craft must seem unconvincing to any occupant of a modern New York apartment. Where there is good will, the problem of equipping Negroes would seem to be no more difficult than that faced by American industry during World War II when it created virtually a whole new skilled work force through on-the-job training. After all, no one is suggesting that Negro laborers should immediately be sent to medical school, though no doubt a good many more Negro college students with good grades in biology should be.

To deal with this form of institutional prejudice the Negro activists have adopted the new strategy of attempting to fix responsibility on the management level—housing authorities, trade-union officials, corporation executives, boards of education, and so forth. Such an approach to the objective of increasing vocational, housing, and educational opportunities must sooner or later involve a discussion of numbers. However, insistence that the number of Negroes in some industries, housing projects, and schools be increased to a proportion reasonably related to Negro incidence in the population has been misrepresented, sometimes intentionally, as a demand for a rigid quota that would be imposed for the benefit of Negroes and at the expense of whites. Both Governor Rockefeller and President Kennedy received strong support from the white community when they condemned quotas. The President did so on practical grounds: "We are too mixed, this society of ours, to begin to divide ourselves on the basis of race or color." The governor made his opposition a matter of doctrine, arguing that such quotas were both unlawful and counter to American principles. The New York *Times,* having acknowledged that Negroes are justified in being impatient about the rate of unemployment in their community, went on to observe that "this impatience often finds expression in suggestions for a conscious system of reverse discrimination in favor of Negroes." Trade unions have also found reasons for strongly condemning quotas. So has President Eisenhower who fears that we may be in danger of "over-compensating" the Negro.

In general, white opposition to the Negro movement has crystallized around the issues of "quotas" and "preferential treatment." But to the Negro seeking a radical improvement in his situation, the issues are jobs and decent living conditions, not quotas; improved education, not school-busing privileges. Due to the lack of white support of any large-scale measures to aid the Negro, progress in these basic areas has been pitifully small. After being subjected to immense pressure, for example, the building trades agreed to add Negro apprentices; three thousand applicants were screened and 14 accepted! And in the other areas of the Negro plight, the advances have been no less meager.

LIBERAL opinion, in the North and in the South, thus continues to stand upon its traditions of gradualism—the one-by-one admission of deserving Negroes into the larger society—and to reject the idea that to help the Negro it must help the Negro community. Yet the fact is that the Negro belongs to an economic as well as a racial group. Certainly a child born in East Harlem is as much bound by economic limitations as a coal miner's child in eastern Kentucky. Given the conditions in a region like eastern Kentucky, we recognize that opportunity is in good part socially determined:

if unemployment goes over 7 per cent, the town qualifies as a "depressed area" and the community as a whole receives federal aid. But the Negro, who by virtue of his color belongs to an economic community which suffers almost constantly from an unemployment rate of more than 12 per cent, is expected to find resources and opportunities by himself and on his own.

Secretary of Labor Wirtz recently remarked that machines can now do more cheaply and effectively most work done by the high-school graduate. Obviously the resources needed for earning an acceptable place in our society are far different from what they were a century ago when a grant of three acres and the ability to farm it provided a sufficient start. However, we still tend to accept the American frontier ideology of resourceful individualism in positing the requirements for success in our society, just as we still accept the classical liberal ideology of laissez-faire as the backbone of our economic system. The truth is that this frontier ideology has as little relation to the actual routes to advancement in our highly developed technocracy as the laissez-faire ideology has to the actual operation of our federally subsidized and highly integrated economy. The individual who is adequately equipped to meet its demands usually has the backing of community and family achievement, which motivates him to seek a college education and orients him in making use of it.

Why then should we still insist upon holding the Negro to an extreme and outmoded doctrine of individual merit? More than half of all Negro men have not even graduated from primary school, and the continuing process of discrimination makes a bad situation increasingly worse. Between 1952 and 1962, the average Negro income dropped from 57 per cent to 53 per cent of the average white income, and the future looks even darker than the present. Negroes are heavily over-represented in unskilled labor, where jobs are decreasing daily, and heavily under-represented in the white-collar fields, which accounts for nearly all new jobs nowadays and where the rate of Negro unemployment is already about twice as high as the white rate.

The number of Americans living on a minimal subsistence level has been variously estimated as ranging between 36 and 50 million. Let us accept the mid-point figure of 44 million. It has been pointed out that 11 million of these people—that is, *only* one out of four—are Negroes. But looked at from another point of view, nearly two-thirds of all Negroes are impoverished. As Michael Harrington has demonstrated, poverty, like wealth, is inherited. Within the larger perspective of American society as a whole, the inherited poverty of whites, though far from negligible, is still a minority phenomenon; from the Negro's perspective, inherited poverty is a majority phenomenon, indeed an endemic one. In the generally accepted notion that America is an affluent society, we merely confirm our exclusion of the Negro from it.

This prolonged, virtually systematic exclusion of the Negro group from American life and the growing desperation of his position explain why the Negro is making such radical demands for freedom and opportunity—"now." But along with objecting to the Negro's impatient and militantly self-interested demands as "racism in reverse," white liberals have also questioned the efficacy of his strategy. The position expressed by Professor Eli Ginzberg is typical:

> In the past the Negro has made significant gains when he has been included in important national efforts—the Revolutionary War, the Civil War, the New Deal, the C.I.O., World War II, the expansion of public programs for health, education, and welfare. There is little prospect that white America will do much for the handicapped Negro group. But we *can* expect our democracy to attend to its less fortunate citizens, Negroes included. All America needs a higher level of employment, more and better education, a closer approximation to true equality. To the extent that we move energetically towards these national goals, to that extent will the status of the Negro be improved.

One need hardly argue the superior value, to say nothing of the political advantage, of a national program supported by a wide variety of groups for the benefit of all deprived members of the society. But what allows us to "expect our democracy to attend to its less fortunate citizens, Negroes included" when doing so to any real effect would require major structural changes in the economy as well as in our institutional patterns? What political force will generate such a program? For there is very little political action today that does not have its source in one or another organized and powerful group—and (as was amply demonstrated during the battle for medicare) our forty to fifty million citizens who live in poverty are far too heterogeneous to constitute themselves into an effective political bloc. In general, Professor Ginzberg's analysis reduces to the moral rhetoric that contemporary liberals tend to substitute for political insight. Professor Andrew Hacker has described the situation of the underprivileged in far more realistic and relevant terms:

> It may well be that two Americas are emerging, one a society protected by the corporate umbrella and the other a society whose members have failed to affiliate themselves with the dominant institutions . . . . more importantly, it [the "second America"] will be comprised of the unemployed, the ill-educated and the entire

residue of human beings who are not needed by the corporate machine.

One might expect organized labor to begin to concern itself with the economic needs of this second America. But for the most part the unions in practice act as a conservative establishment that is mainly worried about maintaining its prerogatives against the sweeping changes of automation. During the Depression, the AFL denied its support to the unemployed and to those in the mass-production industries. Today, with one-fourth of the nation still ill-housed, ill-fed, and ill-clothed (about the same absolute number of individuals as in the Depression), the AFL-CIO is hardly more interested in speaking for the unorganized worker than the AFL was then. And just as the failure of the AFL in the 30's necessitated the organization of the CIO, so the inadequacy of the trade-union movement today forces the Negro group into acting to mitigate its own economic plight. Thus the sectarian character of the Negro's economic and political demands can be understood as a consequence of the absence of any political movement in the United States that speaks for the new American proletariat in general.

IN THE POSTWAR period, the emergence of a highly integrated mass society has forced the politics of sectionalism to give way to the politics of groups. More than ever before, the key to political power is group interest. And as often as not, the group interest in question is ethnic, religious, or racial. Such special interests are not necessarily antagonistic to the general good; indeed, they have often helped to advance the general interest by strengthening our democracy and by promoting programs of social welfare. Today the special interest of the Negro involves the burdens of poverty, inadequate training, and other social disabilities that afflict the entire "under-class" of the society, though they fall most heavily upon him. And it is already becoming evident that the Negro's militancy on behalf of his own cause may well serve the cause of the new American proletariat as a whole. The March on Washington, though primarily concerned with civil rights, also included among its ten points a request for a massive federal program to train unemployed workers—Negro and white; a national Minimum Wage Act that would give to all a decent living; and a broad Federal Labor Standards Act covering all areas of employment which are presently excluded. More generally, the Negro movement today provides the only likely center around which a new coalition might be created to fill the current political vacuum.

A. Philip Randolph, the Negroes' leading spokesman in the councils of labor, is keenly aware of the strategic role of the Negro movement at this juncture of history. Addressing the AFL-CIO Convention in November, he argued for an alliance between labor and the Negro:

> Let our alliance be strengthened. It is in labor's own interest. For the Negro's protest today is but the first rumbling of the *"under-class."* As the Negro has taken to the streets, so will the unemployed of all races take to the streets. . . . To discuss the civil rights revolution is therefore to write the agenda of labor's unfinished revolution. The labor movement cannot ignore this under-class. It cannot degenerate into a mere protective association, insulating the "haves" from the "have-nots" in the working class . . .

The implications of such an alliance were graphically spelled out in a subsequent speech at the same convention by Hank Brown, President of the Texas AFL-CIO:

> There are a half-million Negroes in our state working for less than fifty cents an hour. There are nearly a million unorganized Latin Americans in our state working for less than fifty cents an hour. . . . Civil rights means more than just dolng something for the Negro . . . we can't win in Texas against the money changers that run the temple, called the state government, with just organized labor. We formed, Brother Randolph, the alliance you speak of a year ago then known as the coalition . . . and we would like for other states to take the hand of the Negro, the Latin American, the Indian, whatever he is, if he is a worker, and he is not making at least $2.00 an hour. Then that is the brother that we need to get with and win the kind of progress we are talking about.

It is still too early to say whether local coalitions like the one in Texas are the grass-roots beginnings of a new national coalition. Certainly any such coalition would have to be formed in the teeth of the apathy toward the unorganized poor that currently prevails among many of labor's statesmen as well as much of the rank-and-file. Be that as it may, it is becoming evident that only the new proletariat speaking for itself can join the issues of the day. The social planners who have analyzed the problems, the liberals who have moralized them, and the politicians who have articulated them can help in a new progressive coalition, but they lack the energy to initiate it. Group self-interest provides the very core of real politics, and Negro solidarity will have a large role to play if our democracy is once again to find its way to those humane values which were so important in shaping the original conception of America.

The American Jewish Committee, Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56 Street, New York, N.Y. 10022

February 1964

Housing

SOCIAL PLANNING IN THE URBAN SETTING

Remarks by
Henry Cohen - Deputy City Administrator
Office of the Mayor - City of New York

Training Institute on Urban Community Development Projects,
Columbia University School of Social Work, New York

May 1, 1964

Examining social planning in the urban setting is somewhat like the examination of the elephant by the four blind men. Different conceptions of social planning have arisen among city planners, social workers, sociologists and administrators. It would be difficult to summarize even briefly these differing conceptions without gross over-simplification.

The city planning field, starting with a central concern for the physical environment, has been increasingly seeking to define what is referred to as the "social aspects of city planning." In the social welfare field, in which so many vital strands embodied in casework and group work appear, it is even more difficult to convey a single conception of the social planning process. Essentially, the social welfare efforts are most clearly embodied in the councils of social agencies which historically have performed a variety of important functions in exchanging information, providing common services, offering guidance to social agencies in molding their programs, and bringing pressure to bear on government, sometimes on narrow issues and sometimes on broad issues.

The city planning and social welfare efforts in social planning have not been static. They have been broadened and intensified. For example, the first City Planning Conference in 1909 was called to discuss problems of population congestion and the use of planning for dealing with social problems.[1] But for a generation as the physical planning function became institutionalized in local government, the city planners' interest in the social dimensions remained perfunctory.

The depression of the 1930's revived public interest in social planning as an integral part of city planning. For example, a city planning survey in Toledo in 1937 included among its aims the following:

> To find the extent and interrelationship of certain physical, social, and economic conditions in the community.
>
> To ascertain the extent of treatment services provided by the community.
>
> To ascertain social costs in rendering social welfare services.
>
> To stimulate public interest in community planning for social problems by suitable presentation of the work to public and private welfare agencies.[2]

The social welfare field, which has traditionally been people-centered field, has played an important role in securing broader governmental programs in housing, social security, and employment opportunity. Its direct community planning activities have largely, but not exclusively, been concerned with welfare service systems.

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[1] Robert Walker, "The Planning Function in Urban Government," 1941 Chapter 1

[2] Ibid.

What is becoming more apparent in recent years is a need for broad, comprehensive social planning that cannot be satisfied fully by these other functional systems. I mean by this new kind of social planning a systematic process of analysis designed to strengthen, and to make more rational, decisions on public policy designed to improve social and economic conditions. This planning process to be meaningful must be related realistically to the political decision-making process and help to shape systematically resource allocation decisions, administrative and organizational relationships, procedures, laws and other types of regulations.

The possibilities for achieving some such process are now greatly enhanced. In the last five years, as in no time since the depression, public concern about inequities in the distribution of social and economic benefits and opportunities has been heightened. A growing self-awareness and self-expression among minority groups is reflected in militant civil rights movements demanding equal social and economic opportunities. As a result, we are moving towards more appropriate targets to attack conditions of poverty, unemployment, and social and economic discrimination. We are now proceeding on the assumption that impoverished communities are self-perpetuating largely because opportunities for breaking out of the poverty culture are weak or lacking. The principal institutions of home, school and community have often become debilitating and do not provide the needed supports for proper growth.

Public recognition of the compelling character of current social and economic problems provides an opportunity to institute social planning as a governmental function for several reasons:

1. Social planning would provide opportunities on the one hand to achieve more effective allocation of financial and other resources now devoted to dealing with social and economic problems, and on the other hand, it would enhance the possibilities of channelling more substantial public resources to deal with the deficits in programming and service.

2. It would heighten the possibilities of modifying the institutional factors that perpetuate existing conditions.

3. It would improve the opportunities for developing an organized framework for vital public discussion.

The Allocation of Existing and Additional Resources

The urban centers of the country are confronted with massive problems of poverty. I daresay that in New York City, with which I am most familiar, the problems, while serious, are probably not so severe as in most of the other large central cities. Yet here, one in five New Yorkers lives in poverty. Poverty is endemic among the nonwhite and Puerto Rican populations, as illustrated in the following comparisons:

- One out of 7.5 whites lives in poverty
- But 2 out of 5 nonwhites live in poverty
- And one out of two Puerto Ricans lives in poverty

In an area like Harlem, which has recently completed the preparation of a comprehensive youth development plan, it has been found that 80 percent of the public school children in the sixth grade are below grade in reading and arithmetic skills; 50 percent of the children below 18 years of age living at home are in broken homes; over 50 percent of public school students entering high school are early school leavers. These conditions are repeated with varying intensity in the other 15 areas of the city. There is little reason to believe that the other large metropolitan cities of the country are in better shape.

One billion dollars, about a third of our budget, is spent on dealing with poverty in one form or another.

Sample checks of public expenditure on a neighborhood basis show that we are spending two and one-half times more per capita on social, health, and educational services in the poorer neighborhoods than in the rest of the city.

The recent survey prepared by the Institute of Public Administration, "The Administration of Services to Children and Youth in New York City" found some serious weaknesses in our current framework of programs.[1]

1. Existing concepts and restrictions tended to perpetuate the conditions they were intended to alleviate. Many programs had self-defeating consequences.
2. Too often, it was found, emphasis was on peripheral problems instead of central issues, or symptoms rather than basic problems.
3. Even where valuable services were being offered, there was a failure to concentrate fire on central targets by coordinating programs dealing with different aspects of the same complex problems.

To keep pace with the enormous changes in the society at large, the report recommended improved planning, co-ordination and evaluation at the departmental level and in an overhead agency close to the Mayor.

If the critical analyses of the last few years are sound, and I think they are, then merely pouring funds into existing types of programs will not break the cycle of poverty. More of the same will not save the children.

We must address ourselves more critically than ever before to program evaluation and re-examination. We must weigh more systematically than ever before the social payoff from units of expenditure as a means of organizing priorities.

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[1] Institute of Public Administration: "The Administration of Services to Children and Youth in New York City," 1963, P.1.

The tools for measuring effectiveness are underdeveloped and primitive. The fashioning of these tools represents one of the most important tasks for social research. Growing public concern both with the underlying social problems and with the costs of dealing with them is going to require of political and professional leadership that they focus more sharply on central targets and deal with them effectively and decisively.

Programmed Innovation

Administrative machinery such as proposed by the Institute of Public Administration would achieve what March and Simon refer to as "programmed innovation."[2] Under ordinary conditions, large organizations tend to change slowly and are resistant to innovations. The public service agencies in New York City are huge organizations. The Education Department deals with one million children annually and has an annual budget of approximately $800 million. The agency employs about 45,000 persons. The Department of Welfare has an annual caseload of about 500,000 persons with an annual budget of $340 million. In fact, in New York City six municipal agencies spend over 80 percent of the total of 2.2 billion.being expended for education, welfare, medical, recreation, and protective services.

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[1] March and Simon, "Organizations," 1958, pp. 35-40
[2] IPA Report, P. 65

Large organizations often require for their management and maintenance an emphasis on central control. In order to assure compliance down the line with policy set on high, stress is placed on the reliability of employee behavior. Individual discretion and innovation are sharply curtailed. The very rules developed to assure effective implementation of programs often displace the substantive goals of the organization. In short, the measures that assure a functional organization do not always assure, and often are contrary to, the successful implementation of its substantive goals. This is a serious dilemma faced in any large organization, in the business community, in voluntary organizations as well as in the public sector.[1]

How are we to relate the innovational urgencies on the one hand with the needs to execute effectively? We need to invent new administrative mechanisms for "programmed innovation" which will not suppress the opportunity for initiative or individual expression in operations, even while program execution along basic policy lines is assured.

Planning at the departmental level alone will not do the job since the problems under discussion: poverty, unemployment, and discrimination, are not incorporated entirely in any one department. A broader perspective and a more varied arsenal of powers are needed to deal with these problems than is available in individual agencies. These perspectives and powers are more likely to be centered in the mayor than in any other official, even when legal responsibility is fragmented and diffused. Consequently, the Chief Executive must be equipped with a professionally constituted planning unit, which will be capable of acting with a mayor's perspectives and combine this with professional techniques.

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[1] March and Simon, ibid.

The fundamental responsibility of such a unit should be on matters of strategy rather than on program detail. The latter should be forthcoming from the experts at the department level. The overhead planning effort should identify problems, provide continuous policy analysis, define choices, and be equipped to advise on priorities.

Though policy oriented, the planning effort should be objective in the best traditions of the social sciences. The methodological approaches of the economist must be welded with those of the sociologist, social worker, psychologist, public health specialist and public administrator. Our knowledge of human behavior must be integrated into decision-making in all areas where they affect human behavior. Those areas of human behavior where our knowledge is inadequate for the task of program development and policy decision-making shall be identified, and research efforts in these areas should be stimulated.

A Framework for Community Discussion

The tumultous civil rights demonstrations confronting us today were unimaginable five years ago. We are now paying the price for a century of inaction. Until recently, the pace of change set in motion by men of good will from all sectors of the body politic brought some results, though gradually. This rate of improvement is not enough to satisfy the present generation of young Negroes and Puerto Ricans who, though more highly educated than their parents, have been brought up out of the mainstream of American life. As the pulse quickens, the opportunities for meaningful response by men of good will become increasingly elusive.

We are witnessing the unfolding of what some have called a rational strategy of irrationality. For in response to new pressures and to each new act of civil disobedience, no matter how irrational they may appear to the larger community, courses of action are discovered where at first no additional action appeared possible.

Whether all of these actions secured under duress are sound and enduring, I am not certain. Some may be self-defeating and contradictory. So even while the pulse has quickened, the rate of progress is irregular and occasionally we move backwards even when we seem to be moving forward.

How then do we bring reason and order in matters requiring serious and intensive social change? I contend that a broad and comprehensive system of social planning would begin to accomplish this objective.

Negroes and Puerto Ricans recognize the millennium will not be reached today or tomorrow. The mass of impoverished people and their leaders realize it will take time, though the want to reduce the time necessary.

A plan, even though subject to change, would provide a timetable. Constructive discussion can be organized around a timetable. A plan, because it would include priorities, measures of effectiveness and recommendations for new programs, procedures, and organizational changes, would make for meaningful discussion publicly and around the negotiating table. Priority decisions can be argued; resource allocation decisions can be argued. Discussion can take place around items in the plan which should be left out and around programs that should be put in.

Furthermore, groups can observe whether plans are being implemented effectively and in good faith. Implementation itself becomes a negotiable item within a framework of policy and promise.

Finally, plans to be effective must be subject to change and to strengthening on the basis of experience and in order to deal with emerging problems. Because planning would be continuous and because major changes can be introduced annually, the planning process offers a framework and a dynamic means by which improvements can be proposed, considered and decided.

I do not mean to imply that social planning per se will bring improvement. A plan can be narrow; it can even be regressive. What I mean to say is that it is a process by which problems and proposals rather than being swept under the rug can be put on the table for discussion in an organized and vigorous way.

Some people, particularly those with an interest in the existing arrangements and priorities, may object to a process which more clearly identifies the cost and benefits of existing programs. But for the disadvantaged and for those concerned with advancing the objectives of social justice and equity, there can be only advantage in instituting comprehensive social planning.

Above all, social planning by local governments is needed to restore order to the process of social change and public decision making. Social planning is needed to reestablish good faith among sectors of the community that are now being torn apart. Social planning is needed to enable responsible minority group leadership to respond constructively in their dealings with the larger community and to show results to their own constituency groups. Comprehensive social planning by local governments is needed to achieve more effectively social justice and equity.

Housing

29 May 1964

Miss B. Gloria Henderson, Secretary
YESLER-ATLANTIC CITIZENS' CONFERENCE
822 19th Avenue South
Seattle 44, Washington

Dear Miss Henderson:

I am responding to your note of May 19 to Mr. Farmer. If I understand your note correctly, CORE agrees that many projects such as urban renewal have worked to the disadvantage of the Negro and have in fact amounted to nothing more than "Negro removal."

You are probably aware of CORE's activities in New York City, Cleveland and elsewhere to improve conditions in the "slums" through rent strikes and other projects aimed at meeting community needs. At the same time we also work to expand housing opportunities for all persons out side of the ghettos.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

YESLER-ATLANTIC CITIZENS' CONFERENCE
A COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION AFFILIATED WITH SEATTLE URBAN RENEWAL
822 ~~818~~ - 19TH AVE. SOUTH - SEATTLE 44, WASHINGTON - EAST 3-4726

~~PRESIDENT, CHARLES P. GAFFNEY, EA 4-9222~~
VICE-PRESIDENT, NATHAN JOHNSON, EA 4-3110
SECRETARY, B. GLORIA HENDERSON, EA 3-4726
TREASURER, FRANTISKA NAPOLI, EA 3-5848

MAY 25 1964

May 19, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
C.O.R.E.

Dear Mr. Farmer,

We believe that we can help ourselves. Negroes living in the "slums" area, owns the most valuable property in a city, because it is close to the central business district. We want to improve.

We believe that we can live in a better community without moving.

Yours truly,
B. Gloria Henderson
B. Gloria Henderson, Sec,

OPERATION BOOTSTRAP – "YOU CAN LIVE IN A BETTER COMMUNITY WITHOUT MOVING"

Housing

3 June 1964

Mr. Louis Levy
469 Riverdale Ave.
Brooklyn 7, New York

Dear Mr. Levy:

I did make a number of inquiries but was unable to turn up any white CORE members who are currently planning to move. The problem that you raised is indeed a serious one. For example, I recently have been involved in a somewhat similar situation but in reverse. While I am moving out of the city next month, I have lived for the past three years in an almost all white area of Brooklyn. On many occasions I have tried to talk Negro CORE members into moving into my building but found very little interest. It was simply too far away and seemed like suburban living to them.

Thanks again for your interest and I am sorry that I was not able to be of help.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

469 Riverdale ave.
E. N.Y., B'klyn 7, N.Y.

APR 10 1964

april 9, 1964.

Dear Sir:

On Feb. 6, I received from you a letter in which you promised, in the interest of acheiving a balanced racial and ethnic community in the East New York section of B'klyn, to ask your white CORE members whether they would be interested in moving to E. N.Y. Will you please be so kind as to let me know if any of them have expressed this desire to you, or have have moved here since. I'd like to get in touch with them.

Thank You and Sincerely yours,
Louis Levy.

P.S. Thank you very much for your most recent phamplet, "All about CORE", which you enclosed with your letter and which I and the people I showed it to found very interesting and helpful.

Housing

February 6, 1964

Mr. Louis Levy
469 Riverdale Avenue
Brooklyn 7, New York

Dear Mr. Levy:

Your are probably aware that CORE, through its chapters, is constantly working to achieve integrated neighborhoods. The problem is most difficult and is one which we are not likely to succeed in without a great deal of effort.

If learn of any white CORE members who might be interested in moving to the East New York section of Brooklyn, we will certainly encourage them to do so.

I am sorry that your previous letters to some of our chapter members were not answered.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

P.S. For your information, I am enclosing a copy of our most recent pamphlet, All About CORE.

469 Riverdale ave.
Bklyn 7 NY.
Dec. 18, 1963.

DEC

Dear Sir:

Will you be so kind as to ask your Jewish members if they would like to come to live in our E. N. Y. sec. of Bklyn. Their presence (and efforts) would help maintain a racial and ethnic balance in our "changing neighborhood" and schools. I have written to Miss Vickie Morris of 2841 Brighton Third St. Bklyn and Miss Elizabeth Ekind of 193-26 Keno ave., Hollis, Queens about this and recieved no answer from either one. Since they seem to be two of your most active members in fighting for proper and balanced racial & ethnic integration, I can't understand why they didnt reply to me, or forward my letters to you, so that you could act on it.

Sincerely yours
Louis Levy

P.S. A Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Housing

12 June 1964

Mr. Kurt Bloch, Associate Editor
BARRON'S -- National Business & Financial Weekly
50 Broadway
New York 4, New York

Dear Mr. Bloch:

I appreciated very much your letter of May 26 in regard to rat extermination. I had not been aware of the existence of the particular chemicals that you speak of. The existence of rats is certainly one of the most terrifying aspects of the slums. The eradication of rats, however, does not begin to meet the problems of lack of hot water, heat, and repairs. The rent strikes are used only in extreme situations and then only to attempt to force the landlord to live up to his legal obligations.

I assume that the Bureau of Pest Control of New York City is aware of these chemicals. However, I certainly shall inquire to determine whether or not they are used and if not, why not.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

BARRON'S
National Business and Financial Weekly
50 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 4, N.Y.

May 26, 1964

MAY 27 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

You sent me your appeal for funds focussed on the survival of rats in our cities.

It so happens that since I read Dr. Martin Arrowsmith in the twenties, I have retained an abiding interest in rats.

In recent months, I have learned so much about their extermination that I wish to share my newly-gained knowledge with you. Rats can be eradicated by militancy against rats. The weapon are new rat-killing drugs which are nearly identical with the anticoagulants that are keeping cardiac patients alive against odds prevailing as recently as, say 1954.

These drugs -- the generic name is Warfarin -- are rat-killers -- provided they are put to use. But the nation's largest city, New York, established its Bureau of Pest Control only this January 1; I have been informed that where its resources have been used they have proved effective. Chicago has had such a rat-killing program for several years, and I note with interest that you do not list it with "Cleveland, Philadelphia and New York."

May I suggest that not rent strikes but effective rat eradication programs are the first step towards cleaning up slums. If our large cities do not undertake such programs, it is partly their dubious political basis partly sheer ignorance that are to blame. If the foregoing helps with regard to relieving the latter, I feel I have made my contribution to CORE.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

Kurt Bloch

Kurt Bloch
Associate Editor

KB:dz

Housing

31 August 1964

Mr. Jack Motley, Director
953 Eighth Avenue
San Diego 1, California

Dear Mr. Motley:

Mr. Farmer has asked me to thank you for the additional material which you sent regarding the relation of property taxes and slums. CORE is interested in this problem and will give it further consideration.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Office

GRC:LP

Telephone Message Center

Democratic National Convention

New Jersey Bell AUG 28 1964

DEAR MR. FARMER -
WE SPOKE ON THE BOARDWALK AT ATLANTIC CITY ABOUT REFORMING THE PROPERTY TAX, THE NIGHT OF THE NOMINATION.

- JACK MOTLEY

SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

PAGE a-6 EVENING TRIBUNE

Revision of Property Taxes Could Help to Remove Slums

SLUMS ARE A BLIGHT ON ANY community. They are degrading to those who must live in or near them. They breed crime. They cost far more to police and protect from fire than other areas, yet pay far less than a proportionate share for public services.

In the face of all this, it would seem that any self-respecting community would be doing all in its power to wipe out slums.

Many cities, of course, are making heroic efforts to rehabilitate their rundown sections.

The federal government is moving massively into the urban renewal field.

But the truth of the matter is that most cities encourage the growth of slums which they profess to despise. They do this by clinging to a property tax system that actually penalizes those who maintain decent housing and rewards the owners of ramshackle dwellings.

TAXING IMPROVEMENTS instead of the land sets up a downward spiral in housing.

Dr. Frederick G. Reuss, professor of economics at Goucher College, has traced this course under the system by which, he says, we "tax slums into existence."

By overtaxing good housing, Reuss says, we take away the incentive to keep values up. Once an area is allowed to run down, it is reassessed at a low value and thus "we pay a tax premium for poor upkeep."

The next move often is rezoning to permit multiple dwellings. When that happens, Reuss says, "the slum producer has his reward: high return, low maintenance cost, low tax value."

In the final stages, private housing is discouraged, public housing seems the only answer, then public subsidized housing drives out private housing, making even more public housing necessary.

American cities could halt, or at least substantially slow, this drift into socialism in the field of housing by taking a fresh look at the theory and application of the property tax.

It is encouraging that a number of cities are doing this. The ideas of Henry George on taxing the "unearned increment" on land values are being dusted off and restudied.

THIS PROBLEM WAS THE SUBject of a round-table conference early this year on housing and urban development generally, sponsored by the magazine House and Home.

On the subject of land values and taxation, the conference report said:

"The only way land price inflation can be prevented is to tax land much more heavily, shifting a substantial part of the local tax burden now carried by improvements to the land itself. Taxes are the only important costs a land speculator must pay, so taxes are the only brake on the price of land. . . .

"Incidentally," the report continued, "taxing land more heavily would take the bootleg profit out of slums and force many slumlords to improve their property to get enough added income to pay their added taxes. It would deflate the bootleg value of slum property and make federal subsidies for urban renewal land-write-downs unnecessary. It would cut the cost of highway extension by cutting land costs for the right of way."

THE ALTERNATIVE TO A REAListic property tax policy is a continuation of our present urban sprawl, growing blight in the hearts of our cities, and the ever-present threat of socializing the housing industry.

SATURDAY, OCT. 15, 1960

Land Speculation, and How to Stop It

Too much valuable land in this country is tied up by speculators who merely sit on it and wait for an easy profit. This is economically unhealthy, nonproductive—and readily cured

An editorial review by

WOLFGANG LANGEWIESCHE

The homebuilding industry faces a crisis: in many areas it can no longer buy land at a price that makes building profitable. This is the conclusion of House & Home, *in a special issue on which this article is based.*

A Springboard for Discussion

ON LONG ISLAND, builders are paying $16,000 and more for raw acreage they could have bought for $3500 in 1950. In San Francisco a builder paid $580,000 for a tract that was offered for $15,000 in 1948. North of Albuquerque a builder paid almost $1000 an acre for land that sold ten years ago for $4 an acre. Since 1950, while building-material prices have climbed 21 percent and wages 68 percent, land prices have risen 100 percent in many areas, as much as 4000 percent in others!

These figures might give the impression that we are running out of land. But there is plenty of vacant and under-used land left close to our cities, even inside them. It is merely being held out of use, or kept in *under*-use, by speculators who are holding out for absurd prices.

For example: in 1961 only about 40 percent of the "suitable" land in the 22 counties of the New York metropolitan area was developed for "urban" use. The 6,500,000 people of greater Chicago use only one sixth of the land within the metropolitan boundaries. In Indianapolis, a special study by *House & Home* inside the city limits showed nearly seven square miles of level land, zoned for homes—unused! Right around the city (well inside the present far-sprawling suburbia) are some 125 square *miles* suitable for housing—enough, at the present growth rate, to accommodate the needs of Indianapolis for the next 35 years!

Operation Leapfrog. So the land is there. But speculators have it, and are holding out on us. The result is that developers have to leapfrog the closer-in, too-expensive land, and go well out in the country to find land cheap enough to build on. Then prices rise there, and further development has to leapfrog again and go still farther out. The result: suburban sprawl; millions of miles of wasted driving, at eight cents a mile, between home and work; extra highways at $500,000 a mile.

Speculation by the "investors" who buy 20 acres or 2000 acres outside of town and won't sell until they can triple their money, takes land out of the market. And when it is finally sold, much still has to be done to get it ready for building—roads, schools, zoning, sewers, etc. —and it takes years. This further strengthens the impression that land is scarce.

Room to Grow. But the land *is* there, and cities don't have to sprawl. Suppose, *House & Home* points out, you have a built-up city, more or less round, with the outskirts eight miles from the center. Suppose now you extend streets, bus lines, water and sewers outward by one mile—putting the outskirts nine miles from the center. Well, in that one-mile addition all around, there will be space for 400,000 people in single houses at four families per acre. So why go 30 miles out?

Cities *could* even grow inward. There is lots of space downtown and right around it; we don't see it because much of it is covered by old buildings—low-cost buildings known as "taxpayers": warehouses, decrepit factories and slums. In downtown Fort Worth the under-used or derelict land had space for: a belt highway; parking garages for 60,000 cars; a 300-percent increase in office space; a new civic center; a convention hall—all that, and "green belts" too!

House & Home says that the land now being held speculatively far exceeds any possible demand for building land for generations to come. A lot of speculators are going to be left out in the cold! But, meanwhile, some of the blocked-out land is very much in our way.

Tax the Land. And how can we pry this land loose? *House & Home* says: Tax it loose.

It's not how *much* we tax, but *how* we tax. Most cities now tax land and buildings at the same rate. This is wrong. We should tax the land more heavily, the "improvements" more lightly or not at all.

The average homeowner might even be better off. He would save on house tax what he'd pay extra in land tax. The town treasury would come out even: the total tax take would be the same. But the system would radically change the climate in which our cities grow and sprawl.

The way it is now, *it costs almost nothing to hold land as speculation.* Taxes on it are low. As a matter of fact, a lot is usually assessed lower while vacant than the same lot is after it has a building on it! If land were heavily taxed and buildings lightly taxed, the owner of vacant land would find it less attractive to hold onto. Taxes year-by-year would eat too much of the profit he hopes for in the end; and taxes would be sure, the profits not. So he would be far more likely to put his land on the market, and at a price at which it would move.

Or perhaps he would use the vacant lot himself. For instance, instead of renting it out as a parking lot, he might build a ten-story parking-garage on it. *He* would not be penalized for building it by having to pay more tax; *we* would have ten times as much parking space!

Do Nothing. To make such taxation by cities effective, some federal tax regulations would also have to change. If you just own land and finally sell it, your profits are capital gains, taxed low. But if you *do* anything to your land, such as subdividing, building roads—then your profits are "income" and are taxed twice as high or even higher. So, the smart man will sit on land like a bump on a log. And the only one who can afford to buy it from him is a rich man who will do the same!

The very idea of taxing "improvements" is a paradox—just to say it slowly makes you stop and think. It's strange. That stern old Uncle in Washington seems to *favor* speculation, idleness and waste, and to *penalize* enterprise and creativity. Local real-estate taxes are deductible for federal income-tax purposes. This means the rich land speculator in the 75-percent income-tax bracket can deduct 75 percent of his land tax from his income tax.

Taxing the land, un-taxing the building, would also clear slums, *House & Home* claims. Slums are largely tax-made. The ratty old buildings are taxed low; so is the high-value land underneath. The "slumlord" is best off by leaving his slum a slum. Even if he merely did decent maintenance, his taxes would go up! Anyway, his real objective is to sell the underlying land someday at a big, low-taxed capital gain. In the end, because the rundown downtown neighborhood doesn't "renew" itself, it is bought up for "urban renewal" by the federal government, then resold to "re-developers" at about one third the cost. We taxpayers get hit for the difference.

The Power to Build. If land were more heavily taxed and buildings more lightly, the slumlord's situation would be reversed. He would no longer get a tax break from his ratty buildings; all buildings, ratty or not, would be tax-cheap. He would no longer find it tax-cheap to hold his high-value land for future gains; he would have to sell, to someone who would put up good buildings. Thus, by taxing land we could actually tax slums out of existence! The power to tax *could* be the power to build.

The idea is old. It has been tried and found to work. Pittsburgh taxes land value at twice the rate of building value. Pittsburgh is *the* example of an American city that has revitalized itself, especially downtown.

In Brisbane, Australia, buildings are tax-free, while land value is taxed up to ten percent per year. That's enough to make it unattractive to hold land you are not using; it keeps land available and keeps land prices down. There are no slums as we know them. In Denmark, increases in land value are taxed so high that they are practically confiscated. You can't make money by land speculation in Denmark, so you don't try.

House & Home does not mention the most successful use of the land-value tax. This is in California, in connection with irrigation; it started about 1880, but it's still going. An irrigation district is formed; and a stiff tax (used to finance the building of dams and canals and bring water) is laid upon all land in the district, while buildings and crops are totally exempt.

This tax broke a speculative blockage much like the one that now troubles our cities. Before the tax, it had been more profitable to hold irrigable land as speculation than to irrigate it and grow crops. The land was held in big blocks, and farmers could not find farm-size parcels to buy at prices that made economic sense. There was water, and there was land; the two did not get together!

Then came the land-value tax. The tax made it expensive to hold irrigable land idle, or to under-use it as cattle range. Farmland appeared on the market, in small acreages, at economic prices. Farmers came, water started to flow and crops grew. The whole of California's immense irrigation agriculture stems from this one application of the land tax.

A LONG TIME ago, *House & Home* notes, young Winston Churchill put the case for the land tax succinctly. In a thundering speech he made in 1909 in Edinburgh, when he was president of the Board of Trade, he described "the landlord who happens to own a plot of land on the outskirts of a big city, who watches the busy population around him making the city larger, richer, more convenient every day, and all the while he sits still and does nothing. Roads are made, services are improved, electric light turns night into day, water is brought from reservoirs hundreds of miles off in the mountains—and all the while the landlord sits still. While the land is what is called 'ripening,' the artisan going to his work must detour or pay a fare to avoid it"—just our present trouble.

Finally, the land having risen 20 or 50 times in value, Churchill's landlord sells. What is the moral difference, Churchill asked, between the land speculator's activities and those of the man who buys and sells, for instance, old masters?

Churchill: "Pictures do not get in anybody's way."

SAN DIEGO
LABOR LEADER

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Land speculation major source of evil

"BUILDERS ARE plagued by rising land costs." That report, carried in Fortune, the $1.25-a-copy magazine of the business world, pinpointed an acute problem that has received growing attention in many publications lately.

"Many builders are demanding laws that would impose taxes on unimproved land, and so force speculators holding the land to disgorge it," Fortune continues in one of a series of articles on real estate markets. "Some of the builders have come a long way toward the 'single tax' ideas propounded by Henry George in Progress and Poverty." (George proposed shifting the tax burden to land instead of penalizing improvements, as is the case now.)

"Builders' preoccupation with land costs is understandable," Fortune continues. "The proportion of land cost in the average cost of a house rose from 10 per cent in 1950 to 23 per cent in 1962."

ON ANOTHER front, a Denver Post editorial says "land costs have gone into the stratosphere" and as a result, "rents and sale prices of houses have shot up." Accompanying this development, the Post said, has been a change in the complexion of cities from predominantly middle income environments to extreme combinations of "the very rich and the very poor."

In New York City, the Post adds, "the problem is staggering." It points out that new apartments rent from $60 a month per room "up to $200 and more per room."

"At the other end of the scale," it declares, "are the old, battered buildings where Negroes, Puerto Ricans and other poor cluster. These buildings rent out their rooms at $60 to $75 per month" and single rooms are often "jammed with half a dozen people."

Similary, an Esquire Magazine article cites "Patterns of Decay" in six major cities—New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Houston, Atlanta and Washington, D. C. In those cities, the article says, new slums are in the making as speculators, "in the quest of a fast buck," put up cheap apartments and houses—and sell them at high prices. Also, Esquire declares that slumlords "like to keep their property run down, so that eventually it will be condemned by the government and bought for clearance at at tidy profit"—to the slum owners.

MEANTIME, in Chicago, the annual Land Values Blue Book reveals that just in the past year land prices have shot up 10 to 20 per cent. At that rate, land costs double each five to 10 years.

Many other recent editorials and articles spotlight the situation in blighted areas where "slumlords" refuse to maintain properties in decent conditions. The Washington Post, in an article, cited as an example the property, of one slumlord in the nation's capital that "is returning an annual revenue more than one third of its original cost."

As long as slums remain that profitable, they will continue to grow despite subsidized urban renewal programs—unless something also is done about increasing land taxes and reducing taxes on improvements.

Such an approach, many contend, would take the profit out of slums and provide a powerful lever on owners of blighted areas to tear them down and build anew.

August 22, 1963

Property Tax Inequities Hurt Us

BY RAYMOND MOLEY

In one of his debates with Richard Nixon in 1960 John F. Kennedy said that the property tax was practically exhausted as a source of revenue. On this assumption he advocated vast new federal expenditures for local facilities such as public schools.

★

It is a pity that Nixon did not remind his opponent that it was the federal income tax, not the property tax, which had reached the point of diminishing returns. Mr. Kennedy has admitted that in asking for tax rate reductions this year.

The soundest of all principles of taxation, expounded ever since Adam Smith, is that a tax should bear as lightly as possible on the sources of production.

From this, the inference can be drawn that the best and most equitable tax is one which bears heavily upon unearned wealth. Let us bring this principle home to our great urban centers, which are demanding so many federal handouts for local improvements.

Those cities and their suburbs have not grown efficiently and attractively. They have sprawled over great areas, with much of the land therein either vacant or occupied only by obsolete buildings.

★

A major reason for this is inequity in taxation. Property taxes almost universally are levied upon both buildings and the land under the buildings. Generally the land is under-assessed and new improvements are over-assessed for tax purposes.

This enables holders of unused land and slum property to reap profits as the communities grow around them. Show me a vacant piece of land or a slum and I will show you that the owner is speculating on getting a large profit when he sells, an unearned profit.

Most of the great American fortunes in the past and to a degree in the present have been made by holders of land. They have not improved the community. They have profited by the growth of large populations in their areas.

To cure this inequity and to raise more money for local services such as schools, hospitals and streets, and also to stimulate private housing, two factors should be considered. The state and local laws should differentiate between the tax on land and the tax on improvements.

Also, in the assessing of property, a heavier burden should rest upon land and lighter burdens should be placed upon improvements.

Since the more immediate method of reform is in assessments, a very comprehensive study is about to be issued on the subject by the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

This commission was created by an act of Congress and is composed of governors, members of Congress and mayors. It has a very large and competent research staff.

Its chief concerns are those areas of government in which local communities, states and the federal government all have interests at the present time.

And its aim is to see how far the states and local governments can carry the responsibilities which properly belong to them.

★

The new study is on the reform of the property tax. The commission's report points out that the amount raised now from the property tax is more than $20 billion. The assessed value of property subject to the tax, determined by assessors throughout the country, is more than $350 billion. But this represents a market value of three times that amount, or more than $1 trillion.

With this vast wealth now under-assessed and inequitably taxed, the commission regards reform in assessments as a major step toward shifting responsibility back to the states and local communities.

At the present time the business of assessments is probably the most unsatisfactory of all government operations. Assessors are in large part elective.

Assessments are ridden with favoritism, special considerations which are not relevant to raising revenue, and the lack of training and the incompetence of assessors.

★

A major need is to establish assessment machinery by state law so that assessors will be trained, professional people removed as far as possible from local political or economic interests.

It is hoped that by such reforms it may be possible to check the growth of federal control of local affairs.

Los Angeles Times, August 20, 1963

Housing

Abbott Merkt & Co
630 3d Ave
NYC.

September 28, 1964

BY HAND

Mr. James Farmer
C.O.R.E.
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I have discussed the forthcoming meeting with Marshall England, and, at length, with Audrey Cooper, Chairman of the New York C.O.R.E. Housing Committee. They, as well as other groups, are beginning to formulate programs to utilize the volunteers the meeting will produce.

We hope to have the volunteers working, not only on the immediate problem of housing code enforcement, but also with neighborhood groups to enable them to develop their own plans for the redevelopment of Harlem.

By the way, we have chosen the 13th specifically because the City Planning Commission is holding a three day public meeting starting October 14th.

I would like to discuss both the meeting and these programs with you at your convenience. Please call me at YU6-4848.

Very truly yours,

C. RICHARD HATCH

CRH:jjw

Housg

COMMUNITY COUNCIL ON HOUSING
6 East 117th Street
New York, New York, 10035
FI 8- 9100

Jesse Gray, Director

SEP 30 1964

PRESS RELEASE
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

September 28, 1964

FBI WHITE WASH THE RIOTS

With utter contempt for the suffering masses of the Ghetto and for those who were witnesses to the riots and the events that led up to them, the FBI swept under the official rug of the United States all the evidence and presented for all the world to see, a fantastic report that could only have been born out of the wild dreams of sick minds.

In this enlightened day, the FBI painted a picture of happy, contented Negroes, all in love with the Police, being the victims of ex communist, agitators, school drop outs, young punks, common hoodlums and drunken kids.

They would have the world believe that the Ghettoes across our country do not consist of millions of people who are fed up with poverty, rats, roaches, falling ceilings, slumlords, inadequate education, discrimination, unequal justice, treated as dirt, and yes, POLICE BRUTALITY.

In determining the causes, they failed miserably by not recognizing that the Negro youth in the United States have no future and see nothing happening to give them hope; that there are no jobs and there will be less available for them in the future; that automation is requiring advance training for what jobs are left and Negro parents can not afford such training for their youth; that apprentiship training programs are still in the main closed to them; that if they do acquire advance training they never will be treated as an equal, they still have to battle all the forces of discrimination. In looking at the Negro youth, the FBI is blind. They see only criminals. They do not see the frustration, the fact that the Ghetto is denuded of cultural facilities with limited recreational activities. They do not see that there is very little to develope the minds of the youth; that most of their neighborhoods and homes are the most depressing placds that any human being can be forced to live in.

In a nut shell, the FBI looks at society only in terms of criminals, communist and ex,communist, their report reflects this and if heeded by leaders, legislatures and government, can only leed to caos, more riots and the death of a nation.

The report white washed the murderer Lt. Gillegan by inferring, that it was justified because Powell,"...begun indiscriminate fighting as early as 7 years of age..." etc., another example of the sick minds that compiled this report.

They applauded the behavior of the police during the riots and go on to say that the records show very few complaints of police brutality was made in 1964; it never dawned on the FBI to check further, to recognize that Negroes stop complaining long time ago because they found it was useless. They failed to see instead of complaints, there was now riots. They put blinders over their eyes to the fact that police are using more force than is necessary to maintain the peace or to make an arrest. They turned their back to the fact that police in and out of uniform make it a habit of acting as prosecutor, jury, judge and executioner. They can not see that the true relationship of the police to the Negro community is one of arrogance and brutality, graft and corruption.

Evidence of political interferrance and pressure appeared throughout the report. They went so far as to condemn outside civilian review boards by saying,"...police were so careful to avoid accusation of improper conduct that they were virtually paralyezed.", in those cities where such boards exist. This is a good example of the FBI's concept of democracy, for what they said was, murder by policemen, whipping heads and even lynchers are justified because the wheels of justice turn too slow. They are trying to put the stamp of approveal on the new role of the police, to take the law in their own hands and pass out judgements.

Since they couldn't find complicity by the Communist Party they didn't know what to do so they never-the-less had to drag out the red herring. In spite of all denials, the report slanders Jesse Gray in behalf of the slumlords by referring to him as a Communist Party organizer.

One of the most dangerous parts of the report to the Negro and to the future of the Nation was the deliberate attack on the press for airing the events of the riots. The FBI claim that the coverage by the press did no more than to bring rioters into the streets. This is a veiled attempt to shut up the press and to keep from the eyes of the nation and the world, the brutality and attrocities that are perpetrated on the Negro; to put a cloak of secrecy on all that happens in the Ghetto.

It is common knowledge that in the south the FBI works like snails. In the Chanin, Goodman, Swerner case no murderers have been arrested to date nor a report have been made public; but in the riots, the FBI made a complete investigation in nine cities across this nation, compiled the facts and rushed out its report to coincide with the Warran Commission report, so that this rapid whitewash would be buried. To treat an important report in this manner is not new with the FBI, it is one of the most corrupt agencies of our government. Its methods have been criticized by right thinking citizens over the years.

This report must be condemned by every forward thinking citizen for it belongs on the dung heap of history.

Housing

2 October 1964

Mr. Sam Gudowsky
Budd Manufacturing Co., Inc.
98-05 217th Street
Queens Village, L.I.

Dear Mr. Gudowsky:

CORE was most pleased to receive your recent letter in regard to real estate taxes. While we have been somewhat aware of this problem, we have never looked into it to any extent in the past. If you might have further information or suggestions about where we might look into this further, I would appreciate hearing from you again.

Or, should you feel that a meeting with you might be helpful, I would be more than happy to arrange it. Practically every demand of the civil rights movement can only be met realistically by either the city, state or federal government simply because of the large amounts of money required.

We are pleased that you took the time to bring this matter to our attention.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

Carey

RUDD *Slacks for Men and Young Men*

MANUFACTURING CO., INC. **98-05 217th STREET, QUEENS VILLAGE, L. I.**

September 24, 1964

SEP 28 1964

Core
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

We are aware that besides good-will what is urgently needed to help solve the questions of housing, better educational opportunities, jobs, and a number of other pressing needs is money. Our City and State officials profess sympathy and willingness to help claim that they cannot move on these points because there is not enough money to go around. They raise the sales tax and are urging the adoption of off-track betting parlors. Aside from the moral issue involved, economically both methods weigh most heavily on the low-income groups, and therefore they are forced to finance these projects from their meager incomes. There is one avenue of taxation that most of us do not take much interest in and therefore permit a segement of our population to evade the payment of upward of 400 million a year in taxes.

I refer you to the following figures supplied by the Social Service Division of the Brooklyn Public Library.

Total Real Estate Ass. for	N. Y. City	Manhattan Only
1934	19 bil	10
32	20	10
33	19	9
63	29	11,4

RUDD *Slacks for Men and Young Men*

MANUFACTURING CO., INC. **98-05 217th STREET, QUEENS VILLAGE, L. I.**

Real Estate values have increased 3 to 4 fold since the depression days. Tax exempt real estate has also jumped from 5 bil to 14 bil, some of it questionable, some part of it must be located in the other 4 boroughs. Besides the increase in real estate value, there has been additional new building. By an realistic standard Manhattan taxable real estate is worth upward of 21 billion. This means that the people of New York City are losing upward of 400 million a year. I do not intend to belabor this point. You are in a postion to check on these figures and see what can be done. I'm certain that the people of New York City would listen and support moves to rectify this matter. You know better than most what such additional sum in the City treasury would mean in the fight for correct treatment of all our citizens.

Sam Gudowsky

Sam Gudowsky

A PRESS RELEASE from the

Housing

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
Center for Fair Housing
323 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 • 685-8911

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

October 8, 1965

WEAVER TO SPEAK AT NCDH CONFERENCE

Robert C. Weaver, Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, will head the list of distinguished speakers at the nationwide conference sponsored by the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing (NCDH) at the Sherman House in Chicago, October 21-23. Dr. Weaver will speak at the conference luncheon on Saturday, October 23.

The three-day meeting, titled A Thousand Harlems: How to Break Up the Racial Ghetto, will concentrate on specific action programs to eliminate segregated housing patterns and speed up the movement of Negro and other minority-group families into all sections of the nation's cities and their suburbs.

Attending the conference will be members of voluntary fair housing committees which are working for integration in more than 1,000 communities in 30 states; and representatives of government agencies, the housing industry, labor organizations, religious and educational institutions, civil rights agencies, and intergroup relations specialists.

Dr. Kenneth C. Clark, Professor of Psychology at the City College of New York, and author of Dark Ghetto, will keynote the Friday afternoon session on "How to Break Up the Racial Ghetto." Other plenary sessions will deal with "How to Break Open Suburbia," and "The Role of Religion, Labor and Industry in the Fair Housing Movement."

MORE

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AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
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AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD, AFL-CIO
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INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT, AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS, AFL-CIO
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
THE METHODIST CHURCH, WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE
NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE — NAACP
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HOUSING COOPERATIVES
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST, DEPARTMENT OF RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
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UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, OFFICE OF CHURCH AND SOCIETY, BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO

"A decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family"

In announcing the conference, NCDH Executive Director Edward Rutledge said: "This important forum, at a time when every American city faces a crisis, will be a down-to-earth, shirt-sleeve working conference which we expect to come up with concrete action programs for achieving a racially-integrated society." He outlined six problem areas which will be dealt with in depth at special workshops: expanding the supply of low- and moderate-income housing; encouraging minority families to move throughout communities; keeping neighborhoods integrated; getting and using fair housing laws; securing the cooperation of the real estate and financing industries; and effective implementation of Federal anti-discrimination measures.

Among the other prominent national leaders participating in the NCDH conference are: Senator George R. Metcalf, sponsor of New York's pioneering Metcalf-Baker fair housing laws, and newly-elected NCDH president: Algernon D. Black, NCDH chairman of the board; Frank S. Horne, chairman of the NCDH executive committee; and Jack E. Wood, Jr., NCDH associate executive director.

Also, Mathew Ahmann, executive director, National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice; Paget L. Alves, Jr., associate director, National Urban League; Edwin C. Berry, executive director, Chicago Urban League; John A. Buggs, executive director, Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations; Robert L. Carter, General Counsel, NAACP; Walter Giesey, executive director, President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing; Booker T. McGraw, assistant to the Administrator for Intergroup Relations, Housing and Home Finance Agency; Charlotte Meacham, National Housing Representative, American Friends Service Committee; William H. Oliver, co-director, Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department, United Auto Workers, AFL-CIO; and Nathaniel H. Rogg, Chief Economist, National Association of Home Builders.

The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, formed in 1950, is an affiliation of 39 national civil rights, civic, religious and labor organizations which seek to end racial, ethnic, and religious discrimination and to achieve an integrated housing market. A list of the member agencies will be found on the back of page 1 of this release.

# # #

10/29

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NEW YORK CHAPTER THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS

Housing

October 13, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y. 10038

OCT 14 1964

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am grateful to hear of your agreement to participate in the "Harlem Housing" seminar sponsored by the New York Chapter, The American Institute of Architects. The meeting will begin at 5:45 P.M. on Thursday October 29th, in the Ponti Auditorium of the Time-Life building, at 50th Street and Sixth Avenue. I understand that you will be unable to reach the auditorium until almost 6:30 P.M. We will, of course, arrange the program so that you can speak as soon as possible after your arrival. I hope that you will be able to remain for a time after the close of formal remarks to answer questions and discuss details with the professionals present.

Our Housing Committee is in the process of preparing a list of pertinent questions that might be answered by the participants in the seminar, to assist you in directing your remarks to what is a highly specialized group. The list will be forwarded to you within the next few days. As the audience is technical and professional, mostly "presold" in matters of race relations and public housing, I think it appropriate to spend time principally on matters of implementation. Conversion of the audience to or from any major point of view is not a problem.

Besides the membership of The New York Chapter, The American Institute of Architects (AIA), we have invited that of The American Institute of Planners (AIP), The American Society of Landscape Architects (ASLA) and the Metropolitan Council on Planning (METCOP). They will be present to hear what and how professionals might contribute, both as groups and as individuals, to betterment of housing, both in quality and quantity, to general community design, to conservation, rehabilitation and new construction.

MARGOT A. HENKEL *Executive Secretary* • 115 EAST 40TH STREET • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016 • *Murray Hill 9-7969*

As the meeting is informal, it would not be appropriate to take any formal action, but rather to involve individual members with various Harlem organizations, for an immediate contribution of their professional assistance. The professional organizations can then, at their respective meetings, take action as groups on the matters brought up and discussed at the Ponti meeting.

I will look forward to this occasion to meet you. I will be present to introduce the speakers but will not participate in the discussion.

Sincerely,

William D Wilson

William D. Wilson
President

WW:je
cc: Messrs. White
Hatch

Housing

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 18, 1965

OCT 20 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

This is in reply to your telegram to the President regarding appropriations for the rent supplement program. We are, of course, anxious that funds be appropriated for this new and hopeful program and will make every effort to see that this is done this year.

Sincerely,

Lee White

Lee C. White
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. James Farmer
Congress for Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York

file Housing

19 October 1964

Mr. Max Delson
120 East 41st Street
New York City, N.Y. 10017

Dear Mr. Delson:

I am replying to your September 21 letter to Mr. Farmer. CORE has long felt that the long range elimination of de facto housing segregation can be achieved partially through better planning of new housing. Often times, urban renewal and new housing projects tend to solidify discriminatory housing patterns rather than to break them down. This is becoming an increasingly greater problem as housing segregation is actually spreading throughout the North. Even Southern cities are beginning to adopt Northern patterns of housing. It is unfortunate that we have not been able to mount the necessary political pressure that would be required to make substantial changes.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

Sorden

MAX DELSON
120 EAST 41ST STREET
NEW YORK 17

SEP 22 1964

September 21, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I thought you might be interested in seeing the enclosed reprint of my letter to the New York Times in which I suggest that integration might be facilitated by selection of sites for new housing in areas not already stratified as to racial and ethnic neighborhood characteristics, such as the waterfront areas in New York City. I also pointed up the desirability of obtaining as sponsors of housing projects, organizations publicly committed to integration.

I would appreciate your informing me of your reactions to my suggestions.

Sincerely,

Max Delson

Max Delson

Letters to The Times

For Integrated Housing

Sponsors Committed to Race Equality, Appropriate Sites Urged

TO THE EDITOR:

The creation of new housing sorely needed in many of our cities to relieve housing shortages and to remove urban blight, can be a vehicle as well for the eradication of the pattern of racially segregated housing.

If areas selected as sites for new housing are not already categorized as to racial and ethnic neighborhood characteristics, integration may be accomplished without the resistance and ill-feeling which unfortunately sometimes arise from the introduction of new elements into an old neighborhood.

The recent statement of William F. P. Ballard, chairman of the City Planning Commission of New York City, adverting to the suitability of the waterfront areas in New York City as locations for new housing points up just such an opportunity to build new integrated neighborhoods.

Given a new area in which an integrated community can be developed, consideration should be given to the selection of procedures best suited for the accomplishment of this goal.

Sponsoring Organizations

It is submitted that one of the best methods to accomplish integration is to present the housing under the auspices of organizations committed to the principle of integration. The sponsor of such housing should be an organization or organizations representing all racial groups. With such sponsors, more than lip service to integration will develop in the project.

A significant obstacle to achieving integration is the reluctance of many minority group families, not knowing if they will be truly welcomed into new housing accommodations, to apply to various projects. If the project sponsor is committed to integration, such reluctance should diminish and the normal flow of applications should be realized without regard to race.

Therefore it is suggested that efforts be made to obtain as sponsors of housing projects (organized under the jurisdiction of the Federal Housing or municipal or state agencies administering housing development laws), organizations publicly committed to integration or coalitions of organizations representing all groups in the community.

MAX DELSON.

New York, Sept. 4, 1964.

COMMUNITY COUNCIL ON HOUSING
6 East 117th Street
New York, New York, 10035

Jesse Gray, Director

FI 8-9100

OCT 2 3 1964

October 21, 1964

Dear Mr. Booth

On Saturday, October 31st, 1964, the Community Council On Housing will open to the public, the "Winter Worst Fair" of New York City.

The "Winter Worst Fair" is the real life drama of tenants in the Ghetto trying to survive through the bitter cold of the winter because slumlords refuse to supply heat and hot water. It is tenants huddled around the kitchen stove for heat. It is people with insufficient blankets and winter clothes, suffering with colds, pleurisy, bronchitis, pneumonia and rheumatism. It is the tragedy of lives lost and personal belongings destroyed due to fires caused by overloaded wires from space heaters and other methods tenants are forced to use to keep warm.

The "Winter Worst Fair" is also the enfolding of the dramatic struggle led by the Community Council On Housing against the slumlords and the conditions they cause. This year as last year, the "Winter Worst Fair" will witness a massive Rent Strike by the tenants of the Ghetto, to force slumlords into the open and into court and out of hiding.

Everyones help is desperately needed. Doctors and architects have recently joined this campaign. This fight must eventually end with billions of Federal dollars to rehabilitate the Ghettoes.

We are inviting you to speak at the opening of the "Winter Worst Fair" Saturday, October 31, 1964, 2:30 P.M., 117th Street between 5th and Madison Avenues. Kindly inform the Community Council On Housing immediately as our program awaits your reply. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Jesse Gray

Jesse Gray, Director

COMMUNITY COUNCIL ON HOUSING
6 EAST 117th STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK, 10035

Jesse Gray, Director FI 8-9100

PRESS RELEASE
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
TELEGRAM SENT OCTOBER 21, 1964

President Lyndon B. Johnson
White House
Washinton, D. C.

Harlem, the largest Ghetto of the festering sores that dot our nation will face another winter with a greater loss of lives due to fires and the ravages of pleurisy, bronchitis, pneumonia, colds and tuberculosis. Medical facts show that the constantly deteriorating, hazardous living conditions along with disease carrying rats and vermin, is a direct factor in the latest outbreak of tuberculosis and has substantially shortened the lives of those who live in the Ghetto. The City of New York has not been able to deal with the cause, nor have they been able to force landlords to repair heating systems or remove violations of the building codes. Every winter hundreds of thousandsof tenants freezing from no heat and no hot water complain in vain. Already this winter thousands of complaints have been registered and now the tenants are calling for a massive Rent Strike. The Community Council on Housing is calling upon your office to put an end to this situation by declaring Harlem a disaster area and make available from the war on poverty fund, money to the City of New York, so that under New York's receivership law, necessary repairs and heat can be guaranteed to every tenant.

Jesse Gray, Director
COMMUNITY COUNCIL ON HOUSING
6 EAST 117 STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

JG:sc

Housing

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STUDIES & REPORTS
INDUSTRIAL SURVEYS
SITE INVESTIGATION
MATERIALS HANDLING

October 23, 1964

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I wish to thank you for agreeing to participate in the meeting which I am arranging for the New York Chapter of the A.I.A. I believe that the housing question contains, the sort of immediate personal issues around which an apathetic populace can be organized into an effective, political force. I further believe that organizations must be created, starting in the presently designated renewal areas where the need is most pressing, on a house by house, block by block, basis through which the people of Harlem can plan their own future and determine for themselves the form that their rebuilt communities will take. If such organizations are not formed and given proper technical assistance, the City's housing agencies will make the decisions affecting for generations the areas' degree of integration and of class homogeneity, the number of families to be rehoused on the site and the number who must leave the neighborhood, the nature and importance of cultural and service facilities to be provided - in short, decisions strongly affecting the quality of life, and decisions which properly should be made only by the people.

The Tenant's Housing Committee of New York CORE is one of a number of groups interested in creating new neighborhood organizations in the renewal areas. (And the Urban Renewal Committee, under Clarence Funnye, is about to undertake a planning survey of the entire city seeking to find a long term solution to the problem of the ghetto.) The purpose of the October 29 meeting, then, is to organize volunteer architects, planners and landscape architects to work with these groups and to perform the technical tasks necessary in the presentation of a grass-roots plan to the city government.

am
c

Representatives of a number of Harlem organizations specifically concerned with these issues will be present and volunteers will be directed to them at the close of the formal meeting.

To ensure that the four speakers do not repeat one another, and because Albert Mayer will speak only from prepared notes and does not want to find his ground already covered, I have enclosed a very rough outline of the points I would like each speaker to cover. You are, of course, free to say what you please, but I hope that you will be able to provide us with at least an outline of your remarks (hopefully including a couple of lines suitable for a press release) by Monday, or Tuesday at the latest. I am requesting the same of the other speakers as well so that each will know the other's intentions.

To make things smoother, we would like the participants to meet with the officers of the professional societies involved and with one another at 4:30 p.m. in the Ponti Auditorium lounge. The A.I.A., to enable you to be there, is willing to send a commercial pilot in a small, private plane to Carlisle, Pa. to bring you back to New York. I hope this will be satisfactory.

I would be happy to meet with you at your convenience if that is indicated. I look forward to your reply to this letter.

Very truly yours,

C. Richard Hatch

C. RICHARD HATCH

CRH:jjw

A.I.A. HOUSING COMMITTEE MEETING, 29 OCT. 1964

SPEAKERS IN ORDER OF PRESENTATION (15 MINUTES EACH)

1. James Farmer

   a. Brief review of the Civil Rights struggle at the moment
   b. The formation of ghettos
   c. The importance of integration/in Harlem (do other things come first?)/in general
   d. An approach to the rebuilding of the ghetto area
   e. Cultural factors which must be respected in the reconstruction.
   f. An approach to the rebuilding of urban ghettos.

2. Charles E. Silberman

   a. Urban renewal as negro removal
   b. White, middle-class biases built into the existing programs for renewal
   c. Historical effects of slavery, segregation, etc.
   d. The social cost of maintaining Harlem as a slum: crime, infant mortality, etc.
   e. Welfare Colonialism
   f. Public housing policy
   g. The Woodlawn Organization/IAF/etc.

3. Jesse Gray

   a. Apathy, despair and the recent riots
   b. The rent strike movement
   c. Obstacles encountered in dealing with the political power structure on housing matters
   d. The Millbank area resident's present view of urban renewal
   e. The Millbank Renewal Area and its possible extension
   f. What kind of a community should Harlem become?
   g. Cultural factors to be provided for in rebuilding
   h. Public housing policy
   i. Action program for the volunteer architects who would like to work in Millbank

4. Albert Mayer

   a. The architect's historic role in shaping an environment
   b. Public housing policy: its effect on residents
   c. Alternates to present policy: vest pocket, etc.
   d. Necessity to institute democratic planning procedures
   e. Record of citizens' groups' successes in planning for themselves: Mt. Morris Park, etc.
   f. Call for action: introduction of Harlem organization leaders on floor.

Housing Eltan

OUTLINE OF A DEMONSTRATION PROJECT
TO DEVISE METHODS FOR
DEGHETTOIZATION OF HARLEM

A proposal presented by the Department of Urban Renewal of the New York Congress of Racial Equality in cooperation with associated community groups.*

October, 1964

Clarence Funnyé, Director

*District Planning Board #10, New York City; Harlem Area Neighborhood Association; Tenants Housing Committee of New York CORE.

The Congress of Racial Equality, like many groups which have watched the growth of major slum areas in spite of 15 years of urban renewal, wants answers to the question: "Is urban renewal adequate to the job of eliminating, or significantly reducing, urban ghetto areas - and if not, why not?" To find answers, a quasi-autonomous planning and urban renewal department, called Urban Associates, was organized in New York CORE.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Nearly half of America's Negroes are forced to live in ghettos. New York City's Harlem is typical. Like most ghettos, it is characterized by:

a) Almost total ethnic homogeneity.

b) Extremely high densities and poor housing.

c) Very low average income.

d) Inadequate or deficient city services; e.g., dirty streets (poor garbage collection), police tolerance of extra-legal activity, etc.

e) Very poor, ethnically and economically segregated schools.

f) An environmental boundary which identifies it as apart from the majority city and as a less desirable place to live, raise children, shop or go to school.

g) A general feeling of hopelessness on the part of residents, which is reflected in low aspirational levels of their youth. (Dr. Kenneth Clark calls this "the death of the spirit".)

The many adverse ramifications of physical ghettos are generally well known, and while some attempts have been made to solve one or another problem, such attempts have been largely piecemeal and uncoordinated. For example, while much lip service has been given to the desirability of integrated housing, no major urban renewal project in New York has ever considered this element in the selection, configuration or design of renewal areas. Past and present urban renewal and redevelopment schemes have tended to solidify rather than weaken the ghetto.

APPROACH TO A SOLUTION

"We believe it may be possible to redesign and renew ghetto areas so attractive environmentally and physically as to sharply minimize the importance of racial integration as a consideration for potential white residents. If this is true, it may be possible to remove huge ghettos from our central cities."

Report to the national CORE convention, June, 1964

"The problems of Harlem will not be solved as long as Harlem remains all Negro and all low-income." Leader of District Planning Board #10, NYC, during recent conference

Like many local and national leaders, we feel the present impetus should be in the eradication of the ghetto. Any plan which purports to do this must attempt to eliminate all the characteristics mentioned above. Mere construction of new buildings is not sufficient.

The adequacy of urban renewal to meet this task can, we feel, be evaluated by a demonstration project which sets forth the steps required to reduce the ghettos and slums of our country. By comparing what needs to be done with what can be done under urban renewal, such a project could illuminate deficiencies in the construction of present urban redevelopment provisions and/or their application.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE DEMONSTRATION PROJECT

To construct a perfectly believable and practical alternative to present application of urban renewal, we reasoned that an area - a portion of an existing ghetto - should:

a) Already be declared appropriate for urban redevelopment.

b) Not be surrounded by other slums, but be in a peripheral position relative to the hard core.

c) Have been adequately studied and analyzed by city redevelopment agencies.

d) Have been preliminarily planned; e.g., the planning agency should have stated conceptually what is required in the area.

e) Have very high densities and generally poor housing.

After reviewing all areas which have been given urban renewal designations by the New York City Planning Commission (pursuant to application for federal funds for more detailed planning), the St. Nicholas Park area was one which met all these criteria.

The relatively alert citizens of St. Nicholas Park were contacted and asked to consider our proposal for what we called "deghettoization" of the area and eventually all of Harlem. Community leaders - especially Commissioner George Gregory of District Planning Board #10 and Rev. Eugene Callender of HANA (an umbrella group which includes most local citizens' housing councils, block associations, etc.) - were enthusiastic.

Projected city proposals for the area promise to be warmed over duplications of past plans (tear out old housing and build new low income housing). We hope, by presenting a radically exciting alternative, to induce the city to give serious thought to a way of eliminating major ghettos, with all their related ills. Our plan would devise a physical design, coupled with adequate social planning, expressly intended to:

a) Maximize opportunities for economic and ethnic residential integration.

b) Incorporate a school building plan to adequately encourage and serve an integrated student body.

c) Design and situate facilities - both for area-wide and local usage - to insure their utilization by both St. Nicholas residents and others from outside Harlem.

d) Devise and set up criteria for rehabilitation, where appropriate, of buildings utilizing construction innovations which keep new rents at a level present occupants can afford.

e) Devise plans for relocation of displaced persons in a manner consistent with the city's stated policy of fostering residential integration, and the federal government's requirement for safe, sound and sanitary housing. The plan might recommend: 1) construction of vest pocket (FHA) housing on available land outside ghetto areas, 2) rent subsidies, or 3) any combination of these or any other schemes which can practically provide for adequate non-slum, non-ghetto housing.

f) Take advantage of existing city and community facilities and amenities (City College, parks, existing waterfronts) and combine these with others to increase the intangible "status" potential.

In summary, our plan would do all the things the city says it regards as important and desirable - integrated communities, moderate densities, racially balanced schools, etc. The difference is that we would include these provisions as part of a total well-coordinated scheme.

TECHNICAL AND PROFESSIONAL RESOURCES

To accomplish this planning, the assistance of the following will be utilized:

PHYSICAL DESIGN AND PLANNING: A cooperative effort between Harvard University's School of Architecture and Department of Regional and City Planning, and the School of Architecture and Planning at Columbia University.

SOLUTION OF RELOCATION AND ASSOCIATED SOCIAL PROBLEMS: Metropolitan Citizens' Planning and Housing Council; staff of Urban Associates. We hope to have further assistance from the Urban League, the National Association of Social Workers, New York Chapter, and New York Planners for Equal Opportunity. These groups have already shown keen interest. We also plan to approach city and state agencies for human rights.

PROGRAMMING: To be worked out between Harvard and Columbia universities. It is hoped that resources of both universities can be tapped during the planning process.

COORDINATION AND MONITORING: To be done by Urban Associates, District Planning Board #10, and HANA, including monthly meetings with local citizens' groups.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION FOR POLITICAL SUPPORT: To be the concern of the community and Urban Associates, including CORE and cooperating groups.

SUMMARY

Completed plans will be presented to the city by the community, with rigorous support for adoption. Even if the total plan is not adopted, a well-publicized presentation should help revise current thinking on the role of urban renewal in meaningful deghettoization in central cities, and illuminate shortcomings in redevelopment legislation.

call thus & confirm

Housing

10/29

C O P Y　　　C O P Y　　　C O P Y

Mr. James Farmer
C. O. R. E.
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

The Housing Committee of the New York Chapter of the American Institute of Architects is calling a meeting on Tuesday, October 13 at 6:00 p.m. to discuss the problems of housing and urban renewal in Harlem. The purpose of this meeting is to consider a specific committee program to provide volunteer technical assistance to Harlem neighborhood groups to enable them to press for better housing code enforcement, and to take a proper part in the making of urban planning decisions in the future.

In addition to Chapter members, which number more than 1400, the Committee intends to invite the members of the American Institute of Planners, the American Society of Landscape Architects, and a representative of each of the Harlem organizations specifically concerned with housing and planning problems.

We feel it important that you be there to address the group. The Committee has also invited A. Phillip Randolph, Jess~~i~~e Gray, Charles Silberman and Albert Mayer. The meeting should not last more than one and a half hours.

Very truly yours,

William D. Wilson
President

WDW/c

630 3rd Ave

Holden Eagan
Carser & Wilson.

Housg

NOV 2 1964

BRONX CORE
1301 Boston Road
Bronx, N.Y., 10456

Howard Quander, Chairman

Jonhnny Valentine
Bronx Rent Strike Coordi

TO: ALL LOCAL CHAPTERS; METROPOLITIAN AREA------------

PUBLIC HOUSING NEEDS YOUR SUPPORT NOW!

YOU CAN HELP TO SECURE 8,000 UNITS OF STATE - AIDED LOW RENT HOUSING BY VOTING "YES" ON:

PROPOSITION NO. 1
&
AMENDMENT NO. 1

WE URGE YOU TO COMMUNICATE WITH YOUR MEMBERS, FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS: YOUR "YES" VOTE NOVEMBER 3RD WILL HELP 8,000 FAMILIES TO SECURE DECENT APARTMENTS AND WILL PROVIDE JOBS FOR THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE IN THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY.

****

PROPOSTION NO. 1:

Would permit an increase of $165 million in the state debt for loans to municipalities for slum clearance and low rent housing and allow the sale of bonds for this purpose. It would also add $7½ million to the State's yearly subsidy to help municipalities pay the carrying charges on these loans. X

AMENDMENT NO. 1:

Amends Article XVIII, Section 1, 2, 4, 6, & 10. Changes State Constitution's Housing Article to provide for:

...Housing of persons "whose housing needs cannot be met by the unaided operations of private enterprise", instead of presently worded "low rent housing" for persons of "low income".

...the rehabilitation of substandard dwellings, if this cannot be accomplished by private enterprise.

...Permits temporary urban renewal notes to be excluded from the 2% housing and urban renewal debt limitation of a municipality.

...Increases amount of indebtedness to 2% of full value of real property, rather than assessed valuation.

YOU CAN FIGHT SLUMS

VOTE YES on PROPOSITION No. 1

NOVEMBER 3, '64

PROPOSITION #1

Shall sections 5 through 10 of chap. 272 of the laws of 1964, providing for an increase of $7.5 million in the amount of state subsidies which may be outstanding, and authorizing the creation of additional state debt and the sale of state bonds of $165 million for slum clearance and low rent housing purposes be approved?

(The Proposition will appear on the right hand side of the voting machine in New York City. In other areas of the State it may appear on the top line of the voting machine. Be sure to look for it.)

APPROVAL O

More than 8,000

In 1963 there wa
TEN families wh

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DISTINGUISHED CITIZENS COMMENT...

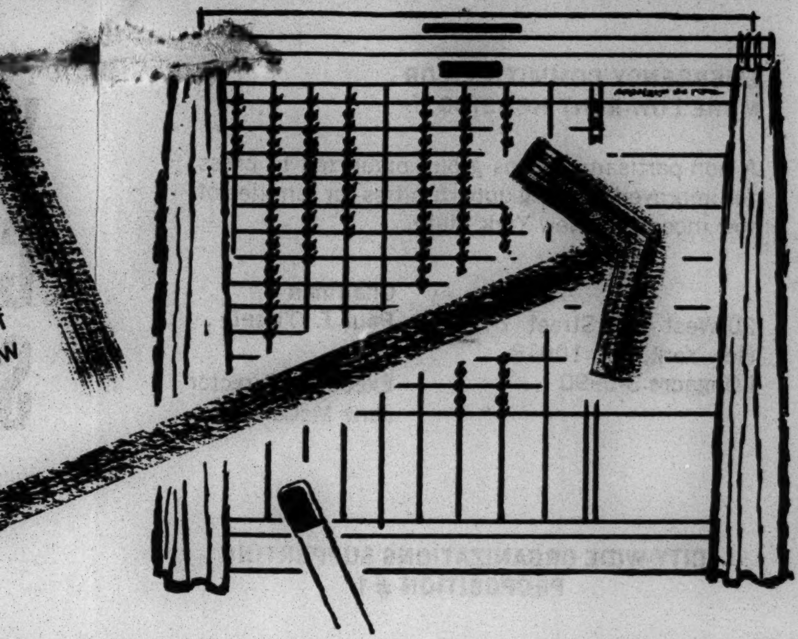
VY. REV. MSGR. HARRY J. BYRNE, Executive Secretary, Archdiocese of New York, Committee on Housing and Urban Renewal—"Public housing by providing people with adequate space and family privacy is a beginning towards the elimination of the social, moral, and emotional deterioration which so frequently accompanies life in a slum. It is imperative that appropriate legislation be fully enacted if public housing programs are to be continued."

RT. REV. HORACE W. B. DONEGAN, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of New York—"The tragedies of social waste and the disruption of family life resulting from the housing shortage impel me to urge passage of the public housing proposition. Christian responsibility on this issue seems clear—homes for our people are needed and every means available should be utilized."

LOUIS HOLLANDER, Secretary-Treasurer, New York State AFL-CIO Labor Council—"The New York State AFL-CIO enthusiastically favors passage of the housing proposition. We strongly urge everyone to vote YES to ease the shortage of homes for low income families."

SENATOR JACOB K. JAVITS—"New York's national reputation for leadership in the field of housing has been achieved through bi-partisan support for better housing programs. I ask all our citizens to vote YES for a continuation of these programs."

JOSEPH MONSERRAT, Director, Migration Division, Depart-



AL OF PROPOSITION #1 WILL MEAN

an 8,000 FAMILIES can leave the slums.

there was no room in public housing for NINE out of every
ilies who applied.

A vote for public housing means **BETTER homes**
BETTER cities
MORE jobs

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ment of Labor, Commonwealth of Puerto Rico—"In this election the citizens of New York have a chance to take a step forward in the struggle to provide good homes for all our people. We owe it to ourselves and to the community to vote 'Yes' for housing on Election Day."

GOVERNOR NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER—"The low-rent program is the chief source of low-cost housing for the aging, and an essential part of a responsible relocation plan for urban renewal. These are two important reasons why I urge you to vote 'yes' on the housing proposition."

RABBI MAX SCHENK, D.D., President of the New York Board of Rabbis—"We are rightfully proud of the social progress made by our State, and its recognition of the responsibility for decent housing where the need outstrips the capacities of individuals to achieve it. But pride does not mean complacency. Support of the Housing Proposition is essential."

MAYOR ROBERT F. WAGNER—"Vote YES for a continuation of the public housing program. The indirect help for low-income families gives us an opportunity to clear our slums and beautify our city."

ROY WILKINS, Executive Secretary, NAACP—"A decent home in a decent neighborhood for every New Yorker—this is the goal of New York State's housing program. Vote 'Yes' on Proposition #1 to allow the State to make progress toward this goal."

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR MORE LOW-RENT HOUSING

A non-partisan citizens group organized to press for improved housing opportunities for families of low income in New York State.

20 West 40th Street
New York, N.Y. 10018
LOngacre 3-5990

Chairman
Paul T. O'Keefe

Executive Director
Jane McCarthy

CITY-WIDE ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORTING PROPOSITION #1

American Institute of Architects—
  New York Chapter
Citizens Committee for Children
Citizens Housing & Planning Council
Citizens Union of the City of New York
Committee against Discrimination in Housing
Commonwealth of Puerto Rico
Community Council of Greater New York
Community Service Society
Congress of Racial Equality
Greater New York Hospital Association
Joint Board of the Building &
  Construction Industry
Metropolitan Council on Housing
National Association for the Advancement of
  Colored People
National Association of Social Workers—
  New York Chapter
New York Tuberculosis & Health Association
Protestant Council, Department of
  Christian Social Relations
United Neighborhood Houses
Urban League of Greater New York
Women's City Club

Additional copies may be obtained at the Emergency Committee office.

150

PROCEEDINGS

METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING

6TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

ORGANIZE TENANTS

FOR AN OPEN CITY

"BUST THE GHETTO"

SATURDAY NOVEMBER 14, 1964

McBURNEY Y.M.C.A.; 215 W. 23RD ST.
NEW YORK, N. Y.

To organize tenants to fight for the right to live anywhere in decent housing at reasonable rents is, at best, a difficult task. In order to secure a massive, public low-cost housing program and a fair housing practices commission, large groups of tenants must be organized. That one fifth of our nation which constitutes America's poverty mass "..the uneducated, the rejected and despised...", as well as those of fixed or low and middle income, have not yet been reached in sufficient numbers to participate effectively in positive social action which would eliminate their housing problems.

In order to house people, we must concern ourselves with problems that are many and varied: from leaky faucets and rats and roaches to the "busting of the ghetto"...from bread and butter issues to civil rights and the underlying causes of riots.

How to create strong, permanent and representative tenant organizations which can deal effectively with the problems which we all face in housing is the aim of this conference.

FOREWORD

The Sixth Annual Conference of the Metropolitan Council on Housing was attended by 240 people from over 50 tenant, civil rights, church, trade union, community and public housing organizations. The emphasis of the Conference, as indicated by the keynote speech of Major Owens, was on the need to organize large numbers of people in order to achieve effective results in housing. So enthusiastic was the discussion that two panels voted unanimously to hold further sessions. As a result, the Handbook on Organizing and a Policy Statement on Rehabilitation will be issued separately. They will be sent to all those who attended the Conference and all other interested individuals.

Wilbert A. Tatum

Wilbert A. Tatum
Conference Chairman

OFFICERS OF THE METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING

Chairman	Jane Benedict
1st Vice Chairman	Herbert A. Hines, Jr.
2nd Vice Chairman	Stanley Aronowitz
Treasurer	Caroline Roest
Recording Secretary	Evelyn Aronowitz
Corresponding Secretary	Virginia Rosen

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KEYNOTE SPEECH OF MAJOR OWENS

At the beginning of this Sixth Annual Conference of the Metropolitan Council on Housing, it would be to our benefit to note that we, Metropolitan Council and its affiliates, already have on record an impressive array of resolutions, recommendations and legislative proposals. Past conferences have analyzed the problems of housing in New York City from all angles, and we have not been limited merely to analyzing the problems ... solutions have been proposed, many bold solutions which strike at the heart of our problems.

During the past year, for instance, at the annual conference and later in a special New York State legislative bulletin, we proposed:

- That all housing should be deemed a public utility.
- That landlords receive fines commensurate with the cost of repairs required to correct the violation.
- Legislation which would stop eviction orders for landlords, where there are violations on a building.
- We urged speedy enaction of the Wilson Bill which would set up uniformed City squads to make emergency repairs to provide heat and hot water.
- We proposed a special government rehabilitation bank to save tenants from the burden of paying for rehabilitation.
- We demanded a new look at public housing regulations and procedures.

And most important, the seeds of our two most important demands for the coming year were planted:

- We called for the construction of 20,000 low and middle-income public housing units per year for the next ten years ... and
- We initiated the idea for a non-discriminatory Fair Housing Rental Agency to effectively end discriminatory practices in apartment leasing.

These are the key proposals; there were many more. My point here is that we have done a very good job of pointing out solutions and our goals are very clearly defined. If it is true that there is nothing more practical than a few good theories, then we have indeed made a very practical beginning.

But we should emphasize the word "beginning" for this is all that we have done. We have proposed but the power structure has not seen fit to act on our proposals. When we ask ourselves "What have we changed? How has the reality of the housing situation been affected?", if we check the record item by item and ask what is our score, we will find that the answer is zero.

In the year when rent strikes for a long period captured the headlines, no part of our basic program was put into operation. The best we have been able to do is to force some slight changes and innovations in the administration of the Health and Buildings Code and to generally change the attitude of the judges in one of the City's landlord-tenant courts.

It should be obvious to most of us that the real estate lobby and the rest of the power structure are standing firm, waiting for the storm to blow over. The cynical men in power know that there have been other storms and other furors over housing. They have never been touched before; they see no reason to worry now. They are calculating our collapse; indeed, it would be more accurate to say that most of the power structure has never yet recognized the existence of organized tenants as a threat.

We must concede that New York City history is on the side of those who say there will always be slums and protest is never going to change things. The housing history of Mayor Robert F. Wagner reveals, in a nutshell, why the slumlords are still so very secure and why organized tenants have a long difficult fight ahead.

In an article in the World Telegram (February 1964), Reporter Woody Klein documented the failure of Mayor Wagner. Mr. Klein begins by saying:

> "Mayor Wagner has declared war against slumlords, ho-hum.
>
> "In 1947, as Commissioner of the Building Department, he publicly took responsibility for the safety, comfort and very lives of New York tenants.
>
> "In 1948 he called for a bold program to clean up the slums. In 1954 he pledged a "fresh view" on housing. In 1959 he said that there was no longer any excuse for delaying action and that housing was the City's "number one" problem. In 1961 he announced a "massive attack". In 1962 he called for "more and tougher weapons" and promised to "press vigorously"; he predicted a "slumless city". In 1963 he pledged to "hit the slumlords where it hurts - in the pocketbook". And early in 1964 the Mayor once again called for a "pocketbook attack on the slumlords".

Mr. Klein concludes by stating that Mayor Wagner once privately stated to him that there was nothing one could do about the slums; there will always be slums.

This is the enemy. This is the voice of the shrewdest and most cynical of our enemies. After twelve years of the bear hug of Robert F. Wagner, it is not surprising that the Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant ghettoes have finally exploded into violence. Mayor Wagner and the rest of the power structure are wedded to a real estate lobby that has wealth and know-how second to none. This is what the war for better housing must overcome. And our battles must be fought in a land where citizens, even tenants, cling to the archaic and obsolete notion that private property rights come before decency, public safety and before human rights.

Against all this, against the wealth and power of the real estate interests, what do we have to offer? How can we ever hope to move the mountain before us?

In the American system, there are only two sources of power: one is money, the other is people. Since we have no money, our power lies in numbers. We must have more and more people, we must have tenant groups organizing the unorganized and constantly expanding if we are to achieve our goals.

Our potential power lies not with masses already sedentized by labor unions or even with the present membership of the civil rights groups. The labor movement is already on the decline, strangling in the noose of its own narrow-mindedness. On the other hand, the growth of the civil rights groups depends directly on the commitment these groups make to the immediate needs of the Negro masses. The source of strength for organized tenants lies in exactly the same direction as the potential strength of the civil rights movement.

Both groups have the same problem of conquering fear and apathy and the job is so great that no one should ever think in terms of competition. We are all in a mess and there is only one way out: we must unite and organize for freedom! Freedom means freedom not only from segregation and discrimination; freedom means freedom from vicious slumlords, freedom from rats, freedom from overcharges; freedom means freedom from exploitation. When we organize, we are organizing for all freedoms right across the board. In modern society only the organized can be free, for organization is the first law of civilization and those who are not organized will inevitably be victimized. Go look at the condition of the Negro masses in any large city and you will see glaring proof of this fundamental law of social life.

But none of this is new to most of you. I'm sure you agree that organization is an absolute necessity. I'm sure you agree that Metropolitan Council and its affiliates have excellent goals and clear meaningful proposals. But we lack the power to get action on our proposals; we have no power because we have not yet turned to our real source of strength. We agree that we need the so-called frightened and indifferent tenants who have not come forward to join us. After years of waiting, most of us agree that if the tenants will not come to us, we must go to them.

We understand our plight of powerlessness ... we agree on the remedy needed. The essential remaining question is .. how? How do we do it? How do we vault over the smug individualism of middle-income tenants? How do we wake up housing project tenants who are so grateful for the basic decencies that they are willing to surrender their rights and become inmates, not citizens? How do we break the ice of apathy and fear of the people trapped in the ghettoes? This is the crux of the matter. How?

Of course there are no simple answers to the question, but if we are to hope for success we must first begin with clear thinking about what the problems of organization are. Secondly, we must have the long-range vision to see where we are going and the importance of our distant goals. And third but most important, we must have the conviction that what we are doing is both necessary and urgent.

Any attempt at mass organization must begin with a nucleus of people who qualify in each of these areas. Clear thinking means, first of all, that you must understand that when you go to organize people in the ghetto, you are moving against hundreds of years of conditioning and brainwashing. You are stepping into a tradition of fear and suspicion. You must understand that what it took centuries to build up, your good heart, your sincere face and your outstretched hand cannot tear down in one day. You must understand, too, that ghetto streets are filled with supermen and superwomen facing problems that would immediately drive middle-class men into nervous exhaustion. There are many tenants who have been fighting slumlords all their lives. The percentage of people in ghettoes who will fight is as great as the percentage in the population as a whole. Naturally every house has at least one tenant who has contacted city agencies and waited for the help that never came. Tenants have fought and found themselves sold out by crooked lawyers and trampled on by callous judges. But fighting alone, it has been a losing battle.

We must understand that for many individuals in our ghettoes, merely to survive is a laudable achievement. Understand that especially the Negro poor have endured, have outmaneuvered the most subtle and relentless attempt at genocide the world has ever known. If these few shocking but simple truths are realized, then the respect and patience necessary for organizing will automatically come. The organizer will be over the first hurdle.

From the first contact to the day when the tenant becomes a worker in the larger tenants organization, is usually a long difficult period filled with many problems; some petty and some very serious. Even the most dedicated organizer will ask himself many times - is it worth it? Isn't there an easier way? And the only organizers who will stick to the job are the ones who can furnish their own answers. Organizers must be able to see the unpleasant task of collecting rent for the escrow fund or the anxiety over a difficult court case as pains which are unavoidable in the building of a larger movement.

We must understand that in order to force the power structure into a program of 20,000 low and middle-income units per year and in order to mount the pressure necessary to strike a death blow to discrimination in apartment leasing, we must stick with the day-to-day details. The foundation of the tenants' movement must rest on small victories gained here and there for individuals. Such victories will generate a new faith in fighting, a new faith in organization and action, and it is this faith that will permit mobilization of the masses. If we have vision, if we can see, can imagine the fruits of our daily routines, then we will not be defeated by the drudgery of organization.

Long range vision is vital if the organizer is to have the third necessary quality, conviction. Vision reinforces conviction; without an imaginative understanding of what our efforts add up to, there will be no exertion and involvement to the point of sacrifice. We must believe ... we must be convinced that when we organize tenants, when we reach the unattached, we are stirring up the last hope of American society.

If the people on the bottom, if the people who daily must endure all of the slime that has seeped and dripped down through all the other strata of society, if the people who bear the heavy burden of unemployment, police brutality, makeshift schools, retail swindles, slumlords and many other evils, if the people who suffer do not push, do not fight for humanizing changes, then change will never come. In this country, individual greed, corporation tyranny and general decadence will surely smother away the breath of freedom. We must understand that our salvation, the salvation of each person who thrives on democracy and freedom, is at stake when we go out to organize the unattached and the exploited.

Conviction is the major problem. Indeed, it may be that conviction is the only problem. If you have conviction, if you are truly dedicated to the task, then all of the other qualities can be gained. If you have conviction, you can and will learn the procedures and techniques for organizing. If you have conviction, you will acquire the necessary patience. With conviction you will be able to break through the wall of fear and suspicion. You will be able to communicate a true concern and you will inspire that vitally needed faith in organization and positive action.

In New York City today, the unorganized must acquire this faith in fighting for at every turn, the unorganized are being victimized. Housing is not the only major battle we have to fight; the fight for more and equal employment and the fight for integrated quality education are also major battles in a general war for a meaningful place in a new order. We are at war and our only weapon is our numbers. We need more people - and to gain more people, better housing won through fighting is a means as well as an end. Of the three great problems we face, housing is the only one where we can gain immediate successes for large numbers of individuals. Housing is the one area where we can demonstrate that fighting bring results, however small. If Mrs. Jones' leaking roof is fixed and the holes are platered or the rats exterminated, then for Mrs. Jones we have demonstrated the advantages of organization and action. Mrs. Jones may now be convinced to join a fight for better schools that probably won't produce results until after her children have graduated. The little successes - properly nurtured - this is what will lead people on from one issue to another and build a great movement in New York City.

We are today at an obvious crossroad where employment, education and housing problems have all merged. We must move on all fronts, for a breakthrough in any one area is a breakthrough for all. To "bust the ghetto" is as much the goal of civil rights organizations as it is of Met Council. All liberal forces are in motion to eradicate this evil, for a ghetto is not a community; a ghetto is a prison; a ghetto is a trap where the victims can more easily be exploited. The civil rights groups have the sam aim as organized tenants and together we all face the same dilemma. We all have to look for power among the people. None of us can escape the harsh truth that we, as leaders, cannot gain freedom and a better life for the suffering. The best we can do is to wake up the people who suffer, wake up the people in the ghettoes who bear the weight of all the social evils, wake them up, kindle a new faith in organization and action and the people will free themselves.

For the coming year, Metropolitan Council will need an awakened mass of tenants. In 1965 we are proposing to emphasize two important demands. Without abandoning any of our previous resolutions and demands, we hope first to concentrate on the need to build 20,000 low and middle-income units each year for the next ten years. More government financed housing is the only long range solution to the problem of decent housing. Only by ending the cruel shortage of housing can we ever hope to overcome the power of slumlords. The slumlord has become a little god because people have nowhere else to go. Only massive amounts of federal funds can free tenants from this tyranny of greedy little men. The appropriation of a piddling sum for public housing in the last congress was a cold-blooded act of negligence.

Men who propose to wage a war on poverty, while ignoring the housing needs of the poor, are men who have reached a new depth in cynicism. We are waiting to see how Lydon Johnson proposes to build his "Great Society" on the quicksand of slums. It does not matter what comes first, but certainly quality integrated housing must be a part of any total plan to eliminate poverty. Money is no problem. In a nation preoccupied with tax cuts, we should close our minds to any arguments about lack of funds. Resources are not a problem ... the problem is will! The power structure has no desire; it does not want to build more housing. It is our job, our duty, to confront them with an ultimatum to build, to build rapidly and to build generously. The job will not be an easy one. Even with Barry Goldwater beaten and dumped on the roadside of history, the job before us will not be an easy one. The fact that Proposition One was defeated in New York State will make politicians everywhere less interested in public housing. We have a difficult fight ahead of us. We are going to have to beg and plead; we are going to have to demonstrate and harass. We need numbers to do this; We must organize!

Our second demand to be emphasized in the coming months ahead, calls for a law which would shatter the walls of the ghetto and insure the steady realization of an open city. An entire panel today is devoted to a discussion of the demand for the establishment of a Fair Renting Practices Service. Briefly, this proposal calls for a central listing of all vacant apartments in the city, a central listing where apartments would be rented on a first come, first served basis. In essence, the initial proposal is merely a request that concrete steps be taken, that realistic procedures be devised to give functional meaning to our present laws against discrimination in housing.

Let us not fool ourselves. This proposal will meet a screaming powerful opposition. The bigots will crawl into the open and under the banner of private property rights, they will lead thousands against us. The real estate lobby will pour millions of dollars into a fight against such an agency. The press will call it a radical proposal and the politicians will begin to worry about the white backlash.

A gigantic challenge will come and we must be prepared to meet it. To "bust the ghetto" we must have this central renting service. There can be no hope for an open city unless we have such an agency. The stakes are high and we must wage a fight equal to the rewards. We will need thousands of tenants organized into units capable of putting people where they're needed when they're needed.

This is the point of climax. The work of the individual organizer with the individual tenant will blossom forth in its true significance. The walls of the ghetto must come down. The ghetto must have a chance to become a community and not a prison. The fight may take one year or two or three, but if we have vision, we will see past the setbacks.. and if we have conviction, patience will come also. We will carry on the fight as long as necessary.

In past years we have proposed, we have discussed, we have analyzed. This year we are calling for organization and action. We must make 1965 the year of the housing revolution. Next year at the Seventh Annual Conference, we must be able to check the scoreboard and find that something basic has been accomplished.

We must go forward and take command of the empty phrases of the Johnson Administration and give true meaning to the gimmicks they call "War on Poverty" and "Great Society". If there is to be a real war on poverty, a war that will win something lasting, then the unorganized, the people on the bottom, will have to fight that war for themselves.

To achieve our goals, to realize our two special demands, we will need help from every quarter. Middle income tenants must shake off their apathy and resignation and join the battle. Housing project tenants must broaden their outlook. We will need sympathetic politicians, civil rights organizations and concerned liberals from all quarters.

We must seek help everywhere, but most important, we must stick with the people on the bottom. The people on the bottom are our true source of strength. Here is where we must strike the spark of protest. Here is where we will find the will, the courage and the numbers to continue the fight until the power structure has been pounded into submission.

PANEL 1

ORGANIZE TENANTS FOR IMMEDIATE REPAIRS AND SERVICES

Chairman: Stanley Aronowitz
International Representative, Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers Union
AFL-CIO

Reporter: Major Owens
Chairman, Brooklyn Rent Strike Coordinating Committee

Speakers: John Hadden
Co-Chairman, Organizing Committee, Morningsiders United

Mildred Ryan
Secretary, Metro-North Citizens Committee

Chris Sprowal
Temporary Chairman, Downtown C.O.R.E.

NOTE: Material from Panel No. I is contained in a Handbook on Organizing and will be issued separately.

PANEL II

INQUILINOS HISPANOS ORGANIZENSE!

Chairman: Petra L. Rosa
Presidenta, Comité Puertorriqueño Sobre Viviendas

Roperto: Gilberto Gerena Valentin
Presidente, Parada Puertorriqueña, 1964

Panelistas: Luisa Montes
Directora de la Clinica de Viviendas, 119 Stanton St., N.Y.C.

Osvaldo Principe
Ingeniero Profesional

Armando Santiago
Vice Chairman, Comité para Salvar Nuestros Hogares en Chelsea

William Stanley
Secretario Ejecutivo, Concilio de Inquilinos, parte arriba de Manhattan

RESOLUCIONES ADOPTADAS POR EL PANEL HISPANO "INQUILINOS ORGANICENSE" EN LA CONFERENCIA ANUAL DEL CONSEJO METROPOLITANO SOBRE VIVIENDAS EL 14, DE NOVIEMBRE, 1964.

RESUELVASE:

1) Que nos comuniquemos con el gobierno federal, estatal y de la ciudad y solicitemos la implementacion de un programa para la construcción de viviendas a bajo costo; dicha construcción en su etapa inicial proveerá 200,000 apartamientos nuevos para familias de bajo ingresos.

2) Que la ciudad se ocupe de la creación de una Comisión Sobre Practicas Justas quien tenga autoridad para controlar el arrendamiento de todos los apartamientos vacíos y ejerza la práctica de "al primero que venga se le alquilará", al rentar dichos apartamientos.

3) Que el Comité Puertorriqueño Sobre Asuntos de Viviendas, sea el organismo responsable para ayudar a organizar la comunidad puertorriqueña y de habla hispana en la ciudad de Nueva York y actuará como consultante en materias que afectan a esta comunidad en asuntos de viviendas.

4) Que el Consejo Metropolitano Sobre Viviendas, incluya una página en español en su publicación mensual "Noticiero para Inquilinos" (Tenants News).

5) Que este panel adopte la iniciativa para organizar clases en español para los que no lo hablan (miembros del Consejo Metropolitano Sobre Viviendas y otros.)

6) Que este panel adopte la iniciativa para establecer clases en inglés para enseñar a los inquilinos hospanos de manera que puedan defenderse mejor.

7) Que los miembros de este panel se hagan miembros del Comité Puertorriqueño Sobre Asuntos de Viviendas.

8) Que el Comité Puertorriqueno Sobre Asuntos de Viviendas se haga miembro del Consejo Metropolitano de Viviendas.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE SPANISH PANEL "INQUILINOSIORGANICENSE" OF THE METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING CONFERENCE HELD NOVEMBER 14th, 1964.

BE IT RESOLVED:

1) That we contact the federal, state and city governments and request the implementation of a program for the construction of public housing at low cost, which in its initial stage provides 200,000 apartments for low income families.

2) The formation of a Commission for Just Practices on Housing by the City of New York which will have the authority to control the rental of all available vacant apartments and exercise the practice of "first come, first served", when renting these apartments.

3) That the Puerto Rican Citizens Committee on Housing be the one to help organize the Puerto Rican and Spanish speaking community throughout the City of New York and act as consultants on matters relating to housing that affect the Spanish speaking community.

4) That the Metropolitan Council on Housing set up a page in Spanish in their monthly publication, "Tenant News".

5) That this panel arrange to set up Spanish classes for English-speaking people (members of the Metropolitan Council on Housing and others), who are desirous of learning Spanish.

6) That this panel also organize English classes for Spanish tenants, in order that they learn how to defend themselves better.

7) That the members of this panel become members of the Puerto Rican Citizens Committee on Housing.

8) That the Puerto Rican Citizens Committee on Housing become a member of the Metropolitan Council on Housing.

PANEL III

ORGANIZE TO SAVE OUR HOMES AND NEIGHBORHOODS

(Urban Renewal, Rehabilitation, Conservation)

Chairman: Reverend Arthur Simon
Chairman, Tompkins Square Housing Committee

Reporter: Hy Bershad
Chairman, Community Renewal Committee
Parkway-Stuyvesant Community Council

Speakers: Domingo Clemente
Member, Planning Board #3

Robert Heifetz
City Planner

Jane Wood
Chairman, Chelsea Save-Our-Homes Committee

PANEL III

ORGANIZE TO SAVE OUR HOMES AND NEIGHBORHOODS

In 1949, the first Urban Renewal legislation was passed by the Federal Government. This renewal has failed to meet the needs of those New Yorkers most in need of decent housing -- people of low and moderate income.

Renewal in New York City, initially called Slum Clearance, then Urban Renewal, Community Renewal, General Neighborhood Renewal Program (GNRP), Conservation or Rehabilitation, has resulted in destroying integrated communities, displacing families of modest means -- particularly Negro, Puerto Rican and elderly white households -- disrupted the livelihood of small businessmen dependent upon neighborhood clientele, raised rent levels and created small, non-family size high rental apartments.

The primary failure of the various urban renewal proposals has been the heavy reliance on private real estate interests and financial institutions. These institutions, whether they own new, rehabilitated or deteriorating properties are, for the most part, concerned almost solely with the amount of profit they can extract through increased rentals and only incidentally, if at all, with the well-being of their tenants. It is obvious that either they cannot or will not provide the housing so desperately needed by families of low and moderate income.

A successful "War on Poverty" demands that Federal, State and City governments now assume complete responsibility for guaranteeing decent shelter to all Americans. This war must be fought with sincere concern for people and adequate funds, not merely with words.

Therefore, the Metropolitan Council on Housing proposes that appropriations be made available to carry out the following steps:

1. Construct 200,000 new public housing apartments in New York City, racially and economically mixed, with low and true middle-income rents, built on vacant land, undeveloped land, or badly used commercial property, within the next ten years to eliminate the housing shortage and to create stable, integrated communities. Residential lofts for artists and lofts suitable for artist tenants to work in, are not to be considered "badly used commercial property", until enough housing for artists has been built.

2. Oppose any urban renewal program unless it is actually the product of planning by the people of each community (especially of the Negro and Puerto Rican people who have been the victims of "urban removal"), and for the people of each community, so that there is enough housing for all present residents at rents they can afford, with staged rebuilding starting on vacant land or badly used commercial property, thus creating a racially and economically mixed community. The City should immediately adopt the Alternate Plan for Cooper Square which includes these features and was prepared by tenants and small businessmen of the area, together with people-oriented professional planners. Although the program has been endorsed by leading citizens and city-wide organizations, it has been thwarted by short-sighted City policies and private real estate interests.

Institutions engaged in expansion, such as Columbia University in Morningside Heights, must come under the same public scrutiny as any other urban renewal program.

3. A city-wide program of true Neighborhood Conservation based upon strict Code enforcement for which no rent increases will be allowed, while improving housing conditions. There should be local offices of the City agencies (Health, Buildings and Housing, Sanitation, Rent and Rehabilitation) in each neighborhood. The present aspect of Conservation which "upgrades" real estate and evicts low-income tenants must be stopped.

4. A massive program of Rehabilitation without rent increases. Massive rehabilitation must be geared to upgrading the housing stock while preventing rents from rising further. (See statement on Rehabilitation for detailed program.)

5. The use of money under the United States Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the War on Poverty legislation, to provide jobs, job training and community services in the above programs. Money is now available from the Federal Government for these purposes. With the cooperation of the trade unions, an apprenticeship program should be developed under which jobs in construction will be created both to help problems of unemployment among young people and in minority groups and at the same time, supply sorely needed housing at rents people can afford.

Therefore, be it resolved that the Metropolitan Council on Housing concentrate on organizing for the above proposals since organizing is the key to making it known to the City government that tenants demand a new and different kind of Urban Renewal.

We propose the setting up of a Continuations Committee to plan, together with representatives from other panels of this Conference, two dramatic actions to highlight our demands:

1. A huge TENANTS' EMANCIPATION DEMONSTRATION on Saturday, February 13, 1965 at Gracie Mansion.

2. A large representative delegation from tenants' organizations, civil rights groups, churches, trade unions and other people's organizations to Washington, D.C. in the Spring of 1965 to meet with Federal Housing officials and our elected representatives.

3. Call two separate additional meetings:

   a. Rehabilitation (Statement on this subject to be issued later.)
   b. Organizing Community Actions (To be included in Handbook on Organizing)

PANEL IV

ORGANIZE TENANTS FOR IMPROVED CONDITIONS IN PUBLIC HOUSING

Chairman and Reporter:	Herbert Hines Staten Island C.O.R.E.
Co-Reporter:	Wanser S. Baltrup Tilden Houses Tenants Association
Speaker:	Carol Birnbaum President, Elliott-Chelsea Tenants' Organization

PANEL IV

ORGANIZE TENANTS FOR IMPROVED CONDITIONS IN PUBLIC HOUSING

1. WHEREAS: The number of low and low-middle income public housing units built have been insufficient to reduce the size of the waiting list of prospective tenants of public housing;

and the number of people who are permanent residents of substandard housing is at an all-time high;

and the income levels of tens of thousands of New York families are insufficient in order for them to compete in the private housing market;

The Metropolitan Council on Housing hereby demands of the Federal Government:-

(The funds necessary for) The construction of 200,000 additional dwelling units of public housing (both low and low-middle income, integrated into the same buildings) for New York City with architectural diversity, and the expansion of vest pocket construction on vacant land (which is available); or badly used commercial property.

We further demand that this housing be built in predominantly white communities, in order to guarantee the integration of this housing, and give ghetto residents an opportunity to break out.

2. WHEREAS: Residents of Public Housing are denied the due process of law to which residents of private housing have access;

Residents of public housing are subject to undue pressure from public housing management which acts as plaintiff,prosecutor, judge and jury;

Residents of public housing are subject to arbitrary rules and regulations which do not exist in private housing;

The Metropolitan Council on Housing endorses passage of legislation in the State Legislature, which will give public housing tenants equal rights under the law as afforded private housing tenants, and thereby remove them from a condition of being second-class citizens.

3. WHEREAS: Tenants of low-income public housing exist at a minimum economic level, and can improve their economic positions only through secondary wage-earners in these families, and

WHEREAS: such families are punished for any attempts they make to lift the minimum standards under which they live, through penalty of eviction because of "over-income status", and

WHEREAS: earnings of wives are usually consumed by necessities of child care, and earnings of children are rarely contributed to the family budgets;

THEREFORE the Metropolitan Council on Housing demands that income derived by secondary wage-earners in low-income public housing families be excluded from estimating family income to the extent of $800 or 75%, whichever is greater.

4. WHEREAS: Artists, as a group, have met with consistently discriminatory housing practices and hardship and inequities in zoning regulations, dwindling supply of suitable housing in areas previously populated by artists, and the spiraling cost of decontrolled quarters suitable for artists have imposed enormous restrictions upon artists in their quest for housing;

The artist is not generally recognized for the contribution he is making and can make to the community and society as a whole;

THEREFORE the Metropolitan Council on Housing demands an end to existing though unpublicized housing authority policy which generally excludes artists as prospective tenants and demands that the Housing Authority adopt the proposals of the Artist-Tenant Association, to include:

a) Roof Top Studios: Four-wall studios, with skylights, to be constructed on the flat roofs, for working space only. The artists using these studios would live in apartments within the building proper. Although the size and number of studios would have to be determined by the roof space, the following minimum space requirements per studio are suggested:
Height of walls: 15' Floor space: 1,250 square feet

b) Roof Top Living Studios: Four-wall studios with skylights for living, to be constructed on the flat roofs, with bathroom and cooking facilities provided at one end of the undivided space, to provide the maximum amount of work area.
Height of walls: 15' Floor space: 1,562 square feet

Built above the elevator level, these studios would be reached by a staircase.

c) Residence-Studios: An artist's work is not incidental to the residential use of the dwelling unit. We therefore recommend that the 25% studio space allowance in an apartment be increased to 70%.

d) That safe storage space in project basements be furnished for the finished work of the artist tenant.

e) That permission be granted for the use of welding equipment and facilities be provided therefor.

5. WHEREAS: The original concept of public housing accommodations was to provide minimal housing with little or no attention paid to other than basic necessities and no attention to the aesthetic needs of low-income families;

And since there has been a gradual change in the minimum standards of public housing construction, evidence of which can be found by a comparison of public housing design and detail of today and fifteen years ago;

And since it would take a great stretch of the imagination to consider items such as closet doors, toilet seat covers and shower heads as "luxury" features of apartments;

THEREFORE the Metropolitan Council on Housing demands that the standards of all public housing, already constructed and that to be built in the future, be raised to include all the aforementioned items, at no additional cost to the tenants, such features to include tiled baths; ramps; convenience toilets at ground level for children; master antennae; water fountains, sink enclosures, etc.

6. WHEREAS: The New York City Housing Authority is the City's biggest landlord, and in its 25 years of existence has perpetrated and extended the ghettoes in New York City; and

WHEREAS: Since the 1954 Supreme Court Decision, this trend has increased; and

WHEREAS: The IBM System now in use by the Housing Authority does not and cannot take into consideration color, sex, locality, and all the related problems of integrating the various housing units; and

WHEREAS: The Metcalf-Baker Bill has prevented the use of the phasing system which was formerly practiced by the Housing Authority in its efforts to integrate; and

WHEREAS: Continuation of the present system will create widespread ghettoes in our City, --

NOW, THEREFORE, we propose that the New York City Housing Authority, and its officials:

a) Publish the tenant-selection rules of the Authority, including those dealing with integration; special classifications of tenants, such as those who are divorced, separated or welfare recipients;

b) That a fool-proof system be established by the Authority to guarantee integration in public housing;

c) That the Metropolitan Council on Housing work for the enactment of an amendment to the Metcalf-Baker Law, to overcome the obstacles which now prevent the true integration of all public housing projects.

7. WHEREAS: There is no existing City-wide public housing tenants' organization; and individual tenants' organizations are unable to bring about necessary changes in Housing Authority policy and administrative procedures; and a larger representative organization would be better able to pressure for the solution to existing problems in public housing,

NOW, THEREFORE, The Metropolitan Council on Housing endorses large scale demonstrative action by present public housing tenants and others as a necessary means toward implementing all the above resolutions; and the Council urges that such actions be discussed and decided upon by a Continuations Committee, the first order of business to include the conditions, regulations, security and guards in public housing, and the first meeting of such committee to be held on December 8, 1964; and

That the Council urge that all tenants now in public housing work for the formation of a City-wide public housing tenants' association.

PANEL V

ORGANIZE FOR A FAIR HOUSING PRACTICES COMMISSION

Chairman:	Oliver Leeds Membership Secretary, Brooklyn C.O.R.E.
Reporter:	Edna Slatkin Greenwich Village - Chelsea NAACP
Speakers:	Melvin Beinart Board of Directors, Riverside-Edgecomb Neighborhood Assn.
	Isaiah Robinson, Jr. Chairman, Harlem Parents Committee
	Joseph Walker Editor, Local 1199, Drug & Hospital Employees Union, AFL-CIO

ORGANIZE FOR A FAIR HOUSING PRACTICES COMMISSION

PANEL V

More than six years have elapsed since the enactment of the New York City Fair Housing Practices Law (Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs) which prohibits landlords from discriminating against prospective tenants and buyers because of race, color, religion, national origin and ancestry.

During these six years, the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Law has had little effect on the pattern of segregation in housing in the city. During that time almost the only decent reasonably priced housing which has been made available to Negro and Spanish-speaking tenants has been in public or publicly-aided housing or in deteriorating areas. Since 1958, when the City Commission on Human Rights (formerly COIR) began to accept complaints of discrimination, less than 200 apartments have been obtained as a result of enforcement of the law. (This figure excludes cases where the tenant won a "promise" of a future apartment or where, by the time the apartment was won, the complainant could not accept it, or where some other kind of illusory settlement was made.)

Despite City and State laws against discrimination in housing, it is an open scandal that discrimination by landlords and brokers has not been halted. The methods and techniques provided in the anti-discrimination laws are inherently susceptible to evasion. Both Metcalf-Baker (N.Y. State law) and the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs law rely on the individual complaint based upon an individual case of discrimination. Before a minority tenant can make a complaint, he must first know that an apartment is available, make application for it, and be rejected for provable discriminatory reasons. If he never learns that an apartment outside the ghetto is vacant, he cannot make application and thus cannot possibly avail himself of the protection of the law.

THEREFORE...BE IT RESOLVED that legislation be drafted that can effectively end discrimination by landlords and brokers. The legislation would establish a Fair Housing Rental Service within the Commission on Human Rights with which all vacancies of rental apartments, in private or publicly-assisted housing, would be required to be listed. Landlords would be required to rent such vacant apartments only to tenants referred to them by the Service. The Service would refer tenants on a non-discriminatory basis in the order of their priority of application. Naturally, appropriate regulations would be established, such as allowing tenant applicants to indicate the size, description, location and rental of the apartment they desire. A similar procedure could be used with cooperative apartments.

The approach suggested is analogous to the open-hiring hall techniques of trade unions in connection with job referrals. It is a tested and proven technique for the ending of unfair, undemocratic discriminatory practices.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST
DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
323 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

STATEMENT AND RECOMMENDATIONS
ON EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 11063,
PROHIBITING DISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY-ASSISTED HOUSING

It has become imperative that Americans accept and put into practice what their Constitution requires. Nowhere is this more crucial than in the nation's housing market operations.

Today, in the very eye of the storm of the Negro Revolution, the racial ghetto stands -- largely unassailed -- as the rock upon which rests the pattern of segregated living which pervades and vitiates almost every phase of Negro life and Negro-white relationships.

Housing segregation is tied directly to slums and slum conditions, to segregated schools, to inequities in employment, to the poverty which haunts millions of Negro Americans and other minorities. It produces ripe breeding ground for extremist groups -- black and white, rabble-rousers and unscrupulous politicians. The ghetto gives birth to frustration, despair and bitterness; it is teeming with the constant threat of racial conflict.

At this crucial period in history, a restricted housing market is dividing our nation and is crippling the effort of responsible government and private leadership to achieve the goal of equal opportunity to which we as a nation are committed.

The Federal Government has an inescapable responsibility to rectify this situation. The nation's courts, in a long history of decisions, have affirmed the unconstitutionality of racial restrictions in housing. The Congress, in its historic enactment of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, gave legislative reinforcement to our national commitment to equality of opportunity.

It remains the responsibility of the Executive Branch of the Government, however, to complete the task of prohibiting discrimination in federally-assisted housing which it set out to accomplish in 1962.

Tomorrow, November 20, 1964, marks the second anniversary of the signing of Executive Order No. 11063, entitled, "Equal Opportunity in Housing." This historic action sought to eliminate long-standing inequities in housing and to establish a sound basis upon which could be erected complete equality of opportunity for all American citizens to enjoy access to shelter without restrictions based on race, creed or national origin. The issuance of this mandate was a landmark in the nation's history. For the first time, an official policy against housing discrimination was enunciated by that branch of the Federal Government which executes the laws.

However, it must be clearly recognized that the Order was merely a first step in the right direction. As it presently stands, it can never achieve its expressed goals.

Fundamentally, the Order sought to insure that benefits of housing which result directly or indirectly from Federal financial assistance be available to all Americans without regard to their race, color, creed or national origin. In actuality, however, two major types of housing which clearly meet such qualifications were omitted from the Order's coverage. These two omissions limited its reach to less than 25 per cent of that part of the nation's housing supply which is affected by Federal financial assistance or support. It is in these operations, primarily, that discriminatory housing practices and policies continue to prevail on a widespread basis.

Federally Supervised Mortgage Lending Institutions

A major inadequacy of Executive Order 11063 is that federally-supervised banks and mortgage-lending institutions are affected only to the extent that they engage in FHA and VA loans. The failure to cover this vital area of mortgage financing creates a gap of immunity which shields and nurtures a wide and growing array of discriminatory practices in the housing market place. The institutions which were omitted are commercial banks, mutual savings banks and savings and loan associations. They command in the aggregate more than $400 billion in resources, and it is through their facilities that most of the nation's home financing is done. These institutions, which are a major source of "conventional" mortgages, are subject to regulation and control by the following agencies of the Federal Government:

Banks

Comptroller of the Currency. Charters and supervises all the 4513 national banks. These banks have been described by the courts as "instrumentalities of the Federal Government."

Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. Supervises all member banks of the Federal Reserve System including the national banks above plus 1600 of the state-chartered banks which voluntarily participate.

Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. Supervises all national banks and state-chartered Federal Reserve System member banks plus all state-chartered non-member banks insured by FDIC.

Savings and Loan Associations

Federal Home Loan Bank Board. Charters and supervises all the 1906 Federal savings and loan associations.

Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation. FSLIC, an agency of the FHLBB, insures the accounts of all Federal savings and loan associations and more than half of the 4452 state-chartered savings and loan associations.

Federal Home Loan Bank System. Supervises all member banks of the FHLBB, all state-chartered savings and loans insured by FSLIC, plus additional non-insured associations.

In the banking community, FDIC thus achieves the broadest reach of Federal supervision and control. Similarly, among savings and loan associations the broadest supervision is held by the FHLBS.

The simple fact is that, in a large part of the nation's housing market which is profoundly affected by the operations of Federal agencies, discrimination is still practiced without restraint. The Federal Government has a clear responsibility, under the Constitution, to put an end to this scandalous situation. In order to obtain effective coverage of federally-supervised banks and mortgage institutions, the Executive Order should therefore be extended to include all FDIC-insured banks and all FHLBS member associations.

Federally Assisted Housing Contracted Prior to November 20, 1962

The second major deficiency of Executive Order 11063 lies in its failure to require a policy of nondiscrimination in federally-aided housing contracted for prior to November 20, 1962. This serious shortcoming permits a major segment of the nation's housing supply to continue operations in the very same discriminatory manner that originally necessitated the issuance of the Order. There **appears** to be no logical or legal basis to support the principle that a constitutional requirement of nondiscrimination is applicable to new federally-assisted projects but is inapplicable to old ones. Indeed, Title VI of the newly-enacted Civil Rights Act of 1964 strongly reinforces the principle that "no person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance."

While it is true that Section 102 of the Order directs executive departments and agencies to use their good offices and take other appropriate action to end discriminatory practices in existing federally-aided housing, the fact remains that the experience of the last two years shows that this falls far short of the mandatory provision affecting future contracts.

The enormous supply of housing built with Federal assistance during the 25-year period preceding the Executive Order must be brought within the purview of the Order and made available to all Americans without regard to race, color, creed or national origin.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing therefore respectfully urges President Johnson to amend Executive Order No. 11063 as follows:

1. To prohibit discriminatory practices in mortgage loans by all banks and lending institutions which are subject in any manner to regulation, supervision or control by an agency of the Federal Government.
2. To cover all federally-aided housing which was built or contracted for prior to November 20, 1962, and which continues to enjoy Federal assistance.

In addition to the foregoing recommendations dealing with the substance of the Order, the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing also urges action on the following administrative matters:

1. The procedural power provided various Federal housing agencies to grant exemptions from the scope of the Order should be withdrawn. Under this power FHA has excluded the resale of single family homes. This exemption vitiates the reach of the Order and minimizes its effectiveness.
2. The President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing should be directed to assume broader responsibility for the implementation of the Order and should be provided with sufficient staff and budget expansion to administer an effective, national program.

Adopted by
NCDH Executive Committee
Washington, D.C.
November 19, 1964

#

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
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The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

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JAMES FARMER, NATIONAL DIRECTOR 58 Park Row 1964 NOV 26 AM 5 50
CONGRESS FOR RACIAL EQUALITY NYK
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REURTE 11-19-64 REGARDING
TREANTON'S JOHN FITCH WAY PROJECT WEM YOU MAYBE ASSURED THAT FEDERAL FUNDS WILL BE MADE AVAILABLE UNLESS PENDING APPLICATION MEETS ALL APPLICABLE FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL LAWS AND ADMINISTRATIVE REGULATIONS
ROBERT C. WEAVER
HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY

Called Lou

11-19-64
(36).

Housing

file

Housing-INFO (~~progress~~)

TENANT NEWS

METROPOLITAN
COUNCIL ON HOUSING
215 West 23rd Street, New York 10011
SP. 7-8900

MCH ORGANIZES [illegible]; TENANTS SUE TO STOP RENT INCREASES

MCH this month kicked off a fight-back campaign against rewarding landlords for neglect. As reported in Sept., 1964 TENANT NEWS, the City Dept. of Real Estate applied for and got rent increases in 218 Grand St. and four other buildings which it had taken into receivership because of neglect. After making the repairs required under receivership, the department turned around and unloaded the cost on the tenants. Some of the increases are as high as 50%.

On Nov. 5 the tenants of 219 Grand St. began court action against Frank Lazarus, Commissioner of the Dept.of Real Estate, to stop the increases. They charged that he has exceeded his authority under the receivership law. Their lawyer, Richard L. Levenson, commented that the "Commissioner is making the tenants pay more rent as a result of the landlord's failure to maintain apartments in standard and safe condition."

The Grand St. tenants and the tenants of the other 4 buildings affected have been organized by MCH and its affiliates and are planning joint actions. Among these are delegations to their CityCouncilmen, a delegation to the Mayor along with their councilmen, and a picketline in front of the Dept. of Real Estate at 2 Lafayette St. on Wed., Nov. 18. The tenants of the affected buildings will be joined by other tenants and members of MCH. This is an issue which is not confined to tenants in receivership buildings. It affects all tenants because it is the result of the general RRA policy of rewarding landlords for neglect thru rent increases for so-called improvements, plumbing, rewiring, new boilers, new roofs, etc. It must be stopped.

Vol. III, No. 3
November, 1964

[illegible] ANNUAL [illegible] DRAWS 2[illegible] DELEGATES; PLANS [illegible] ALLY" [illegible]

Surrounded by placards,signs,photographs and other vivid evidence of a year of intense housing activity -- 240 delegates met at the 6th Annual MCH Conference on Sat., Nov. 14. Delegates came from tenant groups, unions, civil rights organizations, neighborhood associations, almost any group concerned with the fight for decent, integrated housing at rents that people can afford.

During the registration period,delegates milled around, fortifying themselves on coffee and donated Danish pastries,staring at the huge papier-mache guinea pig the Chelsea Save-Our-Homes Comm. had used to protest rent increases for rehabilitation in the "guinea pig" house on W. 15th St. They picked up MCH publications and bought copies of the "Citizens' Survey of Available Land."

A keynote speech by Major Owens, chairman of Brooklyn CORE, called for a year of organizing tenants, especially in the slum ghetto areas. He said that improvements in housing will only come as a result of power. And there are two sources of power, money or people. We don't have money, but we do have the people.

Carrying out this theme in the panels, resolutions were adopted in the afternoon plenary session which called for action to achieve two main goals:

- * 200,000 new public housing apartments in NYC in the next 10 years.
- * A Fair Housing Rental Service to handle all housing vacancies on a first come, first served basis.

(please turn to page 4)

LEGISLATIVELY SPEAKING

by Frances Goldin

COMMENTS ON THE DAY AFTER ELECTION

1. An unnecessary defeat

Despite the vigorous campaign conducted by MCH to get Proposition #1 passed this year, it was again defeated. Other organizations also issued material backing the proposition which would have financed 8,000 new units of State-aided low-rent public housing. CHPC, CSS and the Emergency Comm.for Low-Rent Housing were among these. Some organizations, for instance the trade unions,were conspicuous by their silence on an issue of such importance to their membership.

However,the basic blame for the proposition's defeat must be laid at Gov. Rockefeller's doorstep. This was his housing program, and even a timid effort on his part would have made the difference between success and failure. If he had gone on TV and explained the issue and urged the voters to support the proposition,it would have been popularized. Instead, he extended his silence on the Presidential campaign to include a vital state issue, housing, as well. Unaware of the proposition,many favorable voters just forgot to vote on this item,and the NO votes won. Our Governor, a seasoned campaigner, knew what he was doing . . .

2. New chances for housing legislation?

MCH's 13-point State legislative program of 1964, with some changes and an important addition for artist's housing, will be revived at once for the 1965 session. If the commitments made to us last spring are kept, we should be able to celebrate the passage of every point. Last spring we met with many legislative leaders, including Sen. Zaretzki, then Senate minority leader,and Assemb.Travia, then Assembly minority leader. Both said every point was valid, gave the program their blessings and support-- but blamed the Republican majority for blocking passage. Now that roadblock has been removed by the voters who threw out the Republican majority and installed a Democratic majority.

We are holding the Democratic leaders to their word! 1965 must see the passage of a massive housing program -- legislation legalizing rent strikes(no services, no rent), a Fair Housing Rental Service, protection for public housing tenants in the courts, exclusion of most of the income of secondary wage earners in figuring income limits for public housing, and all the other vital bills we have proposed. The Democrats supported our program last spring when they were the minority and needed the tenants' votes. We want them to support and pass our program now that they are the majority and can pass legislation. The tenants will be watching and counting -- and deciding which of the legislators deserves re-election in November, 1965.

159th STREET TENANTS TRAVEL TO TEANECK, N.J. TO PICKET SLUMLORD

A quiet tree-lined street in Teaneck,N.J. saw something more unusual than falling autumn leaves on Sun., Oct. 18. It saw twenty pickets,Negro and white, from the Housing Committee of RENA, a MCH affiliate, carrying signs demanding repairs and services at 509 West 159th Street. The pickets were marching in front of the neat brick suburban home of James Kelley, agent for 509.

According to Mrs. Ruth Lanaman, chairman of the Tenants Committee of 509 W. 159, the tenants could not face another winter without heat and hot water,and with falling plaster, rats, leaking plumbing, garbage in the halls and rain coming in the hall because of a broken skylight. The tenants, organized by the RENA Housing Comm. and the Community League of W. 159th St., have been battling the landlord for almost a year. Last Jan. the rents were reduced to $1 because of 130 serious violations.

As they walked back and forth, the pickets commented on the contrast between 509 and Mr. Kelley's home. Two local police cars stood by but did not interfere.

Two days later the Dept. of Buildings finally (after a procedure which began last April) served the landlord with a 5-day notice to repair or lose the building under receivership. Some repairs have begun and heat and hot water were restored. But the tenants won't rest until the building is decent to live in. They plan another picketline in New Jersey on Nov. 22.

YOU, TOO, CAN HELP PLAN THE FUTURE OF NYC -- IF YOU CAN COUGH UP $35

A well-ballyhooed city planning symposium -- with the fancy title "Future by Design" -- was held at the Museum of Modern Art last month. It was sponsored by the New York City Planning Commission and paid for by a grant from the Lavanburg Foundation. A restrictive registration fee of $35 was asked for all the sessions, plus one luncheon and a fancy banquet. This guaranteed that the "ordinary" people would be conspicuous by their absence.

As a result, only a handful of neighborhood groups, tenant organizations, civil rights groups, trade unions and Negro and Puerto Rican organizations sent delegates. These, of course, are the very people who will have to live in the future designed by the $35 ticket holders.

Protests sent to the chairman of the Planning Commission, Wm. Ballard, brought bland replies to the effect that if you couldn't ante up $35, $15 would be ok.

A few people deeply concerned with the future of the city were, nevertheless, able to get into some of the sessions, thanks to a few tickets donated by individuals who regretted the lack of people participation.

The speakers were hand-picked from all over the country. The only panel I was able to attend included planners and economists who were even to the rear of Goldwater! The only person who redeemed the panel was Bayard Rustin who did a fine job of bringing the issues to the forefront and who stuck to his guns during the discussion period. He said that planning should involve the people, recognize the existence of ghettoes in NYC and note the terrible toll unemployment has taken among Negroes and Puerto Ricans. Instead of trying to save the status quo, planning for the future should really plan for new jobs, fight back the automation slaughter and plan for integrated housing and schools.

Some day there will be a real symposium where the people who can't pay $15-$35 can have their say. Then the City can draw up and carry out a program which will really work for the good of all instead of a chosen few. The "Future by Design" was not such a symposium.

Esther T. Rand

SEN. KENNEDY PROPOSES GOOD HOUSING PROGRAM; VOTERS ASK FOR PROMPT ACTION

Now that the voting machines are back in the warehouses and the battle is over, tenants and housing organizations should reread "A Housing Program for New York and the Nation," a statement by Robert F. Kennedy, issued on October 6, 1964. Sen.-elect Kennedy's victory and his new role as Senator from New York gives added importance to the statement.

Among other items, his housing program calls for vigorous code enforcement as "an immediate way to bring about significant improvement . . . where improvement is badly needed." He proposes $1 billion per year for the next 5 years for urban renewal, "but the object of urban renewal should not be to bull-doze an entire area and start afresh. It should be to preserve the character of the neighborhood and protect the inhabitants . . . not [to] bring people of a single economic and racial background together in tall buildings . . . Urban renewal should come in stages so that people who are evicted from their homes can move to newly completed housing in the same neighborhood."

Kennedy also proposes direct low interest loans by the federal government for rehabilitation with the objective of keeping rents down.

On low-rent public housing, he supports an expansion of the program from the current 35,000 homes per year to 100,000 per year nationwide for the next 5 years. He also supports improvements in public housing and abolition of income limits for public housing tenants.

As can be seen, many items in his program (with some omissions and deviations) parallel closely the MCH program. Even an approximation of such a program enacted would be splendid. We urge that our members and affiliates call upon Mr. Kennedy to push his program and to introduce it in the U.S. Senate in the form of proposed legislation as soon as he takes office in January.

Richard L. Levenson

MET COUNCIL DIARY

__Artists Tenants Assn., Oct. 18__: The artists were warned of the attempt by the Small Home Owners Assn. to wipe out rent control in buildings containing 5 or less apartments by Esther Rand, MCH bd. member. Many artists have combination living-working quarters in such buildings. They voted to work with MCH on this.

__Borough President's Local Planning Bd., Oct. 20__: Frances Goldin, Esther Rand, Bill Tatum and Helen DeMott testified for MCH and the Cooper Sq. Committee against widening the street and narrowing sidewalks on 2nd Ave. between 23rd St. and Houston St. People need room, too!

__City Planning Commission, Oct. 28__: Jane Benedict, MCH chairman, presented MCH's stand against the MorningsideGeneral Renewal Plan (GNRP). Morningsiders United, MCH affiliate, was represented by Marie Runyon, also a MCH bd. member. She criticized the plan and asked that an improved plan be adopted to benefit the whole community including the area right around Columbia and other institutions.

__Downtown Independent Democrats, Nov. 6__: Frances Goldin, legisl. chairman of MCH, spoke on the fight to build public housing on a vacant Houston St. site as an essential part of the Cooper Sq. Alternate Plan (see Oct. TENANT NEWS). She also gave the facts behind local assemblyman Louis DeSalvio's opposition to public housing there.

MCH CONFERENCE (continued from page 1)

The conference decided to hold a __Tenant__ Emancipation Rally at Gracie Mansion on Sat., Feb. 13, 1965, with tenants from every part of the City protesting the lack of action to correct slum conditions and housing violations and to build more low-rent housing and stop the tearing down of tenants' homes in the name of urban renewal. Every tenant group and other organizations will be contacted to support the rally.

In response to many requests for organizing information, MCH will issue an organizing handbook. A draft copy was submitted at the conference and an editing committee will produce a final edition. MCH will also hold an all-day meeting on "How to Organize and How to Build Permanent Tenant Organizations."

Several continuing meetings were set up as a result of the conference. These include a meeting of public housing project tenant associations on Dec. 8, a meeting to produce a plan for rehabilitation without rent increases, a permanent committee of Spanish-speaking tenants, and a committee to plan action for a Fair Housing Rental Service.

All delegates will receive copies of the resolutions as finally adopted. Extra copies will also be available on request.

Many thanks must go to conference chairman, Wilbert A. Tatum, and his hard-working committee for a well-prepared, well-run and fruitful conference.

The METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING welcomes the support of every organization and individual interested in "decent housing at rentals people can afford."

Yearly membership is $10 for organizations; $5 for individuals. You may join by signing this address label ---------- and sending it with membership fee to Met Council, 215 W. 23rd St., N.Y. 10011

TENANT NEWS is a publication of the Met Council. $1 per year for 10 issues; free to members; bulk order, $2 per 100.

Chairman, Jane Benedict; Editor, Ruth Beinart; Staff, Frances Goldin, Maria Harriton, Richard L. Levenson, Meryl Lewis; designed by Helen DeMott.

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2 Leaders See Negroes Upset Unless Weaver Gets Urban Job

By [illegible]EN A. FRANKLIN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 19—The heads of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League said today that many Negroes would be "disappointed" if President Johnson did not name Robert C. Weaver as Secretary of the new Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the N.A.A.C.P., and Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the Urban League, thus became the first Negro leaders to speak out publicly for Mr. Weaver's nomination as the first Negro member of the Cabinet.

Mr. Wilkins said that if Mr. Johnson did not appoint Mr. Weaver "it could be that this might galvanize the Negro community into thinking that in rejecting Mr. Weaver he was rejecting them."

"Expectations among Negroes being what they are, and political winds blowing the way they are," Mr. Wilkins said, the appointment of Mr. Weaver "would be a factor to be reckoned with" in the elections of 1966 and 1968.

In an interview by telephone from his New York office, Mr. Wilkins denied "categorically" reports in Washington today that he and some other Negro leaders had "put on a crunch" or "organized a campaign to influence the President" in his selection of a Secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

Reached at a hotel on a visit to Washington, Mr. Young said

Continued on Page 27, Column 3

Two Negro Leaders Endorse Weaver

Continued From Page 1, Col. 3

"there has been quite a bit of discussion about this among Negro leaders, who strongly support Mr. Weaver."

But he also said "there is no organized campaign."

"The Negro leadership strongly feels that in the year 1965 there ought to be a Negro in the Cabinet," Mr. Young said.

He said that "there will be a lot of disappointed people if Mr. Weaver doesn't make it."

Mr. Young is a member of the eight-man urban committee appointed by President Johnson to draft a sweeping reorganization plan for the new department.

In the interview, Mr. Wilkins further said:

"I take the position that an appointment to the President's Cabinet is no subject for lobbying in the ordinary sense of the word. But I think anyone can put two and two together and deduce that we would be pleased and honored if Mr. Weaver got the appointment.

"And I don't say I haven't discussed the Weaver appointment with people outside the Government. If they have a channel to the President, then that's their business."

"I have said nothing to the President directly," Mr. Wilkins said, "and I am not going to. But that doesn't say that if the President doesn't do it he would not set off a lot of hot discussion in the Negro community.

"My staff and I get around the country a good deal," Mr. Wilkins continued, "and while I don't say that the first thing I am asked at the airport is 'What about Weaver,' the Weaver appointment is a major topic of conversation among colored people all over the country. Sooner, rather than later, the Weaver question comes up."

Mr. Wilkins said that Negro leaders had "'shown restraint" in supporting Mr. Weaver, a former chairman of the board of the N.A.A.C.P., "because if I were President and getting pressure I would resent it."

He also said that "Mr. Weaver has not asked me to support him and I am sure he wouldn't."

But, Mr. Wilkins said, "it is a great temptation to support him because this is a peculiar business."

"President Kennedy having made the plain announcement in 1961 that he would appoint Weaver to head the department, that naturally aroused a great deal of expectation in the Negro community," he said.

Wide Experience Noted

That was a reference to the fact that former President Kennedy, who twice failed to obtain Congressional approval of the Cabinet level Urban department, had announced in advance that Mr. Weaver, then and now the administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, would head it.

Congress voted to establish the department this year and the department came into being Nov. 9. But Mr. Johnson announced on Nov. 5 he would withhold any appointment until January.

"I don't say we would hold Mr. Johnson absolutely to what a former President indicated,'" Mr. Wilkins said. "But I would say that expectations among Negroes being what they are and political winds blowing as they are, the appointment will be a factor to be reckoned with."

"For years," Mr. Wilkins said, "Mr. Weaver has been regarded in the Negro community as the one man among them who has the greatest experience in Government and as an administrator. There's no question that he is regarded in the Negro community as having experience comparable to that needed for this department. So Negroes would be mightily pleased if he gets the job, and full of fulfillment and great pride."

Some Administration leaders took the view today that Dr. Wilkins's endorsement — particularly its veiled warning of political consequences — would hurt Mr. Weaver's chances more than help them.

At a news conference last week, Mr. Weaver acknowledged that he was eager to receive the appointment.

Mr. Weaver is reported to believe that it would have been "absurd" and "hypocritical" for him to deny his interest in the post. But he has withheld any further comment and has remained unavailable to newsmen seeking to pursue the subject of the appointment.

WILKINS SOFTENS STAND ON WEAVER

Says He Meant No Threat on Support of Johnson

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 20—Roy Wilkins, the N.A.A.C.P. executive director, said today he had been referring "only to the present mood of colored people" when he declared that Negroes would be "disappointed" if President did not name Robert C. Weaver to head the new Department of Housing and Urban Development.

In an interview published yesterday in The New York Times, Mr. Wilkins said the appointment of someone other than Mr. Weaver, a Negro, "might galvanize the Negro into thinking that in rejecting Mr. Weaver he [the President] was rejecting them."

Mr. Wilkins said today the article had "run off the track" in giving "the sinister interpretation of a political threat in 1966, 1968 or any other election year." The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People official said such a threat might "cost Mr. Weaver the nomination."

'Crunch' Is Charged

Some Administration officials said they regarded Mr. Wilkins's statement and other private representations from Negro leaders in Mr. Weaver's behalf as a "crunch" and a "veiled threat" that might hurt Mr. Weaver's chances.

Mr. Wilkins insisted he had been "making no threats" and "only saying that the disappointment of Negroes now, not in some future election, would be something to be reckoned with in the President's choice."

He continued:

"My statement supporting Mr. Weaver had nothing to do with any threat next year or even next month. I said that Negroes would be disappointed now, in the time of consideration of this important post.

"I have the greatest respect for the President's sincerity on civil rights matters. I also have great respect for his political knowledge and acumen. Knowing that, I would never imply a political threat about any appointment, particularly such a hollow threat as this one."

"The President knows it is an empty threat. I probably never will be able to repair this with him. It probably has cost the colored people a post in the Cabinet for the first time in the 103 years they have been free. I hope he knows I wouldn't do a thing like that."

Young Also Quoted

Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, also spoke out publicly in support of Mr. Weaver's nomination in an interview yesterday.

Mr. Weaver, a former chairman of the board of the N.A.A.C.P., is the highest ranking Negro in Government as administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, the predecessor of the new cabinet department. He said at a news conference a week ago that he would like the Cabinet appointment. Mr. Johnson had said earlier he would withhold the nomination until January.

The President let the new department come into being in name only on Nov. 9, without staff or duties, because he wanted time for a special urban affairs study group to reconsider the department's organization and objectives. Mr. Young is a member of the study group.

Meet Ski Site Switched

LONDON, Nov. 19 (Reuters)—The skiing events in next year's Commonwealth Winter Games will be held at St. Moritz, Switzerland, not Andermatt, Switzerland, the organizing committee said today. Downhill and slalom events will take place Jan. 28 and 29. The transfer of the skiing means that all the winter games events will now be at St. Moritz.

16 December 1964

Mr. Max Le Joe, Chairman
Staten Island CORE
791 Manor Road
Staten Island, New York

Dear Mr. Le Joe:

I have recently been in conversations with Mr. Dan Williams, Executive Director of the Association for Middle Income Housing, Inc. (AMIH), which owns, and/or controls a large number of co-operative rental developments throughout the nation.

I am writing in regard to a housing development on Staten Island. AMIH would like CORE's cooperation in assuring that housing in this development be regardless of race. You should be hearing from Mr. Williams or a representative of AMIH shortly. I trust that you will give them every bit of cooperation necessary.

Sincerely yours,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

CC: Mr. Dan A. Williams
Executive Director
AMIH
217 Park Row
New York City, N.Y. 10038

16 December 1964

Mr. Alan Gartner
148 Kirkstall Rd.
Newtonville, Mass.

Dear Alan:

I have recently been in conversations with Mr. Dan Williams, Executive Director of the Association for Middle Income Housing, Inc. (AMIH), which owns, and/or controls a large number of co-operative rental developments throughout the nation.

I am writing in regard to a housing development in Malden, Massachusetts. AMIH would like CORE's co-operation in assuring that housing in this development be regardless of race. You should be hearing from Mr. Williams or a representative of AMIH shortly. I trust that you will give them every bit of cooperation necessary.

Sincerely,

Gordon R. Carey
Assistant to the
National Director

GRC:LP

cc: Mr. Dan A. Williams
Executive Director
AMIH
217 Park Row
New York City, N.Y. 10038

ask about Ed Doy

AMIH ASSOCIATION FOR MIDDLE INCOME HOUSING, Inc.
217 PARK ROW, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10038
BEEKMAN 3-4800

December 4, 1964

DEC 7 1964

Mr. Gordon Carey
CORE Congress of Racial Equality
New York 38, New York

Dear Gordon:

Don Elberson and I felt that our conference with you and Mrs. Hernandez was very worthwhile. We should plan to keep closely in touch in the future; this seems particularly important in view of the new emphasis in the CORE Program including action along cooperative lines.

Mrs. Hernandez has provided me with a list of "CORE Chapter Chairman and Offices." Her suggestion was that we should write directly to those in the areas of our AFSCME housing projects. After consideration I believe this is the wrong approach; I believe that it is important that such communications should properly ~~mutually~~ be between the CORE National Office and the local Chapter. This would give the proper organizational backing from the start.

May I have your reactions soon. I am particularly anxious that work should go forward in regard to Staten Island and Malden Massachusetts with a secondary emphasis on the Los Angeles and Milwaukee projects.

Sincerely yours,

ASSOCIATION FOR MIDDLE INCOME HOUSING, INC.

Dan A. Williams
Executive Director

DW/ph

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File - Housing

Dear C.C.U. Member:

We know that many of you worked hard against Proposition 14 and are willing and ready to give again of your time and talents to promote equal opportunity in housing.

Our new HOPE program has received enthusiastic response and we need many volunteers to assist our small office staff.

This volunteer program will be unusual and challenging and will put you in direct contact with the ever present problems of housing discrimination.

Here is what we propose: On Monday February 1, we will hold a volunteer training luncheon (1.25) at our offices, 437 Market Street, San Francisco. You will be given instruction as to what type of jobs will be available and the materials which you will need. While it is not mandatory to attend in order to participate, we feel that it is very important that you do so. Please call the office to make a luncheon reservation or to find out more about the program. Telephone EX2-3877

We need your help!!!

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Karl Hansen
Housing Chairman

Among other rights . . .

To secure essential American rights and opportunities denied because of race, religion or ancestry

JANUARY 1965

NEWSLETTER

of the COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY of San Francisco
437 MARKET ST. SAN FRANCISCO

W. H. FERRY

Vice President of the Fund for the Republic and co-author of "The Triple Revolution," will address the Annual Dinner of The Council for Civic Unity on Monday, January 25, 1965.

Topic: "Technology and Human Rights"

CCU members and friends are urged to reserve Monday, January 25, for this important event. A formal invitation will be sent to you shortly.

The dinner meeting will take place in the Gold Room of the Sheraton-Palace in San Francisco. Reservations should be sent to the CCU offices. The price is $5.00, including tax and tip. Please make reservations before January 18th.

We are particularly fortunate to have Mr. Ferry as our speaker for the evening. He is an experienced and provocative lecturer.

Mr. Ferry has served in various editorial and reportorial capacities. He has also been a teacher and a corporate and government employee. He is the author of a number of works analyzing contemporary social and economical developments. With 31 other distinguished intellectuals he recently published "The Triple Revolution," which takes a searching, realistic look at the changes in our economic life.

Mr. Ferry has contributed to a number of publications, including the recently published "The Corporation Takeover." He was a major developer of "The Corporation in Modern Society, published by Harvard Univ. Press.

Annual Meeting - 5:45 p.m. No host cocktails - 6:30 p.m. Dinner - 7 p.m.

HOPE - (HOUSING OPPORTUNITIES PROGRAM EXCHANGE)

Just before election day, CCU sent out 85 invitations to public and voluntary organizations concerned for fair housing throughout the Bay Area to meet and consider what could be done if Prop. 14 should pass. Representatives of 35 groups attended and subscribed to the plan for a regional housing listing service that would serve to implement fair housing legislation should Prop. 14 be defeated and assist minorities in locating housing.

The new program seeks to:

1. Give home owners and landlords an opportunity to carry through their commitments to non-discriminatory renting and selling.
2. Increase the number of housing choices available to non-white persons in areas where that right is now denied.
3. Continue the educational process which took place on Prop. 14 keeping discussion alive and dialogue open on discrimination in housing, and the need for an open housing market before the public.

The representatives who attended the meeting are now requesting the formal endorsements of their organizations for the new program and CCU is serving as the clearing house and coordinator for 8 information centers now in operation for the referral of listings and requests for housing in the five-county area.

HOPE has already been successful in placing three minority families in neighborhoods that were not available to them before. In one case, Mrs. Janet Ray called CCU in answer to a HOPE advertisement announcing a three bedroom apartment for rent. She told us a story we are hearing quite often these days: Mrs. Ray has two children and has been living in a damp and dreary two room basement apt. She had become discouraged in her search for something more suitable when HOPE's offer of housing "without discrimination" renewed her will to try again.

That same evening, Philip Osborne, the landlord, picked up Mrs. Ray and showed the listing described above in a quiet residential section of the city. It was comfortable and roomy and offered a yard for the children. Mrs. Osborne says of Mrs. Ray, "Not only have we found an acceptable tenant but a friend as well."

If you know of any one with a property for sale, or rent, urge them to list with us and tell friends who are members of the minority community to use our services in locating housing.

The enclosed brochure describes the program, lists those prominent citizens serving on a Sponsoring Committee in each county and the names and phone numbers of the Information Centers.

In addition to plans for publicizing the program through a classified advertising campaign, in both the majority and minority newspapers, radio and TV programs and announcements, distribution through religious, civic and business groups, we need the help of every member and friend of CCU.

Please see that this brochure, or one of our posters available on request, is posted in some prominent place in your neighborhood -- market or laundry bulletin board, included among your club's notices, in the office of a sympathetic broker or even on a store counter. Tell your friends and club members about the program.

HOPE needs your financial support and assistance as a volunteer. Funds are needed for increased staff, printing and advertising; volunteers to work with applicants in their search for housing and the usual and ever-present office work.

- -

ARE YOU LISTENING TO CCU's "Conversations in Black and White" with Eugene Wolfe and special guests on KXKX (FM - 88.5) each Wednesday at 8 p.m. and repeated Saturdays at 8:30 p.m. ?

BE SURE TO WATCH "The Nisei: The Pride and the Shame", a documentary dealing with the wartime evacuation and its implications for all Americans on Sunday, Jan. 31, on KPIX-TV, Channel 5 - 6 p.m., the Twentieth Century Program.

- -

GRAND JURY URGES SCHOOL FORUMS

The San Francisco Grand Jury, in a report issued last week, urged the School Board to create a Citizen's Auxiliary, which could hold public meetings at which parents, teachers, civic, labor and business groups and others could discuss issues facing the schools.

This recommendation resulted from meetings betwen CCU and other civil rights groups held with the three member Jury committee on the Board of Education convened by Mrs. Paine Knickerbocker, CCU Education Chmn.

CIVIL RIGHTS SESSION OF SCHOOL BOARD

At a "Town Meeting" of the San Francisco School Board, civil rights, education and neighborhood groups held Tuesday, Dec. 15, Superintendent of Schools, Harold Spears, declined to release a race count he has apparently taken of students in public schools.

He told the Board of Education he fears it would cause an exodus of white people to the suburbs.

"Every city that announces its racial population has seen a decrease in Caucasians and an increase in minority groups," Spears said. "The school administration needs to know the figures, but I don't think the public needs to know."

Mrs. Ruth Kadish, Pres. of SCOPE (Service Comm. on Public Education) urged the Board to review the Superintendent's decision. She stated that a yearly analysis of racial distribution in the schools was essentially a policy matter that should be determined by the Board itself, because of its relevance to many aspects of education programs and practices.

Reginald Major of the NAACP said, "We have been in a position of apprehension, if not animosity, over what the schools are doing to solve racial imbalance. We consider a race count to be basic."

Mrs. Paine Knickerbocker and Mr. Eugene Wolfe reiterated CCU's position that factual information on racial make-up of individual schools needs to be available, if remedies proposed for correcting racial imbalance are to have the necessary public understanding and support.

Dan Jackson, of the San Francisco Federation of Teachers, in questioning the location of the new Diamond Heights High School said, "It will serve primarily an upper and middle level Caucasian group and disturb what seems to be a good balance at Mission and Balboa."

Board member, Reynold Colvin, agreed that it bore watching. "I hope we hear more about this school before we're through," he said. "We have an excellent opportunity to take constructive steps and I hope we don't lose it."

The CCU helped to arrange for this first of several "town meetings" with the San Francisco School Board, to bring about increased communication between school officials and civil rights and community groups concerned for educational problems and needs of the district.

COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY of San Francisco
437 MARKET STREET SAN FRANCISCO 5, CALIF.

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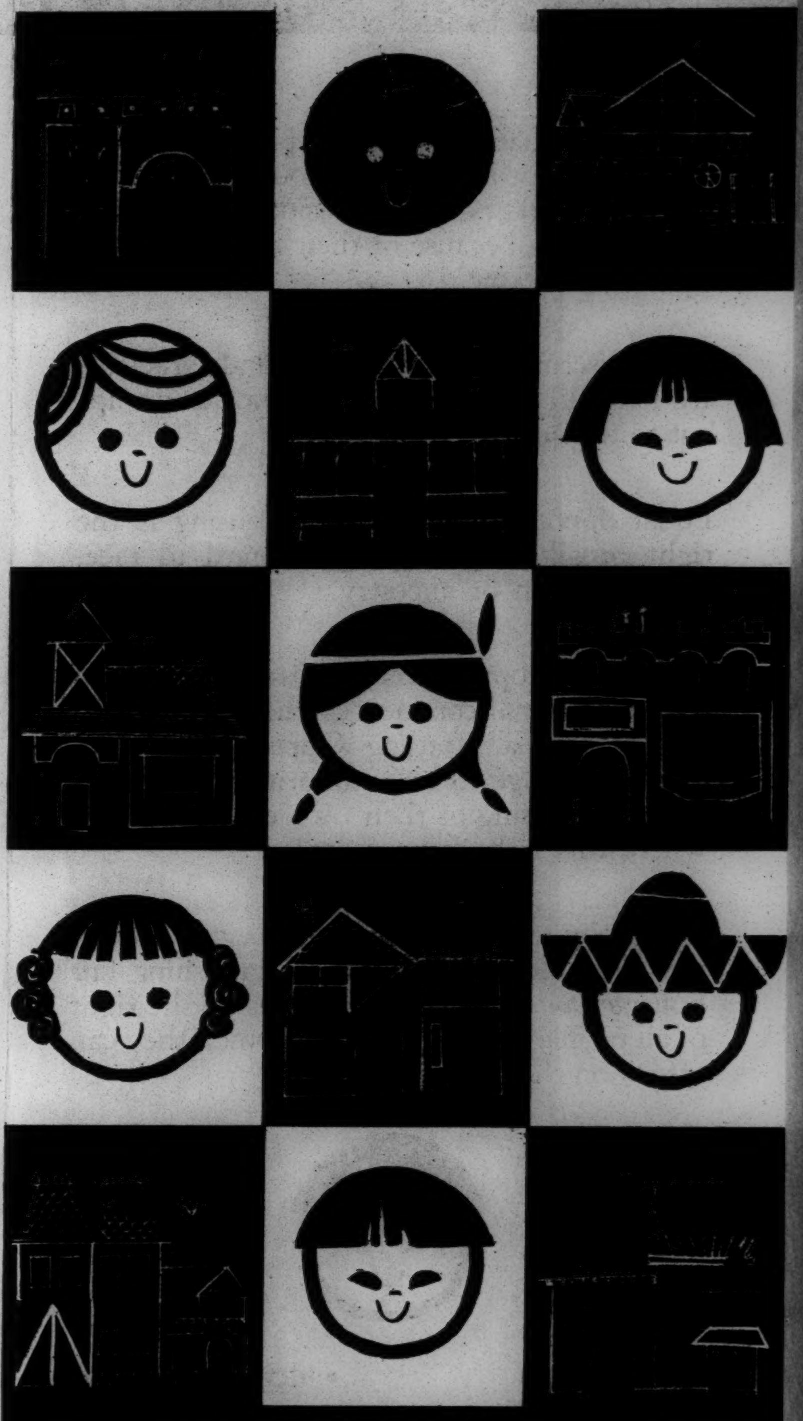
FOR ALL THE PEOPLE



THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE A HOME

WHY IS IT NEEDED?

Despite adequate incomes and positions, many families cannot buy or rent housing freely on the open market in many residential areas of the Bay Area because of their race, color, religion or ancestry.

Such discriminatory patterns and practices are harmful not only to the minority groups but to the entire community.

Equal opportunity to obtain housing is the right of all people without regard to race, color, religion or ancestry.

Because this opportunity is often not assured through normal commercial channels, HOPE is providing a Housing Opportunities Program Exchange to help minority group families find housing of their own choice in areas where this right is now denied.

This voluntary effort does not negate the importance and necessity of re-establishing fair housing laws in California, to insure the right of all people to secure housing which they can afford on the open market.

• **ALAMEDA** • **CONTRA COSTA**

HOW DOES IT OPERATE?

HOPE maintains a list of properties available for sale or rent on a non-discriminatory basis. We invite owners and landlords to list with HOPE.

A member of a minority group who is seeking housing will be given a list of those properties which meet his specifications.

HOPE does not inspect properties listed, nor does it investigate those persons who seek its assistance.

HOPE has no financial interests in any property listed and receives no compensation for its services.

The use of licensed real estate brokers, or attorneys, to handle transactions is recommended at all times.

HOPE personnel is available for consultation and assistance. Speakers, audio-visual and written materials can be provided. Your inquiries are invited.

See back panel for nearest information center in your area to call for any of above services.

• **MARIN** • **SAN FRANCISCO**

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WHAT CAN YOU DO?

As an individual, you affect patterns which exist in your neighborhood.

As a neighbor, welcome newcomers to your street.

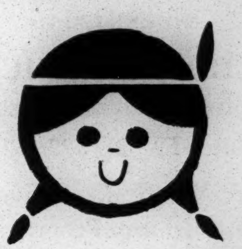
When you see a "For Sale" sign go up near your home, or a "For Rent" sign in your apartment building, call the owner and real estate broker and tell them that you would welcome a minority group family and that you hope the property will be offered on a non-discriminatory basis.

As a member of organizations, have your group endorse open occupancy and work to eliminate discriminatory practices.

As a member of a minority group who is seeking housing, call HOPE to be given information on properties currently available.

It is the right of all people to seek housing which they can afford on the open market.

List your property with HOPE. Encourage your friends and neighbors to do the same and make this right a reality for all.



• SAN MATEO **• SANTA CLARA**

WHEN YOU SELL OR RENT YOUR PROPERTY

Insist on a provision in your listing agreement with broker, viz., "Client desires said property to be shown to all persons without regard to race, color, religion or ancestry."

If your agreement with the broker includes the Multiple Listing Service, insist that the MLS form indicate "All Welcome" so co-operating brokers will know the property is available on a non-discriminatory basis.

Remember that California laws still require real estate brokers to operate without discrimination unless they are acting as an agent for an owner who has previously instructed them to discriminate.

BAY AREA HOUSING OPPORTUNITIES PROGRAM EXCHANGE

437 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.
EXbrook 2-3877

I would like to support your program for helping minorities locate housing without discrimination.

I would like to list my house, apt., for sale.....rent.....

I would like to locate housing in San Francisco...., elswhere in Bay Area.....

I would like to contribute money $.................... to help staff the service and finance an advertising campaign.

I would like to contribute time, as a volunteer..... I (can, cannot) type.

NAME..

ADDRESS..

TELEPHONE..

HOW YOU CAN HELP

It has been necessary to hire additional staff to operate this new service, to conduct a newspaper advertising campaign, and to print and distribute brochures, and posters interpreting HOPE throughout the Bay Area.

Contributions are welcomed from groups and individuals who believe in these efforts to assist in expanding the housing opportunities for minorities in the Bay Area and to help achieve desegregated communities.

Checks payable to HOPE, c/o Council for Civic Unity, are tax deductible. Volunteer help is also solicited.

COOPERATING ORGANIZATION:

BAY AREA HOUSING OPPORTUNITIES PROGRAM EXCHANGE

INFORMATION CENTERS

San Francisco	
Council for Civic Unity	EX 2-3877
Marin	
Marin Committee for Fair Play	388-1269
Contra Costa	
Orinda Council for Civic Unity	CL 4-8571
Richmond Human Relations Commission	232-1212, Ext. 301
Alameda	
Fremont Committee on Human Rights	793-0502
Alameda County Human Relations Commission	444-0844, Ext. 354
San Mateo	
Mid-Peninsula Council for Civic Unity	
North County	583-7368
Central County	DI 4-8366
Santa Clara	
Palo Alto Fair Play Council	DA 5-4355

A housing information service of public and voluntary organizations cooperating to promote equality of right and opportunity without regard to race, religion, or ancestry.

Coordinated by:

COUNCIL FOR CIVIC UNITY
437 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif. 94105
EX 2-3877

Eugene R. Wolfe, Executive Director
Lucille B. Cushing, Program Assistant
Drew Priddy, HOPE Referral Service Coordinator

100

From the desk of

PAGET L. ALVES, Jr.

~~Imp Feb 9~~

Dear George,

Attached is the material on the HHFA workshop I talked with you about.

I trust we will be able to get together soon after your arrival in NYC.

Pat

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
AMERICAN TEAMWORK WORKS

File
Housing

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
OFFICE OF THE REGIONAL ADMINISTRATOR
346 Broadway
New York, New York 10013

REGION I

January 4, 1965

TO: LOCAL PUBLIC AGENCY DIRECTORS
FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS
PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS

FROM: Lester Eisner, Jr.
Regional Administrator

SUBJECT: Region I -- URA TRAINING WORKSHOP

As promised in my memorandum to you of November 30, 1964, I am enclosing a copy of the agenda for the Region I URA Training Workshop at the Biltmore Hotel in New York City on February 10, 11 and 12, 1965.

May I remind you that executive directors of all local public agencies are expected to attend. Other agency members and local officials who are interested should be encouraged to participate. Consultants and others who care to attend also are cordially invited to do so.

A reception and dinner meeting have been scheduled for Thursday, February 11th. Governor Philip Hoff of Vermont is scheduled to be the principal speaker at the banquet. A fee of $16. per person has been established as adequate to cover costs, gratuities and tax. Arrangements have been made with the Biltmore Hotel for special rates for participants in the Conference. You are urged to reserve accommodations promptly by forwarding the enclosed reservation card directly to the Biltmore Hotel.

So that arrangements may be completed at once, please:

1. Mail to the Regional Office, Attention: Charles Pillman, Conference Chairman, the completed enclosed registration form listing representatives of your agency and/or community who will attend the conference.

2. Send checks or money orders covering the registration fees to the Regional Office with the registration forms. All checks should be made payable to the Biltmore Hotel.

Your full cooperation will be appreciated.

Lester Eisner Jr

HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
REGION I
URA TRAINING WORKSHOP CONFERENCE
FEBRUARY 10, 11, 12, 1965
Hotel Biltmore, New York City, N. Y.

The following representatives from ______________________________
will attend the conference:

NAME **TITLE**

---

* For Reservation Fees (send only to Region I office --
346 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10013)

There is enclosed a check in the amount of $____________________
for ______________________ reservations.

____
(Signed)

* The Planning Committee has set a fee of $16.00 per person for registration, social hour, dinner, coffee breaks and all gratuities.

Please make checks payable to order of the Hotel Biltmore and send them with this reply form to this office, using the enclosed return envelope.

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HOUSING AND HOME FINANCE AGENCY
REGION I WORKSHOP CONFERENCE

LESTER EISNER, JR., HHFA REGIONAL ADMINISTRATOR, GENERAL CHAIRMAN

BILTMORE HOTEL
Madison Avenue at 43rd Street, NYC

FEBRUARY 10, 11 & 12, 1965

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1965

8:00 A.M. - 9:30 A.M. - Registration (19th Floor - Ballroom Foyer)

9:30 A.M. Conference Convenes (Ballroom - 19th Floor)
General Chairman -- Lester Eisner, Jr.,
Regional Administrator, HHFA, Region I

Welcoming Remarks -- Hon. Robert F. Wagner,
Mayor of New York City

Conference Theme -- Quo Vadis Urban Renewal?
William L. Slayton, Urban Renewal
Commissioner

10:50 A.M. Coffee Break (Fountain Court)

11:10 A.M. The Workable Program
Chairman -- Lester Eisner, Jr.

Panel -- Kermit G. Bailer, Assistant Administrator,
Community Programs, Washington, D. C.
Charles Pillman, Special Assistant to
the Regional Administrator, Region I

12:00 P.M. Lunch

2:00 P.M. Coordination Between the Urban Renewal Administration and Other Federal Agencies
Chairman, Lester Eisner, Jr.

Panel -- Ralph Morhard, Director, New York
Multi-Family Housing Insuring and Zone Office,
Federal Housing Administration
Herman Hillman, Regional Director,
Public Housing Administration, Region I
John Swanson, Regional Engineer,
Bureau of Public Roads, Region I
Charles H. Kriger, Regional Director,
Small Business Administration, Region I

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1965 (Continued)

3:30 P.M. The Housing Act of 1964: Relocation Payments
The Rehabilitation Loan Program

Moderator -- Charles J. Horan, Regional Director of Urban Renewal, Region I

Panel -- Robert E. McCabe, Assistant Commissioner for Rehabilitation and Relocation, Urban Renewal Administration
Arthur H. Anderson, Rehabilitation and Conservation Specialist, Urban Renewal Administration, Region I
Theodore H. Smith, Chief, Relocation Branch, Urban Renewal Administration, Region I

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1965

8:30 A.M. - 9 A.M. Registration (North Lobby)

9 A.M. Conference Reconvenes (Bowman Room -- Lobby Floor)

Code Enforcement Projects

Moderator -- Charles J. Horan

Panel -- Robert E. McCabe
Arthur H. Anderson
Austin Daly, Director of the Division of Minimum Housing Standards, Providence, Rhode Island
"The Providence Proposals"

10:00 A.M. Film: "Urban Redevelopment, USA"

James E. Lash, Executive Vice President, ACTION

10:30 A.M. Coffee Break

10:50 A.M. Air Rights Projects

Moderator -- Charles J. Horan

Panel -- Douglas Manley, Chief, Planning Branch, Urban Renewal Administration, Region I
Samuel Ratensky, Chief, Project Development Bureau, Housing and Redevelopment Board, New York City

11:20 A.M. Planning and Section 307 of the Housing Act of 1964

Moderator -- Charles J. Horan

Panel -- James P. Sweeney, Deputy Regional Director of Urban Renewal, Urban Renewal Administration, Region I
Robert Laplante, Acting Chief of Operations, Urban Renewal Administration, Region I
Douglas Manley

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THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1965 (Continued)

12:30 P.M. Lunch

2:00 P.M. Problems in the Processing of Urban Renewal Applications
Moderator -- Charles J. Horan

Panel -- Melvin Stein, Regional Counsel,
Housing and Home Finance Agency, Region I
James P. Sweeney
Robert Laplante

3:15 P.M. The Sale of Land in Urban Renewal Projects
John Maylott, Assistant Director, Federal Housing Administration, Region I
William Swezey, Real Estate Advisor, New York City Area, Urban Renewal Administration, Region I
Melvin F. Early, Chief, Real Estate Disposition Branch, Urban Renewal Administration, Region I

6:00 P.M. to 7:00 P.M. Reception (Madison Room)

7:00 P.M. Dinner -- Speaker: Hon. Phillip H. Hoff
Governor
State of Vermont

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1965

9:00 A.M. Conference Reconvenes (Bowman Room -- Lobby Floor)

Urban Renewal and the 1964 Economic Opportunity Act
Chairman -- Lester Eisner, Jr

Panel -- Jack T. Conway, Director for Community
Action Program, Washington, D. C.
Anne M. Roberts, Staff Director,
Anti-Poverty Operations Board, NYC
L. Thomas Appleby, Development Administrator,
City of New Haven

The remainder of the day will be devoted to a General Question and Answer period. Members of the Regional Staff will be available to discuss specific questions or problems.

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COPY

Housing

ARCHITECT'S RENEWAL COMMITTEE IN HARLEM
(ARCH)
126 East 83 Street
BU 8-0404

5 January 1965

EDUCATION PROGRAM

The Architect's Renewal Committee was established to service community groups attempting to develop a continuing planning process in order to wield the power now vested in various, unresponsive city agencies. Our work would be self-defeating if, because of the technical complexity of physical and social planning, we were forced to take a leadership role. We want to help change the nature of the inhabitants as well as their neighborhoods, and decisive, self-reliant citizens will not be developed in neighborhoods where outside forces, whether public or private make the decisions. However, if private citizens with extremely little experience of good architecture or urban planning are to be able to express themselves through their community organizations in a way which will bring about significant changes in the quality of their neighborhoods and lives they must be educated.

We wish to form an Educational Materials Committee of graphic artists, writers and photographers, as well as planners and architects. They will be responsible for a wide variety of material intended to increase the capacity of ghetto residents for action in the planning situation.

Some ideas which have occured to the staff are: a travelling photo exhibit of housing and town planning around the world (in preparation), an illustrated leaflet on the urban renewal process, charts showing the relationship of government agencies, tours to important projects, a neighborhood "newspaper". The purpose of this mailing is to elicit new and better ideas for an educational program. We hope that everyone will find time to put his ideas down on paper and send them to us in the next few days.

Those members whose names appear below have been suggested for the committee and will shortly receive a meeting announcement.

Messrs.	Abeles	Mmes.	Hamilton
	Cavaglieri		MacNeil
	Crissman		Dorr
	Dini		
	Karmin		
	Roehl		
	Rowan		
	Walker		

cc: ARCH Steering Committee, etc.
Community Organization staffs

C Richard Hatch

METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING
file

215 WEST 23rd STREET · NEW YORK, N. Y. 10011 · SPring 7 - 8900

NEW YORK STATE LEGISLATIVE BULLETIN, January, 1965

The Metropolitan Council on Housing approaches the new legislative session with hope and enthusiasm. For years the New York City legislators have praised and backed many of our legislative proposals. And for years they said that they could not pass the legislation solely because of the Republican majority in both the Senate and Assembly.

Now, with a Democratic majority in both houses, that obstacle has been removed. Now, the Democrats will be able to vote for and enact into law our recommendations for better housing.

1965 can be the Year of the Breakthrough for meaningful and effective tenant legislation dealing with new housing, rent strikes, discrimination, equality for public housing tenants and housing for artist-tenants. Tenants expect big things from the State Legislature in 1965.

This year, therefore, our legislative program includes most of the demands of last year with one major addition (point no. 16) and with some minor changes. Our program again highlights the most pressing issues -- the need for new low-rent housing, stopping the deterioration of housing and getting speedy repairs, and ending discrimination in housing. We invite your comments. We urge that you act firmly and promptly to effect the passage of these vital legislative proposals.

In summary, MCH's legislative proposals are:

1. A crash program of 200,000 new apartments per year over a five-year period -- low and low-middle-income integrated public housing to be built on vacant and badly-used commercial land.
2. Additional subsidies to allow public housing to rent at $10 to $18 per room per month.
3. A moratorium on the demolition of habitable, rent-controlled housing.
4. A law which would enact Judge Moritt's decision into law: "No services, no rent" -- no rent to the landlord, the court or anywhere else. "You don't have to pay for what you don't get."
5. A law stating that no dispossess order for non-payment of rent should be granted to any landlord if there are violations.
6. A law to ensure that tenants actually receive notice of dispossess proceedings and to require the Clerk of the Court to send the dispossess to the tenant by registered mail.
7. The Wilson bill which would set up uniformed City Squads to make emergency repairs and provide heat and hot water.
8. A law permitting tenants to counterclaim for expenses incurred for fuel or emergency repairs during a court proceedings brought by the landlord for non-payment of rent.
9. An improved Receivership Law for faster action and more effective service. The City should keep the buildings after making repairs and should not return them to the slumlords, and not charge the tenants for removing violations.
10. A requirement that in all publicly-aided middle-income private housing, at least 20% of the apartments be allotted to the Housing Authority for subletting to low-income tenants.
11. The establishment of a non-discriminatory Fair Housing Rental Service to centrally list vacancies and effectively stop discrimination in apartment leasing.
12. A law granting tenants in public housing the same protection against eviction that tenants in private housing have.
13. Exclusion of the bulk of the earnings of wives and children in determining income limits in public housing.
14. A law making the waiver of trial by jury in a lease illegal and unenforcible.
15. Use of armory sites for public housing or combined public housing-schools.
16. New facilities for artist-tenants on the roofs of existing public housing and public housing to be built. Artists' studios and studio-living quarters could be built on the roofs at minimum expense and without acquiring additional land or constructing entire new buildings. In addition, a percentage of the apartments in public housing should be specifically designed for the needs of artists, as a percentage is now allocated for the aged.

These 16 points are spelled out, in more detail, as follows:

1. A considerable portion of New York City's public housing program depends upon State appropriations for financing. It is a shocking fact that since 1959, not one penny has been authorized by New York State for low-rent housing, despite the desperate need for such accommodations. However, since 1959, $500,000,000 was authorized for middle-income housing. The growing trend away from low-rent housing toward almost exclusive construction of middle-income housing leaves the main problem of providing housing for those who need it most unsolved. At this writing ALL STATE PUBLIC HOUSING FUNDS FOR NEW YORK CITY HAVE BEEN EXHAUSTED. Yet the 1960 Census found 550,000 New York City apartments "deteriorating, dilapidated or lacking essential facilities." A crash program of low ($10 to $18 per room) and true middle-income (up to $25 per room) public housing is the only answer to New York City's housing needs. In the next five years, our City will need 200,000 public housing units to be constructed each year to replace deteriorating and dilapidated apartments and those lacking essential facilities and to rehouse overcrowded families.

Despite this overwhelming need, Governor Rockefeller did not see fit to get behind his woefully inadequate proposal for a bond issue to finance a token amount of new state-aided public housing. This was first suggested to him by a commission, appointed by the Governor and headed by Judge Hubert T. Delaney. Governor Rockefeller, during the election campaign, did not issue one piece of literature for distribution on this most pressing issue -- nor did he appear on TV to educate and persuade New Yorkers of the urgent necessity to vote in favor of this proposal. The bond issue, Proposition #1, lost, of course. The gesture to have Proposition #1 appear on the ballot was a hollow one.

The state can still aid public housing, despite the defeat of Proposition #1. Funds can be allocated by methods other than by submitting bond issues to the voters. THE STATE LEGISLATURE MUST FIND THE WAY TO FINANCE A CRASH PROGRAM OF 200,000 NEW PUBLIC HOUSING APARTMENTS EACH YEAR.

The State Legislature must also act on Federally-aided public housing. Although more Federal units may be authorized this year, it is expected to be far less than the City needs. Last year Federal legislation only provided 7,500 units for New York State; of this New York City will receive only 5,000. The Federal legislation limits any one state to 15% of the national total. This restriction must be removed. Obviously some states and cities need and want more public housing than others and New York City's need is among the greatest. State legislators cannot change this Federal restriction by themselves, but they can memorialize Congress, urging such a change.

2. Additional subsidies must be granted by New York State to the NYC Housing Authority for public housing, which will allow rentals in public housing ranging from $10 to $18 per room, instead of the $18 per room and more now being charged. Many low-income families desperately need housing -- many thousands are living in housing on sites which are being cleared for urban renewal projects and for private luxury construction. Many of the tenants are elderly, with small, fixed incomes. They are independent, and wish to continue to be. They cannot afford $18 a room but would be able to pay $10 or $12 per room per month without going on relief. Similarly, many large families earning small but regular salaries should not be priced out of public housing.

The proposed subsidies would bridge the gap and fill the need of a substantial section of low-income individuals and families. Without additional subsidies, this section of the population will continue to be driven from their homes into worse slums, on to the relief rolls and to a future without hope.

3. Three years ago State Senator William T. Conklin introduced legislation for a moratorium on the demolition of structurally sound, rent-controlled housing. We support the concept of this moratorium as a breathing spell, during which time New York City can launch a massive program of housing built on vacant land, as spelled out in Point No. 1. The inclusion in the New York City Rent Law of mandatory relocation is no substitute for a moratorium. Both a moratorium and mandatory relocation are necessary.

We also urge that the City adopt the spirit of moratorium by following a policy of staged re-building of communities, starting on vacant or badly-used commercial land, and going on to demolish only when enough new housing has been built to re-house the families thus displaced. This method is detailed in MCH's A Citizens' Survey of Available Land, 1964.

4. No services, no repairs -- no rent! The decision of Judge Fred J. Moritt in Civil Court, Brooklyn, ranks as one of prime importance. In 1964 Paul Curran, Republican, 6th A.D., Manhattan, introduced legislation which attempted to enact this basic principle into law. It was never released from committee. Moritt's decision states in simple terms that if the tenants must live in "pigsties," they need not pay rent to the landlord or to the court.

The rent strikes last winter revealed many inadequacies in existing legislation and many loopholes for landlords, making it almost impossible for tenants on rent strike to secure justice or satisfaction. We therefore propose the following changes in Section 755 of the Real Property and Practices Law (RPAPL):

In any court proceeding by the landlord for non-payment of rent, proof of the existence of serious conditions or violations which constitute a danger to life, safety or health shall be a complete defense by the tenant and the rent shall be abated (the tenant will not have to pay back rent).

If the conditions or violations are of a less serious nature, the rent shall be deposited in Court and paid over to the landlord only upon proof that the conditions and violations have been corrected.

The tenant shall be permitted to prove the existence of the conditions and violations in the premises by the testimony of competent witnesses, by photographs or by any other satisfactory evidence. The tenant shall not be required, as he presently is, to produce in Court the official violations listed by the Departments of Buildings, Health, etc. In numerous instances, tenants have not been able to produce such official listings of violations in Court, even though the violations existed, because of administrative delays in the various City departments.

If the landlord disputes the existence of the conditions and violations, the Court shall order the appropriate City department to immediately inspect the premises and report back to the Court within 48 hours on the actual conditions of the premises and the seriousness of any violations found on such inspections.

5. Assemblyman Thomas Jones of Brooklyn sponsored legislation in 1964 which would require the landlord to allege and prove the absence of violations before obtaining an eviction order. The Jones bill would legalize rent strikes in that tenants would be entitled to withhold rent and be protected against eviction if there were violations in the building.

6. In dispossess proceedings, the law provides that the landlord must personally serve or give notice of a court hearing to the tenant (Section 735 of the RPAPL). In many cases, the landlords are violating the requirements of proper service by falsely swearing that service has been made on the tenant, when, in fact, no notice whatsoever has been given. This notor-

ious practice is known as "sewer service." Because of this landlord abuse, the first notice a tenant receives is a marshal's notice that he will be evicted the next morning.

It is therefore urged that the statutory requirements for service of a dispossess notice be amended to require that the Clerk of the Court send a copy of the dispossess by registered mail to the tenant.

7. The bill introduced by State Senator Jerome Wilson of Manhattan amends Section 309 of the Multiple Dwelling Law. It would set up a uniformed emergency housing repair squad which would repair violations, provide fuel, etc. to remedy dangerous conditions. The City would attempt to have the landlord pay for the expense and, if unsuccessful, a lien would be filed in the County Clerk's office.

8. Senator Wilson is also introducing legislation in 1965 which would amend Article 7 of the RPAPL to allow tenants to counterclaim in court when they are brought in by the landlord for non-payment of rent. If, during the time of the non-payment, the tenants need to spend their own money for fuel, emergency carpentry or plumbing work for their health and safety, the Court would be authorized to deduct such expenses from rent due.

9. The existing Receivership Law represents an important step in getting repairs where slumlords have abandoned their responsibilities. However, two years experience with the law has revealed glaring inadequacies in its administration.

a. The entire procedure of taking a building under receivership can and should be accomplished within a month -- not six months or more while the tenants are living under hazardous conditions. To speed up the procedure, a larger staff is needed and a firm determination to cut through red-tape and bureaucratic delay.

b. The program has to be expanded to cover the hundreds of buildings which have conditions threatening life, health and safety. Only a token 65 buildings have been taken into receivership in two years.

c. A budget of at least $2,000,000 is needed for the revolving repair fund. At the present time, only $200,000 is allocated to the revolving repair fund to repair all the violation-ridden buildings in the city. Yet this same amount was spent to widen a single street in Manhattan recently.

d. Buildings in receivership should be kept by the City and administered by the Department of Real Estate. It is obvious that if a receivership building, once repaired, is returned to the same slumlord who allowed it to deteriorate in the first place, the same process will probably re-occur.

e. After the City corrects the violations and restores services, the expenses of repair should not be the basis for any rent increase to the tenants. However, if the City, as receiver, wants to go beyond removing violations and wants to install additional services, it should be allowed to do so only if at least 75% of the tenants consent in writing after having been informed that this will increase their rents and have been informed of the amount of the rent increase.

10. All publicly-aided housing should be economically and racially integrated and should be made available to tenants of different income levels. This is true despite the defeat of Gov. Rockefeller's LIFE plan (Low Income Finance Experiment) which was a feeble and distorted attempt in this direction.

The Metropolitan Council on Housing proposes legislation which would require builders of publicly-aided or subsidized private housing (such as the Mitchell-Lama or Title I projects) to agree to sell or lease at least 20% of the dwelling units to the Housing Authority. The Housing Authority would then sublet these units to low-income tenants at low rents. Such agreements by the private builders would be a pre-condition to their obtaining public subsidies, loan funds, assistance, tax abatement or tax exemption.

The Housing Authority would subsidize rents by absorbing the difference between the actual cost of the apartments and the low rents at which it would sublet. This method could be applied to either rental or cooperative apartments. Tenants in such apartments sublet from the Housing Authority should be subject to the same rules of occupancy as are applied to the rest of the occupants of the building.

11. More than six years have elapsed since the enactment of the New York City Fair Housing Practices Law (Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs) which prohibits landlords from discriminating against prospective tenants and buyers because of race, color, religion, national origin and ancestry. During these six years the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Law has had little effect on the pattern of segregation in housing in the city. During that time almost the only decent reasonably-priced housing which has been made available to Negro and Spanish-speaking tenants has been in public or publicly-aided housing or in deteriorating areas. Since 1958, when the City Commission on Human Rights (formerly COIR) began to accept complaints of discrimination, less than 200 apartments have been obtained as a result of enforcement of the law. (This figure excludes cases where the tenant won a "promise" of a future apartment or where, by the time the apartment won won, the complainant could not accept it, or where some other kind of illusory settlement was made.)

Despite City and State laws against discrimination in housing, it is an open scandal that discrimination by landlords and brokers has not been halted. The methods and techniques provided in the anti-discrimination laws are inherently susceptible to evasion. Both Metcalfe-Baker (New York State law) and Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs rely on the individual complaint based upon an individual case of discrimination. Before a minority tenant can make a complaint, he must first find out that an apartment is available, make application for it, and be rejected for provable discriminatory reasons. If he never learns that an apartment outside the ghetto is vacant (and he usually does not find out until it is too late), he cannot make application and thus cannot possibly avail himself of the protection of the law.

The Metropolitan Council on Housing proposes that legislation be drafted that can effectively end discrimination by landlords and brokers. It proposes that there be established a Fair Housing Rental Service within the Commission on Human Rights with which all vacancies in rental apartments, in private or publicly-assisted housing, would be required to be listed. Landlords would be required to rent such vacant apartments only to tenants referred to them by the Service. The Service would refer tenants on a non-discriminatory basis in the order of their priority of application. Naturally, appropriate administrative regulations would be established, such as allowing tenant applicants to indicate the size, description, location and rental of the apartment they desire. A similar procedure could be used with cooperative apartments.

In the event the Service is unable to refer an applicant to the landlord within fourteen (14) days after the landlord reports the vacancy, the landlord would be relieved of his duty to rent the vacant apartment through the Service. Such a provision would enable a landlord to rent, on his own, any undesirable, high-rent apartments for which applicants could not be found by the Service. If a landlord chooses to list the vacancy with the Service through a broker, the broker would be entitled to receive the customary broker's fee from the tenant. The broker might also perform services such as drawing up the lease, arranging for painting, etc. This provision would avoid putting brokers out of business when the FHRS begins.

Under the FHRS law, any lease made by a landlord, agent or broker in violation of the law, that is by unlawfully renting to a tenant not referred by the Service, would be deemed null and void and unenforceable for any purpose, either in the RRA or in the Courts of the State. Such a sanction would be an effective self-enforcing deterrent and would prevent evasion.

The method suggested is somewhat analogous to the open-hiring halls that trade unions use for job referrals. It is a tested and proven technique for the ending of unfair, undemocratic discriminatory practices.

The necessity of breaking down the ghetto walls is urgent and critical. Linked to the ghetto are the allied problems of segregated education, poverty and discrimination in employment. The enactment of the suggested legislation would mark an effective step forward in the solution of these interlocking social ills.

12. No tenant in public housing shall be evicted except through an eviction proceeding in the Civil Court, at which a trial by jury may be had. The Housing Authority would be required to prove allegations of undesirability in dispossess proceedings. In addition, the rules and regulations governing occupancy standards in public housing shall be amended so as not to impose any higher standard of conduct than is imposed upon tenants in private housing, by statute or common law. We consider this legislation a vital redress for tenants living in public housing who have been deprived of their basic right to a fair trial in court. These tenants are, in effect, being made second-class citizens.

13. Assemblyman Ramos-Lopez has introduced legislation which would exclude from the determination of total income in public housing, 75% or $800.00, whichever is greater, of the earnings of working wives and children. This exclusion would apply where continued occupancy eligibility is in question. The earnings of children are rarely applied to the household needs. A large portion of the earnings of working wives are used for child care, houseworkers and the expenses of going to work. A similar bill was initiated in 1962 by the Dyckman Tenants Council and supported by then-Minority Leader Senator Zaretzki.

14. Most landlords insert a clause in the fine print of leases whereby the tenant waives his right to trial by jury. The purpose of this clause is to deny tenants an opportunity of having ordinary men judge the merits of their case, should a dispute arise between the landlord and tenant. Landlords should not be able to require tenants to give up their constitutional rights. Courts have upheld the clause and it is necessary to enact a law reversing the Court decisions.

15. Armory sites which have become available to the City should be used for low-income public housing. Where schools are proposed for such sites, low-rent public housing should be built on top of the school structures. Housing could also be erected above any other uses proposed for armory sites, such as libraries or other public uses, if such sites are located in residential areas.

16. The Artist-Tenants Association proposes, and we endorse, legislation which would provide studio and studio-living quarters for artists on the roofs of existing public housing and new public housing.

a. Roof-top working studios: Four-wall studios (with four exterior walls; no interior partitions) with skylights constructed on the flat roofs for working space only. The artists using these studios would live in apartments within the building proper. Although the size and number of studios would have to be determined by roof space available, the following minimum space requirements per studio are suggested -- height of walls, 12 feet; floor space, 1250 square feet (20 x 50 feet).

b. Roof-top living-working studios: Four-wall studios with skylights constructed on the flat roofs with bathroom and cooking facilities at one end of the undivided space to provide the maximum amount of work area. Height of walls, 12 feet; floor space, 1562 square feet.

These accommodations would be built above the elevator level and be reached by a staircase.

In recently-built public housing, special consideration has been given to the aged, which recognition is long overdue. A percentage of apartments in each project is set aside for the aged, and the apartments outfitted and equipped to meet their special needs.

Similarly, special consideration must be given to working artists and their families. Such recognition is also very long overdue. A percentage of apartments in each project should be earmarked and built to the requirements of artists, perhaps with higher ceilings and with movable partitions between the rooms. Artists have much to contribute to the life of a community and the city. Their contribution should be encouraged by this move in the housing field.

HOUSING

ORGANIZING HANDBOOK

FOR
IMMEDIATE REPAIRS
AND
SERVICES

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This booklet was prepared for the Metropolitan Council on Housing by Major Owens, Stanley Aronowitz, Wilbert A. Tatum and Ruth Beinart.

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INTRODUCTION

This booklet is based on the belief that organization is the first law of civilization ... that there is protection for the individual only when he is part of a group. Organization is the beginning of that vigilance necessary to protect tenants from the wealth and power of individual landlords, the political influence of the real estate lobby and the generally prevailing notion that private property rights come before human rights.

Our aim here is to outline methods of achieving organization in mass. We urge all existing tenants' organizations to commit themselves to active recruitment and rapid expansion. The concept of a service organization or "housing clinic" is a good one, and the ability of an organization to help tenants with their day-to-day problems is an absolute necessity; however, accompanying this, there must be a sense of mission and a philosophy of expansion. Only by developing mass organizations can fundamental changes be forced on the "power structure". The surest way to gain important, permanent improvements for a small group of tenants is to operate in the interest of all distressed tenants in a given area.

This handbook deals mainly with organizing tenants in their buildings for immediate repairs and services. It does not attempt to discuss problems of organizing an entire community on community-wide problems, such as urban renewal, rehabilitation, etc. The techniques are different. However, we urge tenant groups concerned with community-wide organizing to read this handbook and not to ignore day-to-day problems.

BASIC ELEMENTS FOR ORGANIZING TENANTS

HEADQUARTERS: The place or headquarters may be the corner of an office occupied by another organization, a room in a church, synagogue or settlement house, or a storefront or other separate office. What is important is that there be a place to keep records, forms, leaflets, etc., and that there be a telephone number with a person available to answer inquiries during certain specified hours. Office should be open regular hours, even as little as one evening per week. A lawyer is not necessary during these office hours.

NUCLEUS OF ORGANIZERS: Of vital importance is a nucleus of people who are dedicated to the building of a strong organization. Such dedication should be coupled with the understanding that organization of tenants if a difficult, unglamorous, thankless and demanding job requiring an ability to meet people, to plan and execute in great detail, to do paper work, raise funds, recruit specialists, etc. The nucleus may be as small as five or six people at the beginning, but the life and success of the organization depends upon the expansion of this nucleus.

RESERVOIR OF KNOWLEDGE: The people in this nucleus should collectively constitute a reservoir of knowledge about tenants' rights, the functions of the Rent and Rehabilitation Administration, the Buildings Department, the Housing and Redevelopment Board, the Landlord-Tenant Court, etc. The group should also have a knowledge of the experiments and experiences of other tenants' organizations. There is no longer any need to learn the basic skills of organizing tenants by trial and error. The nucleus should be familiar with existing publications of private organizations and City agencies (partial listing in Appendix).

COORDINATOR: The coordinator or leader of the group must make the greatest commitment of all and pledge to accept responsibility for the many unassigned tasks and the myriad of unforeseen developments and problems which will occur. The growth of the organization depends upon its ability to follow through on its commitments to tenants. Serious consequences may result from the failure to check every detail in a given case (especially rent strikes when in progress). The coordinator must see to it that everything needed is done. He should try to get others to share responsibility so that the burden is not on one person...but if necessary, he must do it.

INITIATING ACTION WITH TENANTS

A. Procedure for Interviewing: Assuming that a nucleus has been formed or that there is a tenants' organization already existing, it is necessary to get into the homes and recruit as many people as possible, if immediate and large-scale expansion of the organization is to take place. It is highly desirable to have tenants come in or phone for help for this makes subsequent organization much easier; however, experience has shown that the organization must take the initiative if a mass base is to be established.

(1) Interviewers should be given kits containing Interview Summary Sheets and leaflets explaining the Tenants' Organization.

(2) Go to designated area, enter likely-looking building that look as if they might need help and beginning at the top floor, knock on all doors. (Keep a record of each response by apartment number.)

(3) Interviewer should introduce himself as follows: "Hello, I'm from the ____________ Organization. Have you any complaints about the conditions in this building?" The Introductory Leaflet should be handed to the tenant immediately.

(4) Remember that your purpose at this time is not to listen to the tenant's complaints but to get him to come to a tenant meeting. Allow the tenant to talk only long enough to establish rapport and then ask if he would be interested in coming to a meeting next week to be held in the building.

(5) If tenant is enthusiastic, ask if the meeting could be held in his or her apartment. Until one tenant consents to allow meeting in his apartment, just tell other tenants there will be a meeting and you'll return later to tell them where. When a tenant consents to have the meeting in his or her apartment, then set a date and time (usually 8:30 P.M.) and return to inform all the other tenants that have been covered.

(6) One interviewer (where there is a team) should write down all information while the other does the talking. It's important to get phone numbers, apartment numbers and names correct. (Use Interview Summary Sheet.) Where tenants are not home, slip a leaflet under their door with the information about the meeting in their building written on it.

(7) Emphasize to all interested tenants that it is their duty to notify all tenants and see that the meeting starts on time.

(8) Interviewers should use their knowledge of tenants' rights and of the city-wide tenant movement to counter arguments and fears of reluctant tenants.

(9) If interviewer is able to cover organizing meeting set up for the following week, then he should keep the Interview Summary Sheet with him. If someone else must cover the meeting, the sheet should be turned in to the group coordinator.

B. Procedure for the First Organizational Meeting: After tenants have been interviewed and a meeting set up within the building (preferably three to five days afterward), an organizer or a team of organizers should conduct the first meeting for the purpose of: (1) explaining the procedures and long range goals of the tenants' organization, and (2) setting up a tenants' committee within the building.

(1) The organizer should make an introductory statement and advise the group to begin with a three-way attack by filing complaints with the Rent Administration, the Buildings Department and the Health Department. (Tenants should be encouraged to talk and elaborate on their grievances in order to break the ice.) Distribute complaint sheets to Dept. of Buildings.

(2) Right then and there, a multiple application for reduction of rent should be filled out in triplicate. Individual rent reduction forms should be distributed in triplicate and a date set for picking them up later. Where necessary, get someone in the building or someone on your committee to help fill out forms.

(3) The checklist form letters to the Buildings and Health Departments should be completed. (At later meetings fill out inquiries for maximum rent (form 1, RRA) and painting forms (form A-34(2)P).

(5) Tenants should elect a spokesman or chairman, and house captains or house committee. If the house if a very large one, the tenants may want to elect a full slate of officers. The first duty of the committee is to inform all tenants who were not present about the new committee and ask for their cooperation.

(6) The organizer should at this point explain that the steps taken in connection with complaints to City agencies are only preliminary and they should now think in terms of a timetable for direct action and/or rent strike. Picketing a landlord at his office or home, or picketing a City agency are the two most often used forms of direct action.

(7) The organizer should leave his name and phone number with the tenants and tell them to contact him directly for emergencies.

(8) Tenants should be invited to attend meetings of the parent tenants' organization.

RENT STRIKE AS THE ULTIMATE WEAPON

A. Preliminary Preparation: Once the decision is made to begin a rent strike, certain special procedures must be initiated. The decision to strike may be made at the very first meeting of the tenants' committee or it may be made many months after the building has been organized. The final decision is up to the tenants; however, the organizer should not hesitate to advise the tenants on what he considers the best course of action. At this point it is absolutely necessary for the parent tenant organization to have at least one steady lawyer who can give detailed advice and go to court in any emergency situations.

(1) The organizer should briefly explain the legal basis of a rent strike. In New York State, Section 755 of the Real Property Law permits a judge to use his discretion and order the rent paid into court if there are violations. The tenants may pay the rent to the court until the violations, as listed by the Buildings and Health Departments, are removed. (Since the violations must be on the record, the organizer must make sure that there is ample time for an inspection, and ample time for a subsequent recording. To speed this process, the organization should press for some kind of special arrangement with the Buildings and Health Departments.)

(2) The organizer should explain:

a) that it is advisable for the tenants to make some arrangement for safeguarding the rent money. The organization should have an escrow account as one alternative. The money will be paid in cash or money order to a representative of the organization who will give the tenant a receipt. Other alternatives are a bank account for the building committee or a safe deposit box where money orders (signed by payer but blank on payee line) are held. Welfare recipients should notify Welfare to withhold their rent.

b) that we want the landlord to issue dispossess notices and that as soon as tenants receive papers of any kind, they should contact the organizer.

c) that photographs (preferably with a Polaroid camera which is more acceptable in court because photographs cannot be touched up) of the violations should be taken (with some method to establish the date) just after the dispossess is received.

(3) The organizer should explain that a rent strike has special expenses and that all of the tenants in the building should share the total expenses. Expenses will vary depending on the arrangement for subpoenas, legal representation, etc.

(4) It would be useful for the organizer to make sure at this point that he has a list of all tenants with apartment numbers and telephone numbers. For people on Welfare, the name and number of the investigator should be noted.

(5) At this point, steps should be taken to bolster the psychological and fraternal sense of unity in the building.

B. After the Dispossess Notice is Received: Once rent strikes begin, it is imperative that there be one reliable person designated to coordinate all court cases. In most instances, lawyers involved with rent strike cases are doing so at a considerable sacrifice, and it is self-defeating to misuse their time and energy by badly preparing the cases and the tenants. The following is the procedure used by the Brooklyn Rent Strike Coordinating Committee. Of the procedures used by various groups, this is the simplest.

(1) On the same day the dispossess is received, the coordinator should be notified. Giving due consideration to other cases scheduled and the supply of lawyers, the coordinator will tell the tenants what day (within a five-day period) they should go to court to file an oral answer of "constructive eviction and violations". The date for trial is usually set one week from the date of the answer. An added advantage of this trip to the court to answer is that the tenant himself must go, and he will therefore find out how to reach the court and know the length of travel time before the crucial morning of the hearing.

(2) When the date and time have been stamped on the dispossess, the tenants should forward this information to the coordinator along with the landlord-tenant number, name of landlord, address and apartment number of tenants; this information must go on the subpoenas to obtain the records of the Buildings and Health Departments. For convenience, a special form may be used. (See Appendix E, Rent Strike Trial Sheet.)

(3) The "Subpoena Duces Tecum" should be filled out and signed by the lawyer. A designated person must carry the subpoena to the court clerk for verification of the case and then to a Civil Court judge for a signature before presenting it to the Buildings or Health Department. The cost of each subpoena is two dollars ($2.00).

(4) As soon as the date and time of the hearing are set, a lawyer must be contacted and a definite commitment to cover the case made.

(5) On the day before the hearing, the organizer or coordinator should contact the tenants to remind them of the date and time and to suggest that they bring all rent receipts (recent) and papers from the Rent Administration. They should be told to wait for the lawyer at a definite meeting place within the courthouse.

(6) If the case has been properly prepared, the judge will rule that the rent be deposited with the court until the violations are corrected. Tenants are usually given five days to deposit the rent at the court.

USE OF EXISTING LAWS AND AGENCIES

It has already been recommended that each group know the basic rights of tenants and the functions of City agencies. Although the problem of bad housing stems from the inadequacy and planned sluggishness of the City agencies, it is still advisable to work with them, as long as the group understands that no program can be built around the expectation that the agencies will fulfill their function without being prodded. Using an "iron hand and velvet glove" approach, the tenants' organization should make contact with as many City agencies as possible. (See list of publications in Appendix.)

A. BUILDINGS DEPARTMENT: A good relationship with the Buildings Department can give a tremendous boost to a rent strike operation. Since the legal rent strike is based on the existence of recorded violations, it is important that the organization be in a position to obtain inspections on short notice and that the results of such inspections be speedily placed on the record. Volunteer tenants' organizations are helping City agencies to perform their job of code enforcement better and we therefore deserve special cooperation from them. A letter asserting this principle should go to all central supervisors and be followed up on the borough level. The tenants' organization should press for an arrangement whereby, in an emergency, a call one day after a dispossess is received will achieve an immediate inspection and the subsequent placing of the violations on the record before the hearing which is ten days later. A contact within the Department also facilitates speedy reporting of suspicious behavior by inspectors.

B. HEALTH DEPARTMENT: Most of what applies to the Buildings Department also applies to the Health Department. Pressure from an organization can speed the handling of heat complaints. It is important to note that City agencies often extend the hand of friendship until they see an organization presenting a large number of cases. At this point they balk, and the organization must be in a position to bring an increasing amount of pressure to bear.

C. RENT ADMINISTRATION: Because it has the power to take money away from landlords for long periods, the Rent Administration is potentially the most powerful of the weapons of the City against slumlords. However a policy of softness and a huge backlog limit the effectiveness of the agency. Needless to say, an organization in a position to obtain rent reductions within a reasonable amount of time will get quick results from landlords and will win the gratitude and admiration of the tenants. For tenants living under extreme slum conditions, the tenants' organization should insist on preferential processing of applications for rent reductions. Representatives should meet with the local administrator to emphasize this demand. Although the policy is to say "no" to such a demand, the group can usually win some small concession such as the assigning of one person as a contact within the local office when problems arise. The group should also continually demand that this agency not require persons of little education to complete the full set of answers and counter-answers. Instead, a rent office inspector should be sent to look at all slum premises.

D. THE COURTS: The Criminal Court provides some relief for tenants. However, since they must take the initiative and summon the landlord to court, the landlord is in a position to prolong the proceedings, thus making it costly for the tenants to retain a lawyer. The tenants may also lose considerable time from work.

The cheapest and speediest use of the courts is obtained through rent strikes. The strike must end in a non-payment proceeding in the Landlord-Tenant Part of the Civil Court. Since the landlord is seeking to collect money, there is little chance that he will prolong the proceedings. If tenants should lose cases in this court, they will have lost only an extra four dollars ($4.00) for court costs.

The spirit of the Landlord-Tenant Court in Brooklyn has been dramatically different from that in Manhattan. The difference may be simply a matter of luck. However, groups should bear in mind the fact that an organization's reputation is enhanced at the court if it consistently presents sound cases with violations on record. Tenants and attorneys must be on hand when called and ask for a minimum of adjournments.

It is advisable to have some contact with a local judge who can sign subpoenas and show-cause orders in emergency situations.

BUILDING PERMANENT TENANT ORGANIZATIONS

WHY PERMANENT ORGANIZATIONS ARE ESSENTIAL: The objective of organizing tenants is to create an effective force to win decent housing for all of us at rents we can afford -- and to break through barriers of segregation and discrimination which now separate tenants and hold back progress in housing. This is a long, hard fight which cannot be won by rent strikes or demonstrations alone or by the exclusive use of any one tactic. Rent strikes, demonstrations and other forms of direct action are part of the total long-range process of victory.

The major need in our city is to build permanent tenant organizations in communities and to involve the tenants themselves in the day-to-day struggle for better housing. And the key to building permanent organizations is to develop a program which includes the immediate grievances of the tenants, but which also goes further.

The leaky faucet, the lack of heat and hot water and many violations -- these are the starting point of organization in the house. Tenants complain about these, a meeting is called and a house is organized and, if the organization is successful, many of these problems are solved, at least partially. Activity in the building never stops entirely because the problems are never fully solved. The landlord will always try to cut down on services and even eliminate services and repairs if he can. The activity in the building ebbs and flows. A strong organization, with activity on issues outside the building, will hold the interest of the tenants and will keep the house committee active even when most of the grievances have been settled. Outside, wider activity also makes it possible to change laws and win more basic victories.

For instance, the real solution to old-law tenements is not patchwork repairs or expensive rehabilitation, but is new low-rent public housing. Thus, while we are fighting for repairs, we must also fight for basic changes in the ways in which City agencies handle complaints, and for new public housing.

THE HOUSE AS THE BASIC UNIT: The most basic unit of organization is the house (or the block where smaller homes predominate, e.g. sections of Bedford-Stuyvesant). Tenant organizations must make every effort to organize houses, rather than to concentrate exclusively on processing individual complaints.

1. More victories can be won when a whole house is organized around common complaints such as lack of heat, dirty halls, etc.
2. House organization encourages tenants and strengthens their ability to keep fighting and teaches them the value of fighting together.
3. The house committee can be a point of contact to develop support for demonstrations, delegations and activity for a wider program.
4. House committees should be encouraged to hold regular meetings (monthly or less often), collect small house dues (10-25¢ per month), to work together on even such small issues as decorating the lobby for the holidays, or planting shrubbery outside the building and, more important, on larger issues of better housing. Some buildings respond better than other on this.

WAYS OF WIDENING THE ACTIVITY OF THE TENANT ORGANIZATION:

1. Is there a real community tenant organization? Does it have membership meetings, elected officers, dues and other characteristics of a permanent organization? Do the tenants and house leaders become part of the leadership of this organization?

2. Does the tenant organization bring issues to the house for immediate action? For example, is there a mass delegation to the local RRA or a demonstration in Albany, City Hall or at a landlord's house, a hearing on urban renewal or other broader activity? Or is there a delegation to a local elected official -- assemblyman, state senator, congressman, city councilman? Or is the tenant organization going out on the street with petitions and loud speaker to get support for legislation?

3. Does the tenant organization attempt to acquaint tenants with the larger subjects -- such as needed legislation, critique of City housing programs such as rehabilitation, or urban renewal, discussion of political issues in housing and the position of public officials on our demands?

4. Is the tenant organization affiliated to a city-wide group which unites similar organizations all over the City in fighting for a city-wide program such as Metropolitan Council on Housing? City-wide affiliation not only strengthens the city-wide organization and enables it to speak in the name of more people -- but it helps the work of the community organization through exchange of experience, information, etc.

The community tenant organization must answer these questions if it is to really build a movement and not just "service" tenants as a social work agency might. Question No. 2 asks about and suggests direct action (delegations or demonstrations).

Delegations and demonstrations are ways of mobilizing large groups of tenants to show the politicians how the people feel and what they want done.

SOME METHODS OF DIRECT ACTION:

1. Delegations: Delegations can be used to press for specific or general demands. A delegation can be used to ask for immediate reduction of rents to $1 in a specific building. Or it can be used to ask for a change in legislation to benefit many buildings.

   Delegations can be organized to visit the RRA, Dept. of Buildings and other City agencies, local assemblyman, State senator, councilman, congressman, district leader and other politicians.

   A delegation should always represent the community, with organized tenants as well as more experienced organizers. And the tenants should do the talking, not just the organizer who is usually the most experienced and articulate.

A delegation where one or two people do all the talking is not as successful because it normally doesn't impress the politician as much as if the tenants themselves present their demands. The delegation should be briefed beforehand to decide what the issues and demands are, the best tactics to employ and some division of issues among the group so that everyone gets a chance to talk.

2. Demonstrations: Demonstrations are necessary to present the tenants' demands and needs to the public and to show the press, city agencies and politicians that the tenants are determined and angry. After a certain point, polite speeches and well-written programs are just not enough. Demonstrations also weld tenants closer and give them a sense of purpose, unity and accomplishment. But organizing an effective demonstration is painstaking work. It requires careful planning, thorough organization and good timing.

   Just as with delegations, demonstrations must include the tenants directly involved, plus others. Tenants must be willing and ready to demonstrate and should help plan the demonstration and carry it out.

   The elements of a good demonstration are:

   a) The demands should be specific. Instead of "We want better housing"— say "We want 200,000 low-rent public housing apartments!" or "Slumlords must go!"

   b) Demands should be made of a particular person or agency (Mayor Wagner, the landlord, the RRA, etc.). This fixes responsibility and creates pressure on that person or agency which shuns exposure.

   c) Notify the press, TV and radio about the time, place and date of the demonstration and its purpose. Give them about 24 hours to get there. Don't call at the last minute. Either phone or send a press release (several days before, if possible) announcing the event, or do both. When sending releases, try to send it to the specific individual or reporter who handles housing stories or who might see to it that the story gets covered. If the release is sent some time ahead, phone several hours before the demonstration as a reminder.

   d) Pick a date and time to get the most tenants possible. Try to choose a late afternoon or weekend date, rather than morning or mid-day.

   e) Don't depend on mailings alone to notify people and get them out. Call or visit. Notify people well in advance and then either phone them the day of the demonstration again or arrange to meet or to pick them up.

   f) Try to get support from other organizations in the community, such as civil rights groups, political clubs, trade unions, block associations, social organizations, PTA's. Contact them personally. Even if you don't get their support this time, they will be better acquainted with what you are doing and might give you their support in the future.

g) Do the same thing with city-wide organizations which might support you, including the above and including the Metropolitan Council on Housing and its affiliates, especially in neighborhoods near yours.

h) Try to hold a rally or meeting as a climax to the demonstration and invite community leaders and political leaders to address the rally in support of your demands. A rally will not only inform people in the community of your demands, but it is a way of getting the politicians and community leaders to commit themselves publicly.

i) If you are demonstrating in front of a government office, send in a delegation to present your demands and get an answer. Have them come out and inform the demonstrators about the answer.

j) Be informative about your demands. Make signs attractive and clear so that onlookers will know what it is all about. Have leaflets explaining the demonstration also, if possible. Don't bring up outside issues on the signs or leaflets (for instance, don't ask for regular paintings in a demonstration about building a public housing project on vacant land).

k) Don't hold too many demonstrations. They cease to have their desired impact. People get tired of going- and politicians get used to them.

l) Be realistic about your potential. Don't plan a demonstration whose success depends on getting 1000 people, such as a parade, if all you can really get is 100. On the other hand, don't be discouraged from having demonstrations if you can't turn out 1000 every time.

Some different kinds of demonstrations: Be inventive and think of different kinds of demonstrations with different themes, more effective and less boring. Be creative!

a) A parade down a main street of a community with music, signs, balloons, children in rat costumes, effigies of the agency or person to which a demand is directed. Parades need a lot of people to look effective.

b) Picket line in front of government office or agency.

c) Picket line if front of the home of the landlord or the Mayor, or in front of the landlord's business office. Personal embarrassment is effective. Not many slumlords want their neighbors (usually in "nice" neighborhoods) to know that they are slumlords.

d) A demonstration at the building involved or at almost any other place connected with the building and/or landlord or agent, especially if it is in a spot with plenty of onlookers. Use your imagination and try something different.

e) A sit-in demonstration at the office of a key public official. This should only be done with a commitment from the tenants themselves to be part of the sit-in.

In summary, a permanent and strong tenant organization can be built if it begins with a nucleus of informed and dedicated organizers and goes on to build strong house committees, to develop a broad program, learns to use a wide variety of forms of direct action and -- most important, develops a leadership based on the organized tenants themselves who run the organization and make its decisions.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

HOUSING COMPLAINTS GUIDE, THE BOOK YOU SHOULDN'T NEED. This is published by WMCA's Call for Action volunteers and is available from WMCA, Call for Action, 415 Madison Ave., New York 10017 for $1 per copy. It is the most comprehensive, detailed guide to the dozens of City agencies and departments and tells which complaints go to which agency. Use the guide to find the proper City agency and follow up complaints with actions. Every housing group should have several of these.

WHAT EVERY LANDLORD AND TENANT SHOULD KNOW. Available from Citizens' Housing and Planning Council of New York, Inc., 20 West 40th St., New York 10018 at 15¢ per copy; cheaper in quantity. A limited but handy small booklet with information on most common complaints and where to direct them. It is useful for building chairmen.

YOU AND YOUR LANDLORD, YOUR RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. Another limited but useful booklet with questions and answers and a list of departments in the back. This is available free in quantity from the Department of Buildings, Room 1030, Municipal Building, New York 10007. A version in Spanish is now out-of-print; however, requests might revive it. Quantities must be picked up from the department and can be used at public meetings and distributed to building chairmen.

THE (NEW) LITTLE BOOK ON RENT CONTROL. Available free in quantity by mail from the City Rent and Rehabilitation Administration, 280 Broadway, New York 10007; also available in Spanish. A small, attractively done booklet, giving some information about rent control. Not very good but it's free, so get it for distribution at meetings and for building chairmen.

RENT, EVICTION, AND REHABILITATION REGULATIONS OF THE CITY RENT AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION. Available free from the RRA, 280 Broadway, New York 10007 or can be picked up at local RRA offices. Technical but every housing group should have some of these and most tenant leaders should learn to use it.

SCHEDULE OF RENTAL VALUES OF THE CITY RENT AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION, April 1, 1964. Available from the RRA downtown or local offices. Gives the amount of rent increase allowed for appliances and equipment.

CITY RENT AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION -- OPERATIONAL BULLETINS, ADMINISTRATOR'S INTERPRETATIONS, AND AMENDMENTS TO THE REGULATIONS. The RRA has a mailing list and sends out press releases and information when changes are made. Distribution is free and you can request that your name be added to the list by writing to the Director of Public Information, City RRA, 280 Broadway, New York 10007.

THE RELOCATION KEY FOR RESIDENTIAL TENANTS. Details the rights and procedure and payments involved in relocation by City agencies. Available free from the New York City Department of Relocation, 2 Lafayette St., Room 303, New York 10007.

TENANT NEWS and OTHER PUBLICATIONS OF THE METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING, 215 West 23rd St., New York 10011. TENANT NEWS is issued 10 times yearly and is $1 per year (free to members) and is available in bulk at $2 per 100. Most other publications are free in small quantities.

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SUMMARY SHEET

Building Address ____________________

Landlord's Name ____________________

Apt. No. ______ Name ____________________ Phone ____________

Comments:

Apt. No. ______ Name ____________________ Phone ____________

Comments:

Apt. No. ______ Name ____________________ Phone ____________

Comments:

Apt. No. ______ Name ____________________ Phone ____________

Comments:

Apt. No. ______ Name ____________________ Phone ____________

Comments:

Apt. No. ______ Name ____________________ Phone ____________

Comments:

Apt. No. ______ Name ____________________ Phone ____________

Comments:

Apt. No. ______ Name ____________________ Phone ____________

Comments

APPENDIX C

BUILDINGS DEPARTMENT CHECKLIST

(Name of Tenant Organization)

____

____

Date ________________________

Dear Sirs:

We request an immediate cellar-to-roof inspection of ____________________ .
House Number

These records will be needed for Court proceedings.

1. There is no hot water.
2. There are plaster cracks.
3. There are holes in the walls, floors and ceilings.
4. There are broken light fixtures.
5. There are leaks in various parts of the apartment.
6. The windows are broken in many apartments.
7. The window frames are rotten.
8. The paint is peeling off the walls and ceilings.

Registration Number of Building ____________________________________

Please notify us in advance of inspection.

(Some tenant groups also use individual forms for each tenant to be sent to the Dept. of Buildings.)

APPENDIX D

HEALTH DEPARTMENT CHECKLIST

(NAME OF ORGANIZATION)

____

____

Date ________________________

Dear Sirs:

We request an immediate inspection of the following

building ____

especially apartment(s) ______________________________________

1. There is no heat.
2. The radiators are leaking.
3. There are rats, roaches and other vermin.
4. There is paint peeling in apartments where children reside.
5. There are strong odors coming from the cellar.
6. There is debris in the cellar.
7. (other)____

   ____

REGISTRATION NUMBER OF BUILDING ___________________________________

APPENDIX E

RENT STRIKE TRIAL SHEET

Date Dispossess Received ______________ Trial Date __________ Time ________

Tenant's Name ____

Tenant's Address ____

Apartment Number ____________________ Telephone ______________________

Index Number ____

Landlord's Name ___________________________ Lawyer _________________________

Date Subpoena Submitted __________ ______________________________
Signature of Subpoena

Money Disposition ____

Violations Still Existing __________________________________

____

____

____

____

____

Case Results (to be filled in by lawyer) ____________________

____

____

____

____

____

APPEN

PERMANENT REC

Address ______________________ Building R

Landlord ______________________ Address

List of

Name Apt.No. Phone Na

1 ______________________ 11
2 ______________________ 12
3 ______________________ 13
4 ______________________ 14
5 ______________________ 15
6 ______________________ 16
7 ______________________ 17
8 ______________________ 18
9 ______________________ 19
10 ______________________ 20

Date Organized __________ Interviewers and Organizers__________

CASE

(In pencil fill in date letter was sent to lan

1 ______________ 6 ______________
2 ______________ 7 ______________
3 ______________ 8 ______________
4 ______________ 9 ______________
5 ______________ 10 ______________

APPENDIX F

IT RECORD OF HOUSE

lding Registration Number ____________________

dress____________________ Phone ____________________

List of Tenants

Name Apt.No. Phone

11 ____________________
12 ____________________
13 ____________________
14 ____________________
15 ____________________
16 ____________________
17 ____________________
18 ____________________
19 ____________________
20 ____________________

(continue list on back if necessary)

SE HISTORY

to landlord, date for deadline, picketing,
demonstrations, etc.)

11 ____________________
12 ____________________
13 ____________________
14 ____________________
15 ____________________

file

george

TENANT NEWS

METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING
215 West 23rd Street, New York 10011
SP. 7-8900

TENANTS WIN EMERGENCY REPAIR PROGRAM -- MCH BUILDINGS SIT-IN AT CITY HALL

With much fanfare and newspaper headlines on Jan. 31, the Mayor announced a million dollar fund to make emergency housing repairs. The money (a puny amount compared to the World's Fair Slush fund) will be put in a revolving fund and then replaced as the City bills landlords and collects for the cost of repairs.

The newspaper articles left out one important fact -- that the fund was the result of cold, disgusted tenants who got together and sat down in City Hall, refusing to leave until they got heat. Beginning on Jan. 21, several sit-ins took place. These were organized by the Metropolitan Council on Housing, the East Harlem Tenants Council and the Harlem Action Group (Northern Students Movement).

The actions led to a joint appointment with Mayor Wagner on Jan. 25. The Wagner meeting, which included 5 MCH board members, was never held. The tenant representatives walked out after waiting over 3 hours and watching a parade of minor flunkies walk by them into the Mayor's office. Despite this snub, the Mayor could not totally ignore the sit-ins and issued his order for immediate repairs.

Following the Feb. 1 order, several buildings organized by MCH affiliates have tried to get emergency action. It remains to be seen whether this is another typical "press release" reform or whether tenants will get immediate repairs without days of delay and red-tape.

Among the buildings involved in the actions which brought about the million dollar fund were 509-11 Amsterdam Ave. where the tenants were led by Gary Farsakian and Juan Cardozo, co-chairmen, and Stan Aronowitz of MCH, and 41 Ludlow St., whose chairman is Jose Rosa. The Ludlow St. building, where several tenants were felled by leaking coal gas, was assisted by Carl Edelman and Harriet Putterman of Neighbors in Action.

MCH has issued 10,000 copies of a very effective leaflet alerting tenants to the new emergency repair program. The leaflet points out that "the City won't move on our complaints unless tenants organize to let the City know about them." Space is provided to stamp the name and address of the local housing group. Your group can order these at $5 per 1000 from MCH, 215 W. 23 St., SP. 7-8900.

MCH TENANT LOBBY TO ALBANY, TUES., MAR 2

Hundreds of tenants will board buses in the frosty dawn of Tues., Mar. 2 and go to Albany to beard their legislators in their dens. The marble halls of the Legislature will be a little startled to see people with housing problems (not lulus) talking to their assemblymen and state senators and meeting with legislative leaders. A small advance delegation will go up on Mon. to make appointments with legislative leaders and the Governor's office.

This year the tenants will demand that the Democrats produce the housing legislation that has been promised for so many years. Now the Democrats are the majority and can pass laws if they wish.

Buses will leave from several areas of Manhattan (the Lower East Side, Harlem, Washington Heights, Yorkville) and from the Bronx and Brooklyn. The buses will make brief rest stops along the Thruway but there won't be much time to eat. So take box lunches and thermoses. The buses will return about 10:30 p.m. Make your arrangements immediately. Call SP. 7-8900.

Vol. IV, No. 6
February, 1965

DON'T PHONE ME -- I'LL PHONE YOU!

WOrth 4-3000 -- finally, the City has announced a single phone number, around the clock, 7 days a week, where tenants can phone in housing complaints.

The phone number was promised almost a year ago but with the City's customary speed where tenants are concerned, it has taken a year plus pressure from tenants and radio station WMCA -- and a few sit-ins to get it. Now how long will it be until the Mayor gives in to another tenant demand -- a single housing enforcement and inspection agency?

WELCOME TO . . . .

- * Duane-Metropolitan Methodist Church
- * Manhattanville Tenants Association (project tenants group)
- * Neighbors in Action
- * West Side Unified Action Council

the latest affiliates to Metropolitan Council on Housing. And a correction is in order about a new affiliate announced in the Dec., 1964 issue. The United Students of the Americas is not a PuertoRican students organization. It is much broader and is devoted to educational and social service for international youth. Its attempts to provide housing for students has revealed an appalling lack of decent inexpensive housing for students in New York City.

AND A BIG WELCOME . . . .

to newly elected members of MCH's Exec. Board: Barbara Fisher, Bertina Hunter, Augusta Karlson, Eugenio Matta, Harriet Putterman, Armando Santiago, Keith Schaber, Eugenia Selden, William Harrison, & Joseph Walker. They were elected at the Jan. 18 quarterly meeting to fill vacancies. (Eugenia went out and celebrated by getting married to Reid Humphries on Feb. 14. Congratulations and Happy Valentine's Day to both of them!)

LEGISLATIVELY SPEAKING

by Frances Goldin

Tenants living in public housing will be an important part of MCH's TENANT LOBBY to Albany this year. For the first time in many years, an organized group of public housing tenants, representing many projects in all boroughs, will bring their demands to their legislators in Albany -- and insist on action. They have worked out a special set of demands, in addition to backing MCH's legislative program.

There are over a half million public housing tenants in New York City. They are a potentially powerful force. United with private housing tenants, they will be an even more formidable force for better housing.

These are the public housing tenants' demands, as drawn up by the MCH Public Housing Committee:

1. A crash program of 200,000 new public housing apartments over a 5 year period. (Public housing tenants realize that if new public housing construction stops & the program is killed, their projects will soon be turned over to private sponsors, as was done in Buffalo.)

2. Additional subsidies to allow public housing to rent at $10 to $18 per room.

3. A guard for each building to provide for the safety and security of tenants.

4. A law granting tenants in public housing the same protection in court against evictions that tenants in private housing have. No second-class citizenship!

5. Exclusion of the bulk of the earnings of wives and children in determining income limits in public housing.

Public housing tenants have been handicapped in recent years because they have not been united in one citywide organization. Each project was organized separately. As a result, most of their demands have been ignored. Once they are bound together in a fighting organization and they speak with a unified voice, victories will be won, grievances settled and substantial gains achieved.

Buses will leave from various projects & round trip is $5. Call SP. 7-8900.

MCH ASKS FOR RRA ACTION ON LOCKED DOORS

Proposals to increase tenant security were brought to the MCH board by one of its affiliates, the Housing Committee of RENA, and adopted as part of the legislative program. RENA (Riverside-Edgecombe Neighborhood Assn.)covers the upper Harlem-lower WashingtonHeights neighborhood where a recent elevator murder occurred.

Locked doors are essential service

These proposals would place responsibility on the Rent and Rehabilitation Admin. to require landlords to restore locked front doors, bell-buzzer systems, intercoms and guards -- if these were furnished when rent control began in 1943. The RRA's present policy is that tenants are not entitled to any of these services which were stopped before 1962. However, MCH maintains that these are "essential" services, like heat and hot water, and cannot be forfeited by the tenants' failure to protest their abandonment.

Locked doors without rent increases

In addition, the proposals include mandatory locked outer doors, bell-buzzers, and intercoms in all multiple dwellings. In buildings with self-service elevators, there would be an evening guard. There would be no rent increases unless: 1) the services were not furnished in 1943, and 2) the landlord qualified for a "hardship" increase.This would mean that he would have to prove that the building is earning less than 6½%.

Legislation introduced

Several City councilmen and State legislators have agreed to introduce legislation incorporating these proposals.

RENA offered the legislation as a better solution to the security problem than vigilantes or the RRA's ineffective policy of making locked front doors, etc. voluntary and giving rent increases when and if landlords decide to install them. Altho these are not the final and complete answer,they will give tenants some much-needed minimum protection.

DON'T JUST STAND THERE . . . .

Come to the TENANT EMANCIPATION RALLY
Saturday, April 24
Gracie Mansion, 88th & East End

MET COUNCIL CALENDAR -- SAVE THESE DATES!

Mar. 2 -- TENANT LOBBY TO ALBANY

Mar. 13 -- MCH WORKSHOP ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZING, Part II. From noon to 4 p.m., 215 West 23rd St.

Apr. 24 -- TENANT EMANCIPATION RALLY at Gracie Mansion. More next month.

MORNINGSIDE TENANTS PICKET TO PROTEST EVICTION BY COLUMBIA PHARMACY SCHOOL

Singing and chanting in the bitter cold weather,100 Morningside tenants picketed Columbia College of Pharmacy on Tues.afternoon, Feb. 2. They were protesting the College's plan to move from its present E. 68th St. location to a site on Morningside Dr. and 122nd St. Five residential buildings stand on the site now. If this move is approved by the Rent and Rehabilitation Administration (RRA), 100 families face eviction from their spacious moderate rental apartments.

The demonstration was called by Morningsiders United, a MCH affiliate. MU's past chairman,Marie Runyon,is a resident of the affected buildings and has led a 3 year fight to prevent their demolition. On the picketline were site tenants as well as tenants from neighboring buildings also threatened with eviction by other institutions planning to expand.

At a Jan.28 rally held at Corpus Christi Church, 250 area residents heard a battery of speakers pledge their intention to stay in their homes "even if we have to barricade ourselves in."

Many of the expanding institutions are connected with Columbia University. Columbia is a large landholder in the community and has been systematically buying up buildings in preparation for expansion.

Support for the tenants' fight came from Rep. William F. Ryan,who sent a telegram condemning Pharmacy's efforts to evict the tenants and tear down the buildings. Assem. Daniel Kelly, Dem. district leaders Franz Leichter and Margaret Cox, and Stanley Aronowitz,MCH vice-chairman,were among the speakers who pledged support.

MET COUNCIL DIARY

Commission on Human Rights, Jan. 12: Law committee ch. Dick Levenson testified on MCH's FairHousingRentalService proposal.

Rehabilitation study in the St. Nicholas area, Jan. 14: At a hearing before the Bd.of Estimate on study funds, MCH board member Wm. Stanley spoke for MCH and for the UptownTen.Counc. His testimony asked that the rehabilitation study be directed to finding ways in which the tenants,small homeowners and small businessmen could remain at rents they can afford.

Comm. for Democratic Voters,Jan. 16: A legislative conference heard MelBeinart, co-ch. of MCH's Fair Housing Rental Service Committee, representing MCH.

WBAI, State of the Nation program, Jan. 17: Stanley Aronowitz,MCH vice-ch., was one of the participants in discussion.

Comm.on CivilRights inMetropolitan N.Y., Jan. 19: Jane Benedict, MCH chairman, spoke to the Technical Committee.

Pelham Ref. Dem. Club, Jan. 29: MCH bd. member MamieJackson addressed this group.

Cafe Talkout, Brooklyn, Jan. 23: Major Owens, MCH bd.member and ch. of Brooklyn CORE, and Hy Bershad, co-ch. of Pkway.-Stuy. Comm. Council's Community Renewal Comm.,a MCH affiliate, participated in a hot discussion on urban renewal. Their opponent was Vito Battista, firm foe of rent control and public housing. This nightspot features monthly discussions on controversial topics.

Chelsea Tenants Federation, Jan. 27: MCH bd.member Frances Goldin proposed alternatives, similar to those of the Alternate Plan for Cooper Sq., to tenants of a 3-block area due for demolition for a playground for the H.S.of Fashion and Industry. MCH's Citizens' Survey of Available Land will be used to find sites for building new housing to relocate the tenants before their homes are demolished.

Tenants Community Union, Feb. 2: Major Owens addressed this housing group.

Lillian Wald Project Ten. Assn., Feb. 2: Richard Levenson spoke about MCH's legislative program and the Mar. 2 LOBBY.

Assn. of Fair Housing Committees,Feb. 4: Mel Beinart presented the FHRS proposal.

Fur Wkers. Union Joint Bd., Feb. 10: The MCH legislative program and the Mar. 2 LOBBY were explained by Mel Beinart

Williamsburg-Greenpoint CoordinatingCouncil, Feb. 12: Members of local churches, Hispanic clubs and the NAACP held a War on Poverty Conference and heard MCH bd. member Esther Rand at the housing panel.

The METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING welcomes the support of every organization and individual who wants to work for more decent non-segregated housing at rents that people can afford to pay.

Yearly membership is $10 for organizations; $5 for individuals. You may join by signing this address label --------- and sending it with membership fee to Met Council, 215 W. 23rd St., N.Y. 10011

TENANT NEWS is a publication of the Met Council. $1 per year for 10 issues; free to members; bulk order, $2 per 100.

Chairman, Jane Benedict; Editor, Ruth Beinart; Staff, Frances Goldin, Maria Harriton, Richard L. Levenson, Meryl Lewis; designed by Helen DeMott.

Met. Council on
Housing
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New York 11, N. Y.

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file - Housing

(please accept my apologies for both the typing and the organizational inadequacies of this report; unfortunately the amount of care and time available did not match my concern.)

2/1/65

To: National Action Council and national staff
From: Alan Gartner
Re.: Housing program and community involvement

We are all in agreement that the main thrust of CORE's activities, at least in the north, must be in the direction of increased community involvement. We must no longer "act upon" the community, or play the role of community directors. Rather we must provide those special skills which we possess to the community, offer that type of leadership which it desires, involve ouselves in those programs and directions which we jointly decide upon.

We have found that work in the area of housing has provided a vehicle for us to become more deeply involved within the community.

Historically Boston CORE was concerned for many years with what can be best called a "fair housing" program. We were interested in helping those persons who sought to move outside of the innter-city ghetto. Of necessity this work serviced a very small percentage of the Negro population, and at least financially those perspns best able to help themselves. While we continue to do some "fair housing" work, the amount has been sharply reduced. For many reasons, I believe that this shift in priorities is an appropriate one. As noted above, "fair housing" work involves a very small portion of the Negro community, it invloves those who are best able to help themselves, and it is the job that other sympathetic organizations are most likely to take over from CORE if we decide to attack other problems(viz. the growth of so-called "Fair Housing" groups throughout the north, often sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee.) To look at the issue from the point of view of what we can do if we adopt a ~~of~~ "ghetto" housing program, we find that we can potentially become involved with the great bulk of the community, we can generate community-wide activities to deal with its own problems, activities in the housing area offer a natural entry to concern for other matters - police, schools, general welfare. A further matter, rather philosophic and surely controversial, is the degree to which we ought to be involved in a "fair housing" program in that it at least indirectly deprives the community of potential leadership persons. (this whole issue of the functional utility of the ghetto is one which ought to be dealt with in some other forum.)

Approximately a year and a half ago we adopted a new housing program. Coincidental with the development of this program was the opening of a store-front office on a major thorughfare within the heart of the ghetto. Such an office, it seems, is an essential ingredient to a community-action program.

In concentric circles around the office CORE housing-canvassing teams visited tenants. These teams were most often interracial; the use of white canvassers, while facing some initial problems, does not appear to have a deleterious effect. For some time the canvassers talked with tenants, trying to find out the nature of their problems, the efforts they had made toward solutions(one is amazed at the variety and ingenuity of these efforts), and the direction in which the tenants would like to go with CORE's participation. Intensive work was begun with a group or tenants in seven adjacent buildings owned by a single landlord. Meetings were held, almost nightly for a while, to develop a program of action. It was decided that an approach would be made to the landlord by a combined tenant and CORE team. Detailed itemization of the existing violations were to be presented, and demands were made as to a time limit for their abatement. If this failed, the tenants committed themselves to a rent strike, while CORE pledged support in terms of legal assistance, efforts at community suasion, and ultimately the use of our bodies both in protest and to prevent evictions. The negotiations failed.

We then decided to make public our campaign. A press conference was held, and following a description of the conditions, the press were taken on a tour of some of the worst housing which we had canvassed. This tour has netted us untold dividends. Unlike our normal situation, where we make charges which to some degree have to be accepted by the press on faith, the tour gave the reporters a first-hand taste-smell-feel for what slum housing was like. Even today, a year and a half later, the press recalls this tour and refers to it. (Subsequent to the mass tour we were able to interest two television stations, one radio station, and later one daily newspaper in doing intensive follow-up stories on particular properties, or invidiual landlords, or individual tenants. This coverage has been an essential ingredient in our ability to mobilize broad community support throughout the city.)

At the press conference we announced the beginning of the first rent strike in Boston. In Boston, as apparently elsewhere throughout the country except New York, there is no defense in an eviction procedure for non-payment of rent; thus, evidence of code violations is inadmissable in an eviction procedure. This means that a rent strike immediately confronts the tenants with the possibility of eviction. Through negotiations with the landlords lawyers, and through various threats of dire consequences if evictions were to take place, they were avoided in this rent strike, parts of which lasted for eight months.

The rent stike included the tenants from the initial group of adjacent buildings, two adjacent buildings on another street, a single building on a third street. While the tenants from all three streets on occasion met together, we serviced the three groups with three different CORE teams and to some degree considered the strike as three separate events. This led to certain problems, especially regarding when we would return the money to the landlord - when the repairs were done in a particular apartment, a particular building, a particular set of buildings, or only when they were done in all of the buildings. In fact, we returned the money on a street by street basis. The difficulty was less in which alternative to choose ~~but rather~~ Than in not having recognized the problem at the ~~meeting~~ beginning, and making a decision which could be communicated to the landlord. Another problem was what to do with the money held for tenants who moved in the course of the strike. The landlord sought that money, while the tenants to some extent felt it was their money to take. Again our lack of clarity at the beginning caused problems later on.

Since that initial rent strike we have conducted many more. Most of them produced repairs in the particular case. Often a stalemate was reached wherein the tenants stopped paying rent and the landlord provided no services. In addition to rent strikes, we used other CORE techniques such as picketting of the landlord's office(s), or of his home - the second, or the threat of it, often produced results.

After some months of placing our main emphasis on the organization and conducting of rent strikes we reassessed our program. The mechnical problems of rent strikes (especially the handling of the money and the collection of rent) and the slowness of results as well as their limited nature led us to seek other forms of attack. In our initial program we had indicated our sense of the city's responsibility for code enforcement, but after some contacts with city officials had played down that aspect. It was this matter of primary city responsibility which we now picked up.

In response to our first charges, the city administration established a coordinated inspection program. This meant that a single office could be contacted for all alleged code violations, and inspectors would be dispatched from this office. This is a critical matter and one which ought to be sought. We were also able to work out arrangements whereby we received (at least for a time) reports from the city agencies as to the results of their investigations. These were helpful in our negotiations with the landlords, and if such an arrangement can be worked out it is worthwhile.

The shift of focus to emphasize city responsibility entailed a new investigation program. The burden of our effort was to show that the city failed to act within its present authority. In order to do this we documented instances where complaints had been brought to the attention of city officials and where despite the existance of inspection reports indicating existing violations, city officials had failed to act to gain abatement. Further, we developed evidence as to the slack standards city officials used in accepting compliance.

In connection with this program, we developed a four point program for city action. We asked that the Mayor 1) order the beginning in Roxbury (the ghetto) of an area-wide systematic code inspection program; 2) the use of the city's present authority to "placard" and thus block the rental of apartments with such serious code violations so that they were "unfit for human habitation; 3) we use the city's authority to block by injunction the rental of partments which were "unfit for human habitation"; and 4) we use the city's authority to have repairs made and billed to landlords. The purpose of the first demand was to remove the responsibility for code enforcement from the aggrieved citizen and to place upon the municipal officials. We have cosidered the establishment of so-called "certificates of occupancy" whereby each multiple dwelling unit would have to be periodically (perhaps annually) inspected and be granted a "certificate of occupancy" in order for it to continue to be occupied. Whether such a program is feveloped (and there are obvious problems regarding its feasibility) the systematic inspection by city officials is a must. Placarding and the use of the injunction are obvious techniques to stop landlords from renting sub-stanfard units. The use of city authority to make repairs and have them billed to landlords has yet to be used in Boston as some legislative changes in the Sanitary Code have made unclear the city's ability to collect ~~their~~ the money from the landlord. We believe that this will be a fruitful area of action and intend to continue to push for its implementation.

(In addition to these propsals which are demands that the city use its existing powers, we are supporting a number of pieces of legislation designed to increase the range of techniques available. These include a receivership bill whereby the city can take ownership of property which has been unrepaired, a rent withholding bill whereby the courts on petittion by the tenants can collect rents and apply them to the repair of the building (a flaw in this bill is that the property - having presumably been fixed - would then be returned improved with rent collected to the landlord), a bill permitting the submitting as evidence in an eviction procedure information as to code violations, a true name bill requiring the listing of the true owners of real estate giving both their home and business address - this bill also includes stiff fines for non-compliace.

(An additional area of action which we are exploring is the role of the state government, and federal authorities in code enforcement. In Massachusetts, the authority of the local boards of Health are derived from the statte, and thus the state body has ultimate supervision and authority. They are reluctant to directly use this power, but ~~the~~ involving them in the problem may well in itself produce some pressure on the local board of health. Another point of pressure is the federal government; this is particularly true when there is an urban renewal program in that one of the mandatory points in order to comply with the so-called "workable program" for urban renewal is an adequate code enforcement program. Theoretically urban renewal funds can be withheld from a city if its code enforcement program is unsatisfactory. A final note on federal role is that the Housing Act of 1964 provides funds for communitys to do code enforcement work. This is the first time that code enforcement has been a "refundable" expense.)

(A state study commission on Low-Income housing has been established. The members are for the most part able and it is staffed by an imaginative and bright young planner. In the course of the next month they plan to propose a number of programs, many of which we will support. Include among their programs are a rent supplemnt plan, programs for the construction of new low-income housing (not the old public housing monster institutions but a variety of scattered site programs to be intergrated into the existant community), a stiffened code enforcement program, support for receivership and rent withholding bills, and a panoply of subsidy programs to assist private builders to "bring in" low-cost housing.)

While much of the supportive servicing for these programs comes from CORE members, the main thrust and burden of the program is the tenants. It is they who have felt the need regarding an effective code enforcement program, and it is they who have gone with us to speak to city officials. (Last month, we had an appointment with the Mayor, to discuss code enforcement. Our delegation consisted of a handful of CORE members and about twenty tenants who told the Mayor what the problems were and what needed to be done. It was a new experience for the Mayor !) We have sought to develop tenant participation in a variety of ways. When a building is canvassed, the first effort of the CORE team is to bring the tenants together and to develop with them a program for action. Our teams have become increasingly flexible in working with tenant groups and in resisting the temptation to impose program upon them. In addition to forming groups of tenants of a particular building or series of adjacent buildings, we now are working on block associations. So far, about six or eight of these have been organized. A further activity is the bringing together groups of tenants, from throughout the area, to work on special problems. For example, we are holding a series of meetings directed toward the question of how does one provide the financing for low-income families; the problem is that while we may win code enforcement but if the rents are raised then the housing will not serve the low-income families. Such ideas as rent control, various rent supplement programs, state and federal subsidies to families and developers, etc., have been talked about. A final way to increase tenant/community involvement is one we are apt to forget -- that is, bring the community into CORE. We have been able to bring a number of tenants into the chapter, and we are all the richer for it.

file
Housing

February 4, 1965

Mr. Jesse Gray
Community Council on Housing
6 East 117th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Gray:

I have just recently come to the National Staff of CORE. I was CORE's representative at the so-called State of the Race Summit Conference held last weekend. I was not aware that you had not been invited to the conference but did take note of the fact that there was practically no one there with significant constituencies in the black ghettoes of northern cities. I and a few others pressed for some future meetings with inclusion of persons such as yourself. I hope some of these are forthcoming soon.

In the meantime I would like an opportunity to meet with you and discuss some of the problems facing Negro communities as seen from your point of view.

Sincerely,

George Wiley
Associate National Director

GW:cf

file Housing

No 1. MR

3060 wds

all

February 5, 1965

B.F.

ENDING THE LANDLORD TENANT RELATIONSHIP IN THE SLUMS

While the babel of monologues, dialogues, and just plain shouting matches about civil rights continues a vicious rebellion has become critical. Landlords in virtually every major city no longer make a pretense of obeying the law. Organized, well financed, they are an active anti-legal group which resorts to force, violence, and intimidation when necessary. This rebellious conspiracy has taproots in the financial community, the respectable bar, the political structure, and the police. The slums today are a battleground, not ideologically or theoretically, but in physical actuality. On this battleground law and order have withdrawn or have become the tool of the landlord. The "right of the people to be secure in their houses" no longer exists in the slums.

In these circumstances the landlord-tenant relationship as ordinarily understood is inapplicable. The term creates nothing but confusion when applied to the slums.

Under normal conditions the landlord-tenant relationship has three parties. Simplifying for present purposes the parties are government, the landlord, and the tenant. Normally the parties are at equilibrium. In a city housing has the function of shelter only, but the manner in which that shelter is furnished has public implications. Government consequently regulates the shelter conditions. The underlying socio-economic system establishes the legal relations of landlord and tenant as a means of having shelter furnished within acceptable parameters. These parameters include building codes, market conditions, and their constituent factors. They also include standards of conduct for both landlord and tenants.

Legal process is available to protect the interests of the three parties within the parameters. Conflict between the parties is resolved by peaceful means, the possible area of conflict being itself limited so long as the parties accept the parameters.

This equilibrium does not imply the absence of either change or conflict. Both change and conflict/ however/ remain within the parameters/ which themselves evolve slowly.

All governmental systems depend upon acquiescence. The landlord-tenant system may be said to succeed where the participants acquiesce to the extent of obeying peaceful adverse conflict resolutions. When acquiescence is withdrawn by only a few/ they can be treated as outlaws. When/ however/

acquiescence is withdrawn by a critical percentage/the system no longer functions and the equilibrium ends. Since all systems in the government are interdependent/ the failure of one may be temporarily hidden.

The proportion of those who cease to acquiesce which is necessary to produce the failure of the system is not large. In every revolutionary situation the percentage of active participants is small. The isolation of the slums themselves and the concentration of ownership mean that a successful rebellion can be the work of a remarkably small number of landlords.

In the period of two generations/ the withdrawal of acquiescence has gradually accelerated until it now affects a vast number of people/ although the active participants are few. In New York/ the victims are fully 20% of the total population of the city.

The rebellion of landlords has comparatively simple foundations. People become landlords to make a profit. When conditions exist to wipe out the profit/ the response is to attempt to restore it. When conditions exist under which a greater profit may be secured by exceeding the parameters/ those excesses may be anticipated. Both sets of conditions normally exist in the slums. Poverty, rent control, speculation and related factors often make the operation of the slum within legal parameters unprofitable. Racial discrimination, bad law enforcement, and related factors can make a slum very profitable.

A number of factors come into operation in a slum which accelerate deterioration. For example/ legitimate financing ceases to be available/ in a normal way. But banks do lend money to intermediaries who relend it at unconscionable rates for slum uses. The tax losses provide incentives for unecomomic trading of buildings/ reducing the incidence of responsible ownership. And so on.

Other questions are raised in justification, but these should not be permitted to confuse the problem. To argue/ for example/ that it is inequitable to jail a landlord because he cannot afford to obey the law is meretricious. Human rights should be recognized before property rights. If the landlord cannot afford to obey the law/ he should/ perhaps rob a bank. A bank has plenty of money. Why should the landlord be permitted to rob only the poor? To recognize rights in property/ but not obligations flowing from ownership/ is plainly unreasonable within the scope of our jurisprudence.

In many cities/ the conditions encouraging breach of the parameters have reached extremes. Landlords have responded by breaking the law as a policy and in concert with each other. In the absence of strong code enforcement/ law breaking becomes more and more profitable and harder to stop. The result is that buildings deteriorate and/ as new houses are constructed/ other houses quickly become slums. When this process is coupled with a thirty year cycle of land speculation, the results become disastrous, In recent years/ under the pressure of urban renewal/ this process has accelerated.

In this context/ the meaning of urban renewal as presently practiced is clarified. CORE has a significant pilot project in Trenton/ where urban renewal has the avowed purpose of "bringing rich people back to town". No relocation of the displaced slum people is provided. No low income housing is planned. The clear purpose of the plan is to drive out the poor/ and to do it with Federal funds.

The New York Lincoln Center development/ for which a whole neighborhood was destroyed/ has similar characteristics. The socio-artistic implications of $12.50 per seat opera at public expense are not for present consideration/ nor the unseemly squabbles of bankers, Wall Street lawyers,and the artistic establishment about the division of power in this middle class Coliseum.

It is common to speak of slum conditions passively/ as though they simply occur. On the contrary/ these conditions result from aggressive planning. No one buys a slum without intending a course of law violation. Slums are actively traded.

A great deal of community-group effort in housing fails to have significant impact because the strategic position is not recognized. The numberless housing groups are well meaning and sympathetic. They unfortunately act as if the three party equilibrium still existed in the slums.

Slum landlords have no intention of obeying the law. On the contrary/ they are actively organized to stop every effort to make law enforcement more effective.

Realistically/ the three party game of slum housing has become a zero-sum game. In that game/ government is temporarily allied with the landlord in an effort to reduce what is given slum people for shelter to a negligible quantum or to drive them out. This is not a simplification. A government/ such as New York's/ which provides only enough inspectors to examine every structure in its jurisdiction once every nine years/ has implicitly joined the slumlords.

The apparent paradox of government cooperating in a rebellion against itself is easily resolved. First, government may not regard the landlords' action as rebellion since they oppose law as it is/ rather than law as it is enforced. Second, landlords and related interests have subverted government and do so daily by bribery and other activities. Third, government has an equivocal position as representing all interests which obscures the nature of the attack against it.

Nor is this pattern ideologically inconsistent. American society has not accepted responsibility for providing its citizens' needs. On the contrary the so-called failure, the marginal citizen, is unwanted, left to private charity. The welfare system under which the public contribution is reduced by any sums the recipient is able to get from any other source is a blatant announcement of the present war against the poor. This view of welfare now actively held by city officials was repudiated thirty years ago by the New Deal. The division of the poor into antagonistic factions as in the south is no accident. The concepts of the extreme right recently given sugar-coated exposure cannot be ignored. The extreme right has considerable support, wealth, and power. It advocates overthrow of the government by force if necessary. It admits infiltrating police, military, and other parts of the government. The destruction of the legal landlord-tenant equilibrium is an excellent focus for the war against the poor.

The participants in a three party zero-sum game can play until one or two are beaten or until it becomes clear that none can win. In housing participation of government as an ally is plainly crucial so long as neither remaining party is prepared for violent revolution.

Since by definition/ municipal government must be responsive to the electorate (barring the inertial effect of bureaucracy)/ government is not the inevitable ally of the landlord. But/ since the shifting of government positions is slow/ slum tenants face a two party alliance for an indefinite time.

In these circumstances only militant action can be effective. To enable the slum people to win requires not only recognition of the real situation but willingness to counter. In this/ the fact that landlords have abandoned the nominal law gives the tenants a very strong weapon. The struggle commences with the tenants as the upholders of legitimacy against rebellion. But legitimacy merely justifies action. If no action is taken/ the tenants will lose.

In every such struggle/ the terms "win" and "lose" must be defined. "Win" means the rapid ending of the present slum conditions and the creation of economically and racially integrated quality housing at a cost within the means of all citizens. "Lose" means the continuation of the present process ending in the removal of slum people and their further degradation. Both terms/ then/ imply a temporal scale and a broader context. The program of any organization must deal/ therefore/ with a sequence of steps. No housing program should confront only immediate or only ultimate problems. Nor can any housing program be formulated which fails to be coordinated with program in other areas/ such as employment and education.

Since/ at present/ the slumlords clearly have the initiative/ while CORE is in the most primitive state of organization/ CORE's immediate task is to help tenants form self-protective groups or tenants' councils. As such an organization program develops/ defensive techniques will drive out the weaker slumlords.

When sufficient organization exists/ the tenants will be able by exercise of political rights as well as continuing defensive tactics/ to stop the rebellion and begin the development of sound housing. Ultimately/ the people will win sound housing and slumlords will cease to exist except as isolated outlaws. At all stages/ the governing concept should be/ not restoration of the old equilibrium/ but fundamental land reform.

The tactics in each stage will have to be as complex as the problem. Well timed, well planned demonstrations will be necessary. Negotiations with landlords and government will play a part. Rent strike will be a part. Use of existing rehabilitation programs will be made. Tenant cooperatives will be formed. Political action will be taken. No single tactic in itself will be decisive. The tactical plan at every stage must be flexible and must take into consideration the changing capacities of CORE, of tenants, of landlords, of government. In a large metropolis/ more than one phase may be in operation at a particular time. Above all/ however/ the tactics employed should not be random but should bear a specific relationship to the strategy dictated by the program. Since the landlords are organized for constant effort and since the problems are continuous/ it is fundamental that tactics should create a continuous if variable pressure.

The first stage presents two main problems: Organization of tenants and denying slumlords economic benefits from law breaking. The problem of organization has not been well understood by all CORE chapters. There are no marginal people/ neither are the poor noble. Those who live in metropolitan slums are frequently uneducated, unattractive, and unreceptive to lofty ideals. Slum people survive in a vicious environment. Survival alone is a daily accomplishment.

To organize people in such conditions requires maturity, sensivity, and patience, as well as love in the Ghandian sense. There can be no dissembling, no easy ways, if only because the survivors of the slum are too smart. Further, results must be achieved. Consequently/ organization must proceed by stages with carefully established attainable goals.

In this process/ the legitimacy of the tenant position will exact reluctant cooperation from government. If this cannot be done by negotiation/ then it must be done by demonstration. Further, tactical indirection or surprise will be beneficial. The situation suggests that this indirection can best be achieved by a variation of tactics on the model of reward-punishment conditioning.

Plainly at this stage/ the selection of targets is crucial. Since slums are owned by limited numbers of individuals and since clearcut victories are necessary/ organization should be landlord by landlord/ not block by block. Thus/ all the buildings of a particular landlord can be organized one by one. In this way/ too/ the mass of his illegal activities can be demonstrated.

Public awareness of the moral position must be achieved/ which can be done far better in terms of an individual slumlord than in terms of mass of statistics.

This approach also brings to bear against one landlord all the energies of a chapter (or more than one chapter), softens the resolution of other landlords, and brings into contact tenants from different slum neighborhoods.

To make a slum stop paying, a variety of devices are available depending on the local law. Fines, the cost of forced repairs, rent reduction and rent strikes all have this one value. Rent strikes are complicated to administer and may be harmful to organization. In many jurisdictions tenant rights are unclear. Often rent strikes must be used, but they should not be regarded as the only viable tactic. It is also important to recognize that to make slums stop paying a profit is only a negative goal. Even the repair of slums is largely a negative goal. Both stop or slow down the rebellion. Neither tactic will provide sound housing.

In the second stage/ the chief new problem is dealing with the landlord's surrender. More and more landlords wish to abandon or give away slum buildings (or sell them for nominal prices). Many CORE chapters have failed to anticipate and deal with this problem/ with the result that painstaking organization has been destroyed. The best solution is the formation of a tenant's cooperative to take over the building and rehabilitate it. Both public and private funds can be made available if a sound plan is formulated. Above all/ a strong tenant organization is required which wants a cooperative. The cooperative creates a fundamentally democratic situation and that cannot be done by fiat.

A second alternative is the formation of a citizens' company to take over abandoned buildings, rehabilitate them,and operate them on a non-profit basis. This device is being used by at least one CORE chapter with initial success.

The third method is to make government take over the buildings. This is least desirable in that local government rarely makes a good landlord. Even if government undertakes rehabilitation without removal/ rent increases are a threat. Where government aids private companies to carry out rehabilitation/ tenants are removed and rent increases result.

Finally/ new private ownership can be found; but this is an acknowledgement of defeat/ since the new owner will almost certainly start a new cycle of illegal operation.

The key consideration is that the surrender situation presents the best possible opportunity for the reeducation of tenants. Starting as a defense organization against intolerable shelter conditions/ the tenants' council must become the base for participation in the city's political life and for action to deal with problems such as de-facto school segregation and police brutality. Further/ the rehabilitation of slum buildings will itself provide considerable employment and opportunities for community enterprises. To make it possible for slum people to take cooperative action for their own benefit and to participate in the community on an equal basis/ is the prerequisite of integration.

The depression/ in the sense of hopelessness and defeat which now exists in the slums makes possible the depredations to which these people are now subject. In this stage/ CORE must attract qualified experts,accountants, construction people, social workers, and other specialists. These people will necessarily render services to tenants' council over a term of years. At the same time/ they will play an important role in reeducating tenants to their rights and opportunities.

Further/ CORE will have to induce qualified groups to supplement Legal Aid by rendering services in welfare cases, police brutality cases, and other civil and criminal litigation. The helplessness of slum tenants in dealing with legal problems is a stunning indictment of the Bar and of government.

Finally/ CORE will have to take frequent/ specific positions on legislation/ pending or to be introduced/ which bears on the problems of slum people. These related issues will have to be supported by demonstrations. The demonstrations will in turn/ aid further organization. In this regard/ it will be seen that if a school issue is crucial in a community at a given time/ even though a housing program has not yet begun/ the school issue can subsequently become the nucleus of tenants' council in a housing program. The fact that this paper is devoted to a housing issue should not be taken as meaning that other issues are less important, but all issues ultimately lead back to community organization, and community organization depends on housing organization. Some of the legislative matters will/ of course/ bear directly on land use. The essence is that legislative hearings at all levels of government provide an opportunity to expand and intensify the entire program.

As early as the state of organization permits, action to enforce the political process should be instituted, In the first and second phases/ this action may be comparatively limited and sporadic. Tactically/ this action will tend to create a show of stength greater than exists. It is/ however/ a theorem of action that at the time a demand is made/ its realization cannot be prejudged since the making of the demand alters the conditions of realization. Concentration of such action on carefully selected issues/ and particularly/ concentration on exposed, responsible officials will be essential for effectiveness.

In the third phase/ there must be reliance on political process since the adoption of a realistic housing program (and shift of the initiative to the tenants) requires major political action. Where the slum population exceeds 10% of the city total/ a well organized vote base in the slums can be decisive. In other places/ much greater emphasis must be placed on alliances. To achieve political victory will require replacement of much of the existing political structure in slums/ as well as in the whole community. Inevitably/ CORE must persuade with the moral argument or place government in such a position that it must accept the moral argument.

The conclusion/ that/ to win complex issues/ CORE will have to take political action/ has been repugnant to many CORE members in the past. Yet the conclusion is inescapable. A nonviolent group of limited numbers cannot deal with housing problems in ultimate terms. Nor can such a group deal with open landlord rebellion. Once the organization of large numbers is undertaken/ political action is inescapable. It may satisfy some to call it "community action"/ since/ after all/ no political party will have CORE's support. These issues are likely to plague CORE for many years. CORE can destroy its effectiveness by internal dissenssion or by becoming another Urban League. It can continue only as a militant group furthering the rightful objective of those who suffer discrimination. CORE is a democratic organization/ dedicated to democratic ideals. It cannot undertake to lead demagogically or monolithically. It must organize its people to go their own way, to win by the moral force of non-violent action.

Consequently/ the CORE housing program has a finite term. When people are organized and able to advance their own interests/ slum conditions will have become impossible. A responsible housing program will not only be planned but completed.

At that point/ the landlord-tenant-government relationship in regard to shelter will reach a new equilibrium. With respect to much housing/ one party will have disappeared. Either government or tenants are bound to own a majority of all metropolitan housing in twenty-five years. The exact nature of the relationship is not necessarily predictable or important at this time.

It is crucial now to recognize the slumlord rebellion for what it is and to begin the combat. The slums could become much worse and the condition of slum people could deteriorate greatly. No success is possible in any part of the Northern struggle if the slum situation persists/ nor will school redistricting or any other expedient serve to change the lives of slum people sufficiently to overcome the slum environment. CORE does not accept the slumlord-tenant relationship, but it seeks to end it. The slumlords have declared war : CORE accepts the challenge.

George Schiffer
February 5, 1965

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FEB 24 1965

file – Housing

February 25, 1965

Dear Sir:

WMCA: Call for Action and the Committee on Civil Rights in Metropolitan New York (CCRM) announce a new action service to combat discrimination in housing in New York's five boroughs and the surrounding areas, beginning March 1, 1965. Using the title "WMCA: Ring for Rights", this service will combine the field experience of CCRM with the reach of a major broadcasting station.

The new service will use techniques similar to those developed by WMCA: Call for Action in handling nearly 20,000 cases of housing violations over the past two years. Station WMCA will announce the "Ring for Rights" telephone number, PLaza 3-4400, at intervals throughout the day. Trained telephone volunteers will then direct callers reporting housing discrimination to the appropriate government and voluntary agencies. All cases will be recorded and analyzed in detail, and progress on each will be followed by CCRM. This case information will provide background for WMCA editorials dealing with discrimination.

WMCA: Call for Action will continue its energetic campaign for enforcement of New York City's housing and health codes and the station will continue its program of editorials on housing.

CCRM, a privately organized volunteer organization established in 1949, will continue to handle cases of housing discrimination in depth, confront landlords and brokers, assist in finding bias-free housing for members of minority groups, and refer cases to official agencies. CCRM will work closely with other fair housing groups in all five boroughs and the suburbs.

With "WMCA: Ring for Rights" we hope to make significant contributions in an area which has shown only the slowest progress. We hope to advance towards the goal of true open occupancy throughout Greater New York.

Edna A. Merson
Mrs. Edna A. Merson
Chairman Emeritus-CCRM

Mrs. Herman E. Cooper
Felicia Reed Clark

Hugh J. Stern
Hugh J. Stern
Acting Chairman-CCRM

R. Peter Straus
R. Peter Straus
President, WMCA

Mrs. Herman E. Cooper
Mrs. Joseph Clark, Jr.
Co-Chairmen
WMCA: Ring for Rights

TENANT NEWS

METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING
215 West 23rd Street, New York 10011
SP. 7-8900

TENANTS WIN EMERGENCY REPAIR PROGRAM -- MCH BUILDINGS SIT-IN AT CITY HALL

With much fanfare and newspaper headlines on Jan. 31, the Mayor announced a million dollar fund to make emergency housing repairs. The money (a puny amount compared to the World's Fair Slush fund) will be put in a revolving fund and then replaced as the City bills landlords and collects for the cost of repairs.

The newspaper articles left out one important fact -- that the fund was the result of cold, disgusted tenants who got together and sat down in City Hall, refusing to leave until they got heat. Beginning on Jan. 21, several sit-ins took place. These were organized by the Metropolitan Council on Housing, the East Harlem Tenants Council and the Harlem Action Group(Northern Students Movement).

The actions led to a joint appointment with Mayor Wagner on Jan. 25. The Wagner meeting, which included 5 MCH board members, was never held. The tenant representatives walked out after waiting over 3 hours and watching a parade of minor flunkies walk by them into the Mayor's office. Despite this snub, the Mayor could not totally ignore the sit-ins and issued his order for immediate repairs.

Following the Feb.1 order, several buildings organized by MCH affiliates have tried to get emergency action. It remains to be seen whether this is another typical "press release" reform or whether tenants will get immediate repairs without days of delay and red-tape.

Among the buildings involved in the actions which brought about the million dollar fund were 509-11 Amsterdam Ave. where the tenants were led by Gary Farsakian and Juan Cardozo, co-chairmen, and Stan Aronowitz of MCH, and 41 Ludlow St., whose chairman is Jose Rosa. The Ludlow St. building, where several tenants were felled by leaking coal gas, was assisted by Carl Edelman and Harriet Putterman of Neighbors in Action.

MCH has issued 10,000 copies of a very effective leaflet alerting tenants to the new emergency repair program. The leaflet points out that "the City won't move on our complaints unless tenants organize to let the City know about them." Space is provided to stamp the name and address of the local housing group. Your group can order these at $5 per 1000 from MCH, 215 W. 23 St., SP. 7-8900.

MCH TENANT LOBBY TO ALBANY, TUES., MAR 2

Hundreds of tenants will board buses in the frosty dawn of Tues., Mar. 2 and go to Albany to beard their legislators in their dens. The marble halls of the Legislature will be a little startled to see people with housing problems (not lulus) talking to their assemblymen and state senators and meeting with legislative leaders. A small advance delegation will go up on Mon. to make appointments with legislative leaders and the Governor's office.

This year the tenants will demand that the Democrats produce the housing legislation that has been promised for so many years. Now the Democrats are the majority and can pass laws if they wish.

Buses will leave from several areas of Manhattan (the Lower East Side, Harlem, Washington Heights, Yorkville) and from the Bronx and Brooklyn. The buses will make brief rest stops along the Thruway but there won't be much time to eat. So take box lunches and thermoses. The buses will return about 10:30 p.m. Make your arrangements immediately. Call SP. 7-8900.

Vol. IV, No. 6
February, 1965

DON'T PHONE ME -- I'LL PHONE YOU!

WOrth 4-3000 -- finally, the City has announced a single phone number, around the clock, 7 days a week, where tenants can phone in housing complaints.

The phone number was promised almost a year ago but with the City's customary speed where tenants are concerned, it has taken a year plus pressure from tenants and radio station WMCA -- and a few sit-ins to get it. Now how long will it be until the Mayor gives in to another tenant demand -- a single housing enforcement and inspection agency?

WELCOME TO . . . .

- * Duane-Metropolitan Methodist Church
- * Manhattanville Tenants Association (project tenants group)
- * Neighbors in Action
- * West Side Unified Action Council

the latest affiliates to Metropolitan Council on Housing. And a correction is in order about a new affiliate announced in the Dec., 1964 issue. The United Students of the Americas is not a PuertoRican students organization. It is much broader and is devoted to educational and social service for international youth. Its attempts to provide housing for students has revealed an appalling lack of decent inexpensive housing for students in New York City.

AND A BIG WELCOME . . . .

to newly elected members of MCH's Exec. Board: Barbara Fisher, Bertina Hunter, Augusta Karlson, Eugenio Matta, Harriet Putterman, Armando Santiago, Keith Schaber, Eugenia Selden, William Harrison, & Joseph Walker. They were elected at the Jan. 18 quarterly meeting to fill vacancies. (Eugenia went out and celebrated by getting married to Reid Humphries on Feb. 14. Congratulations and Happy Valentine's Day to both of them!)

LEGISLATIVELY SPEAKING

by Frances Goldin

Tenants living in public housing will be an important part of MCH's TENANT LOBBY to Albany this year. For the first time in many years, an organized group of public housing tenants, representing many projects in all boroughs, will bring their demands to their legislators in Albany -- and insist on action. They have worked out a special set of demands, in addition to backing MCH's legislative program.

There are over a half million public housing tenants in New York City. They are a potentially powerful force. United with private housing tenants, they will be an even more formidable force for better housing.

These are the public housing tenants' demands, as drawn up by the MCH Public Housing Committee:

1. A crash program of 200,000 new public housing apartments over a 5 year period. (Public housing tenants realize that if new public housing construction stops & the program is killed, their projects will soon be turned over to private sponsors, as was done in Buffalo.)

2. Additional subsidies to allow public housing to rent at $10 to $18 per room.

3. A guard for each building to provide for the safety and security of tenants.

4. A law granting tenants in public housing the same protection in court against evictions that tenants in private housing have. No second-class citizenship!

5. Exclusion of the bulk of the earnings of wives and children in determining income limits in public housing.

Public housing tenants have been handicapped in recent years because they have not been united in one citywide organization. Each project was organized separately. As a result, most of their demands have been ignored. Once they are bound together in a fighting organization and they speak with a unified voice, victories will be won, grievances settled and substantial gains achieved.

Buses will leave from various projects & round trip is $5. Call SP. 7-8900.

MCH ASKS FOR RRA ACTION ON LOCKED DOORS

Proposals to increase tenant security were brought to the MCH board by one of its affiliates, the Housing Committee of RENA, and adopted as part of the legislative program. RENA (Riverside-Edgecombe Neighborhood Assn.)covers the upper Harlem-lower WashingtonHeights neighborhood where a recent elevator murder occurred.

Locked doors are essential service

These proposals would place responsibility on the Rent and Rehabilitation Admin. to require landlords to restore locked front doors, bell-buzzer systems, intercoms and guards -- if these were furnished when rent control began in 1943. The RRA's present policy is that tenants are not entitled to any of these services which were stopped before 1962. However, MCH maintains that these are "essential" services, like heat and hot water, and cannot be forfeited by the tenants' failure to protest their abandonment.

Locked doors without rent increases

In addition, the proposals include mandatory locked outer doors, bell-buzzers, and intercoms in all multiple dwellings. In buildings with self-service elevators, there would be an evening guard. There would be no rent increases unless: 1) the services were not furnished in 1943, and 2) the landlord qualified for a "hardship" increase.This would mean that he would have to prove that the building is earning less than 6½%.

Legislation introduced

Several City Councilmen and State legislators have agreed to introduce legislation incorporating these proposals.

RENA offered the legislation as a better solution to the security problem than vigilantes or the RRA's ineffective policy of making locked front doors, etc. voluntary and giving rent increases when and if landlords decide to install them. Altho these are not the final and complete answer,they will give tenants some much-needed minimum protection.

DON'T JUST STAND THERE . . . .

Come to the TENANT EMANCIPATION RALLY
Saturday, April 24
Gracie Mansion, 88th & East End

MET COUNCIL CALENDAR -- SAVE THESE DATES!

Mar. 2 -- TENANT LOBBY TO ALBANY

Mar. 13 -- MCH WORKSHOP ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZING, Part II. From noon to 4 p.m., 215 West 23rd St.

Apr. 24 -- TENANT EMANCIPATION RALLY at Gracie Mansion. More next month.

MORNINGSIDE TENANTS PICKET TO PROTEST EVICTION BY COLUMBIA PHARMACY SCHOOL

Singing and chanting in the bitter cold weather,100 Morningside tenants picketed Columbia College of Pharmacy on Tues.afternoon, Feb. 2. They were protesting the College's plan to move from its present E. 68th St. location to a site on Morningside Dr. and 122nd St. Five residential buildings stand on the site now. If this move is approved by the Rent and Rehabilitation Administration (RRA), 100 families face eviction from their spacious moderate rental apartments.

The demonstration was called by Morningsiders United, a MCH affiliate. MU's past chairman,Marie Runyon,is a resident of the affected buildings and has led a 3 year fight to prevent their demolition. On the picketline were site tenants as well as tenants from neighboring buildings also threatened with eviction by other institutions planning to expand.

At a Jan.28 rally held at Corpus Christi Church, 250 area residents heard a battery of speakers pledge their intention to stay in their homes "even if we have to barricade ourselves in."

Many of the expanding institutions are connected with Columbia University. Columbia is a large landholder in the community and has been systematically buying up buildings in preparation for expansion.

Support for the tenants' fight came from Rep. William F. Ryan,who sent a telegram condemning Pharmacy's efforts to evict the tenants and tear down the buildings. Assem. Daniel Kelly, Dem. district leaders Franz Leichter and Margaret Cox, and Stanley Aronowitz,MCH vice-chairman,were among the speakers who pledged support.

MET COUNCIL DIARY

Commission on Human Rights, Jan. 12: Law committee ch. Dick Levenson testified on MCH's FairHousingRentalService proposal.

Rehabilitation study in the St. Nicholas area, Jan. 14: At a hearing before the Bd.of Estimate on study funds, MCH board member Wm. Stanley spoke for MCH and for the UptownTen.Counc. His testimony asked that the rehabilitation study be directed to finding ways in which the tenants, small homeowners and small businessmen could remain at rents they can afford.

Comm. for Democratic Voters, Jan. 16: A legislative conference heard MelBeinart, co-ch. of MCH's Fair Housing Rental Service Committee, representing MCH.

WBAI, State of the Nation program, Jan. 17: Stanley Aronowitz, MCH vice-ch., was one of the participants in discussion.

Comm.on CivilRights inMetropolitan N.Y., Jan. 19: Jane Benedict, MCH chairman, spoke to the Technical Committee.

Pelham Ref. Dem. Club, Jan. 29: MCH bd. member MamieJackson addressed this group.

Cafe Talkout, Brooklyn, Jan. 23: Major Owens, MCH bd.member and ch. of Brooklyn CORE, and Hy Bershad, co-ch. of Pkway.-Stuy. Comm. Council's Community Renewal Corm., a MCH affiliate, participated in a hot discussion on urban renewal. Their opponent was Vito Battista, firm foe of rent control and public housing. This nightspot features monthly discussions on controversial topics.

Chelsea Tenants Federation, Jan. 27: MCH bd.member Frances Goldin proposed alternatives, similar to those of the Alternate Plan for Cooper Sq., to tenants of a 3-block area due for demolition for a playground for the H.S.of Fashion and Industry. MCH's Citizens' Survey of Available Land will be used to find sites for building new housing to relocate the tenants before their homes are demolished.

Tenants Community Union, Feb. 2: Major Owens addressed this housing group.

Lillian Wald Project Ten. Assn., Feb. 2: Richard Levenson spoke about MCH's legislative program and the Mar. 2 LOBBY.

Assn. of Fair Housing Committees, Feb. 4: Mel Beinart presented the FHRS proposal.

Fur Wkers. Union Joint Bd., Feb. 10: The MCH legislative program and the Mar. 2 LOBBY were explained by Mel Beinart

Williamsburg-Greenpoint CoordinatingCouncil, Feb. 12: Members of local churches, Hispanic clubs and the NAACP held a War on Poverty Conference and heard MCH bd. member Esther Rand at the housing panel.

The METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING welcomes the support of every organization and individual who wants to work for more decent non-segregated housing at rents that people can afford to pay.

Yearly membership is $10 for organizations; $5 for individuals. You may join by signing this address label ---------- and sending it with membership fee to Met Council, 215 W. 23rd St., N.Y. 10011

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Broadcast 8 times February 9-10, 1965

HOUSING #49

After years of fumbling red tape, the city is finally doing something drastic about buildings owned by slumlords who refuse to fix up their properties.

The city now makes emergency repairs itself with a million dollars of anti-poverty money, bills the slumlords and hopes to collect from them later.

This is using public money to do what slumlords should be responsible for -- keeping up the buildings they own.

But because it should help slum victims, WMCA supports the program.

It won't clean up all the rat-infested, broken-down firetrap that one million slum dwellers call home, because it deals only with emergency cases. But it is a step forward.

(393)

time is made available for broadcast of responsible opposing views

RADIO EDITORIAL
570KC

the straus broadcasting group, inc.
415 madison ave. n.y. n.y. 10017 • 212 mu 8-5700

Broadcast 8 times February 11-12, 1965

HOUSING #50

1600 people live on West 114th Street in Harlem between 7th and 8th Avenues. They call it home, but in reality it's a monstrous social prison where their hopes and dreams have been crushed over the years in the housing squalor that surrounds them.

All this could be changed, however, because the federal and city governments will try out an idea first pushed by two people in private business, Frederick Richmond and Carol Haussamen, and by City Rent and Rehabilitation Administrator Hortense Gabel.

Eighteen months from now, the 37 broken down tenement buildings on the block will be completely renovated. None of the tenants will be forced out by excessively higher rents. The street will be closed so the kids can play ball. Trees will be planted. Backyards will have grass and swings. And basements will be used as health clinics, pre-school classes and employment training centers.

It's a noble vision, and WMCA salutes this fine example of cooperation between government and private business.

(394)

time is made available for broadcast of responsible opposing views

File Housing

February 17, 1965

Mr. Harry A. Blachman
1420 Illuminating Building
Cleveland, Ohio 44113

Dear Mr. Blachman:

I appreciate your sending me the copy of your statement before the Urban Renewal and Housing Committee of Cleveland regarding the East Woodland Urban Renewal Plan.

Urban Renewal is presenting problems in many communities, which are clearly related to civil rights, so of course CORE is interested in learning of cases such as yours.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:mm

Dear Mr. Farmer: May I hear from you? 2/9/65

FEB 11 1965

(Copy to each Representative and Senator of the Congress of the United States.)

STATEMENT BY HARRY A. BLACHMAN, ATTORNEY FOR THE EAST WOODLAND COMMUNITY GROUP, BEFORE THE URBAN RENEWAL AND HOUSING COMMITTEE OF THE CITY OF CLEVELAND, OHIO ON FEBRUARY 3, 1965

Final Hearing
Wed. Feb. 10th - 10 a.m.
Room 217 City Hall

Blachman

Acknowle
with thank
27
(if we have action)

MR. CHAIRMAN AND MEMBERS OF YOUR COMMITTEE:

I appreciate the privilege of addressing you, with respect to Ordinance No. 145-65, which relates to the East Woodland Urban Renewal Plan, for the general area of Woodland Avenue and East 71st to East 79th Streets, Cleveland, Ohio.

About 8 years ago, on July 13, 1956, the City Planning Commission found and determined that the East Woodland Urban Renewal Project Area was a blighted and deteriorated area, as defined by Section 1.5102 of the Codified Ordinances of the City of Cleveland. This section called for the City Planning Commission to prepare a Renewal Plan for such area.

On April 14, 1960 the City Planning Commission completed a Renewal Plan for this predominantly residential area, calling mainly and substantially for Residential and Rehabilitation Renewal. (File No. 1075-60)

On June 13, 1960 the Council of the City of Cleveland approved the Resolution and Renewal Plan of the City Planning Commission and "pledged the cooperation of the City in helping to carry out the Urban Renewal Plan for Area East Woodland Project No. Ohio R-7." (Ordinance No. 1100-60). Pursuant thereto the City thereafter received a $2,038,155 federal grant for such residential redevelopment.

The area extends from E. 71st St.-east to E. 73rd St.-east to E. 75th St. and eastward to the Pennsylvania Railroad tracks; and from Platt Avenue on the north to the Nickel Plate tracks on the south, below Woodland Avenue.

The Project Plan includes some land clearance, new residences, rehabilitation of old properties, light industry, recreational facilities, a small shopping area, new churches and new streets.

The Plan provided for the rehabilitation of more than 50 homes on E. 71st, E. 73rd and E. 75th Streets, both north and south of Woodland Avenue. Owners here did what the City asked them to do, spending $30,000 overall for rehabilitation, one owner spending $6000 and another $3000 in these 5 block-parcels of 8 acres.

New residences were provided for on E. 73rd and E. 75th Streets and on both the north and south sides of Woodland Avenue in 6 block-parcels of 8 acres. New residences were to adjoin and protect the adjacent Community Apartment Development of 148 units at 7700 Woodland Avenue.

More than 8 years after the City initiated this Residential Renewal Project, and after the Council had pledged the cooperation of the City to help carry out this Urban Renewal Plan, the City Planning Commission has come to the Council, with no hesitancy and no misgivings, asking you to abandon this Urban Renewal Plan and the people who placed their trust in you by cooperating with you and rehabilitating their homes.

Let us take pause for a moment- and examine the history of Federal Urban Renewal. In enacting the Housing Act of 1949 the Congress of the United States declared, that since private enterprise had failed in its responsibility to provide low-cost housing for low-income groups, the Federal Government was justified in entering this field and extending financial assistance, "with respect to any urban renewal area which is predominantly residential in character and which is to be redeveloped for predominantly residential use".

The object of this legislation was to reach the goal "of a decent home and suitable living environment for every American family." That purpose has not changed to this day. Those are the very words which President Johnson used in his Message to the Congress a year ago. Those are the same words which the President used in his Message to Congress early this year.

We have wandered far afield, under our free enterprise system, when business and industrial concerns, which can well take care of themselves in acquiring land for their ventures by direct negotiations with the owners of such land, have become the chief object of the City's solicitude and concern. Just how far we have gone can be gathered from the following excerpt from the Congressional Record of April 23, 1964, Page 8573:

> "Cleveland has received or will receive an estimated total of $15,814,000 for nonresidential redevelopment out of an estimated total of $27,696,000 for all projects. This is 57.1 per cent of the total, in contrast to the requirement in the Housing Act that on a national level only 30 per cent of the funds can go for predominantly nonresidential projects."

Why is there this inordinate concern of the City and the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce, who act like brokers, for industrial clients? It is said, that industrial developers would grab the East Woodland area tomorrow, if it were available. No industrial developer is going to grab this area.

Owners of industry in this area, who wanted to stay, were driven out. They bowed to the wishes and judgment of the Government, in favor of residential renewal in East Woodland. The specially privileged developers, who are looking for bargain-priced land, should not be permitted to replace these former owners of industry here. Let them look elsewhere. Let the City place them elsewhere, if you please.

Shouldn't our primary concern be for people-these people, for whose benefit the Housing Act was enacted;-these people, who have been kept on the brink of uncertainty and despair for the last 8 years;-these people, worthy, provident and courageous, who kept faith with you by improving their residences?

And what of the 148 families in the Community Co-op Apartments at 7700 Woodland Avenue, a large percentage of whom are in danger of losing all of their investments here, because of the threatened encroachment of industry? You will have an opportunity to listen to a Joint Statement of Rev. Jessie Davis, representing the Residents of the Community Co-op Apartments, and James Scribner, President of the East Woodland Community Group owners.

These people are peaceful and law abiding citizens. The Negro Community resents the City's treatment of them. Good citizens in every segment of our community resent it. The seeds of discontent can wreak havoc in a community. We don't want, what happened last year, to occur again. Let us not minimize this danger, lest there be a tragic penalty to pay. Ponder this well. You are not dealing with dollars and cents here, or with compensatory damages, or increased tax duplicates. The dignity of the human being is at stake here, every human being. The good name of the City of Cleveland is at stake here. The peace of the community is at stake here.

In conclusion: (1) The Housing Act of 1949, initially, and as amended, was enacted to help residential areas and people like those in the East Woodland Area, and the 1964 Amendments placed the emphasis on Rehabilitation and not Demolition, or Relocation.

(2) The City of Cleveland was given a Federal Grant, under the condition that it would fulfill its obligation promptly, to complete the Urban Renewal Plan for Residential Renewal, which it utterly failed to do.

(3) Owners in the East Woodland area fulfilled their obligations by rehabilitating their homes at great expense, whereas the City refused to honor, but has impaired, the obligation of its contract.

(4) The City confessed that it had wronged these East Woodland owners.

(5) The City spent more than 57 per cent of Federal funds allocated for nonresidential redevelopment, whereas the National Housing Act forbids more than 30 per cent to be used for non-residential redevelopment.

(6) The City has to date failed to comprehend the seriousness of its action, in entertaining a change from residential renewal to industrial use. The peace of the community has been disturbed once too often.

(7) The City of Cleveland is out of order in trying to substitute its judgment for the judgment of the United States Congress, as to what is best for these people.

(8) And finally, these owners in East Woodland want to stay. They have every right to stay. By every consideration, legal, equitable and moral, the City has failed to sustain the burden of proof, to entitle it to make a change of plan.

We want to be proud of our City and of our City Leaders. This will only come about if the City withdraws its application for a change. By denying the City's request for a change of the renewal plan, you will save the City from its own folly.

(Copies to Members of the United States Congress.)

Harry A. Blachman, 1420 Illuminating Building, Cleveland, Ohio 44113

file - Housing

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Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

MARCH 17, 1965

DONALD FREY
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON PROGRESS
IN EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING
NEW HOLIDAY INN - EAST
SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

DEAR FRIENDS:

CORE SENDS CONGRATULATIONS TO YOU ON THE OCCASION OF YOUR NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. THESE CONGRATULATIONS ARE NOT ONLY FOR THE FACT THAT YOU ARE CONVENING, BUT FOR YOUR CONTINUING EFFORTS IN REMOVING DISCRIMINATORY HOUSING PRACTICES.

ALTHOUGH MANY STATES HAVE LAWS PROHIBITING DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING, THESE PRACTICES PERSIST. IT IS LEFT TO GROUPS LIKE YOUR OWN, AS WELL AS CORE, TO SEE TO IT THAT THE LAWS ARE IMPLEMENTED.

WE HOPE THAT YOUR MEETING WILL BE SUCCESSFUL AND THAT YOUR EFFORTS WILL BE REWARDED SOON BY OUR SEEING FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE FOR ALL.

JAMES FARMER
NATIONAL DIRECTOR
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY

Marvin — will you please take care of This?

The Foundation for Freedom & Democracy in Community Life

ADVANCING a program of Education in responsible individual voluntary action for deepening the channels of expanding individual freedom and democracy in a pluralistic society in each local community, and of strengthening the chances for world peace and order in the atomic age.

1514 Elmwood Avenue
Evanston, Illinois, 60201
GReenleaf 5-8866

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REV. WESLEY WHARTON
East St. Louis, Illinois
MRS. MILDRED BURNS
Lincoln, Nebraska

7 March 1965

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

MAR 9 1965

Dear Mr. Farmer:

This letter is written at the suggestion of Miss Nancy Mutarelli which whom I had the pleasure to talking on the telephone last Thursday, in New York City.

We hope that you will send an inspiring message to both the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON PROGRESS IN EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING, to be held at Springfield, Illinois, March 18-20, 1965, and to the NATIONAL COLLEGE STUDENT CONFERENCE to be held at Eureka College, Eureka, Illinois, March 19-20, 1965.

We believe that CORE chapters around the country have done and are doing considerable constructive work to eradicate housing discrimination from various communities throughout America.

The abovesaid conferences are desitned to be great assemblages of local, state and federal governmental officials and labor, business, civic and religious leaders meeting to exchange ideas and to deepen their commitment to erase housing discrimination from all American communities, which discrimination we believe undermines all human freedom and constitutes the "major economic, social, moral and political cost to every American community".

Looking forward to hearing from you,

Sincerely yours,

Donald Frey

Donald S. Frey,

DSF d

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1514 Elmwood Avenue
Evanston, Illinois, 60201
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MAR 8 1965

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Lincoln, Nebraska

March 6, 1965
dict 3/5/65

Miss Nancy Mutarelli
Administrative Department
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Miss Mutarelli:

It was nice receiving your letter of March 3rd today at the office, enclosing the picture of Mr. James Farmer, when I had just finished talking with you in New York yesterday.

We will include Mr. Farmer's picture in our program sheet being made up for the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON PROGRESS IN EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING.

We hope very much that Mr. Farmer will prepare a special message for the conference which can be read to the many religious and civic leaders coming from all communities of America to this significant meeting.

In addition to Mrs. Faith Rich of the local Chicago CORE chapter, we hope that some representative of CORE's national office (if not Mr. Farmer) will be present.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Don Frey

Donald S. Frey

dsf j
cc: Mrs. Mary Cox

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THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

on PROGRESS in

EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

March 18 - 20, 1965

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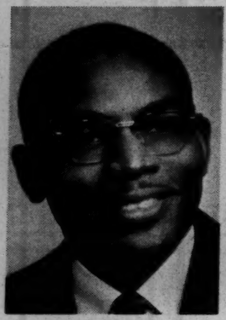
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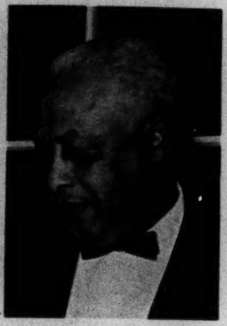
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Mrs. Mary Cox
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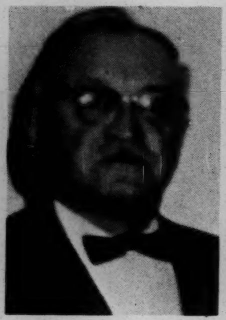
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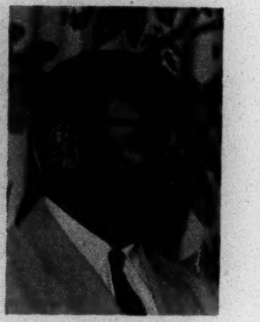
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Dr. E
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Mrs. Ruth Schmiedeskamp
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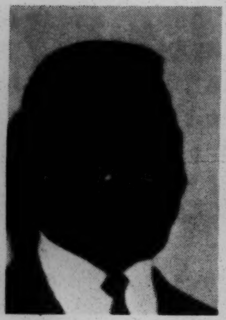
Lamorn Morris
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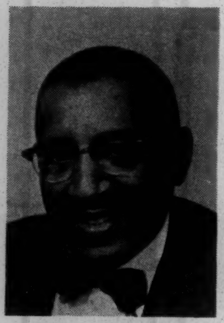
Donald S. Frey
Evanston, Ill.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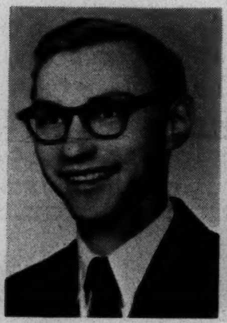
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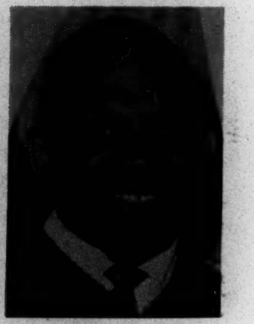
Hinsdale, Ill.


William Johnson
Evanston, Ill.

Rev.
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Mrs. Helen Barnhill
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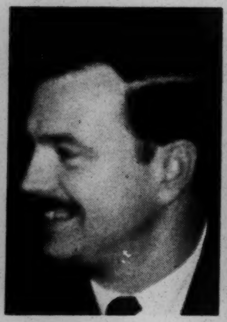
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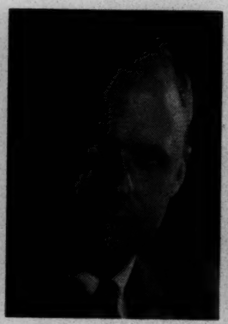
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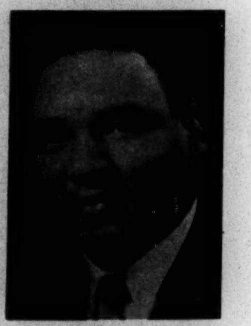
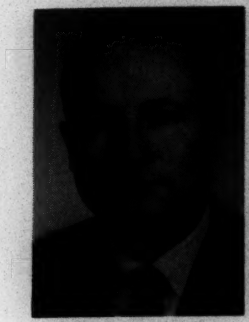

Mr. William H. Oliver
New York, N. Y.

Jan
Mi

ALL PEOPLE WORKING TOGETHER IN VOLUNTARY POSITIVE, SPECIFIC WAYS WILL ELIMINATE THE PRACTICES

, SOCIAL, MORAL AND POLITICAL DAMAGE TO EVERY COMMUNITY.


Dr. Richard J. Carbray
River Forest, Ill.

Mrs. Don Gatchell
Tulsa, Okla.

John E. Hiland, Jr.
Wilmington, Del.

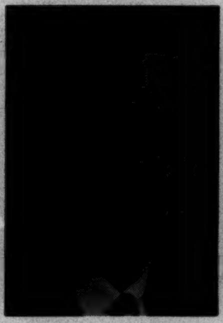
Rev. Francis Duncan
Davenport, Iowa

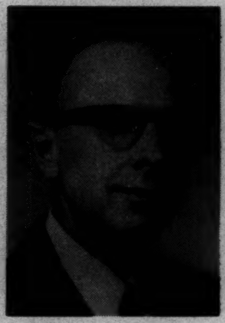
James Coffey
Elgin, Ill.

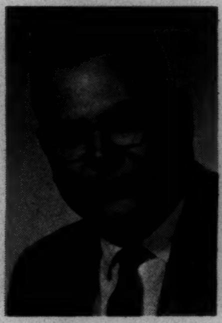
Hon. A. Scariano
Park Forest, Ill.

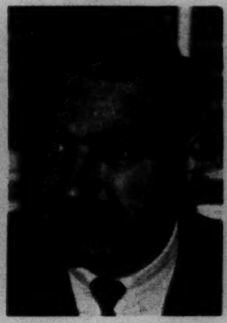
Richard Dunham
York Center, Ill.

Mrs. Galen Russell
Evanston, Ill.


Dr. Paul A. Schilpp
Glenview, Ill.

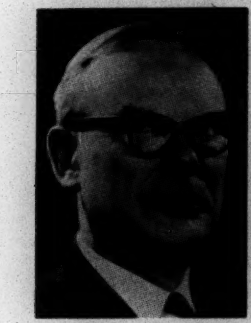

Edward G. Olsen
Chicago, Ill.


Myron Rogers
Freeport, Ill.


Lee Thorpe
Evanston, Ill.

William Hill
Chicago, Ill.

Rev. D. Cantwell
Chicago, Ill.


Dr. Edgar H. S. Chandler
Chicago, Ill.

Mrs. Robt. B. Miller
Gary, Ind.

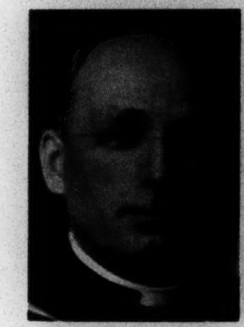
Rev. L. H. Cooperrider
Sterling, Ill.

Dr. Martin L. King
Atlanta, Ga.

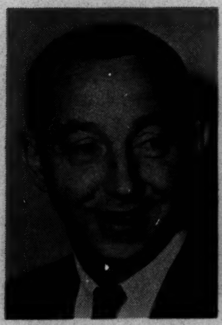
~~Mrs.~~ Jewel LaFontant
Chicago, Ill.

Emily Z. Williams
Evanston, Ill.

Les Brownlee
Evanston, Ill.


Rev. Richard P. Graebel
Springfield, Ill.

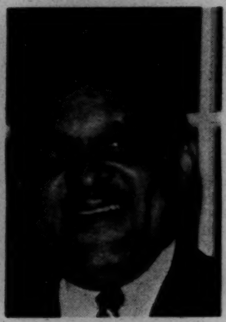
Dr. Roy J. Enquist
Chicago, Ill.


Sam Belfer
Peoria Hgts., Ill.

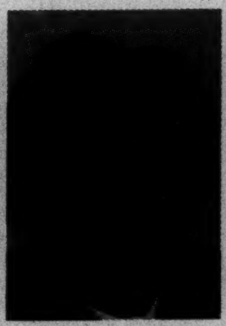
Hal M. Freeman
Chicago, Ill.

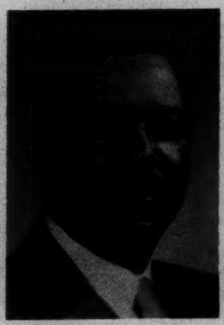
Robert Basker
Skokie, Ill.

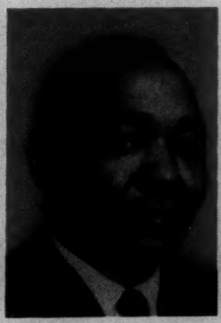
Mrs. Faith Rich
Chicago, Ill.


Andrew Cooper
Evanston, Ill.

James Tillman, Jr.
Minneapolis, Minn.

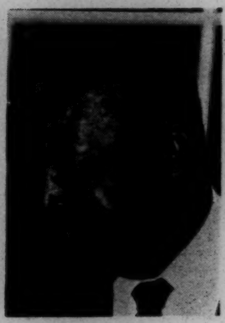

Beatrice M. Jenkins
Omaha, Neb.


Rev. A. A. Hill
Evanston, Ill.


Hon. Cecil A. Partee
Chicago, Ill.

Dr. David Pittman
St. Louis, Mo.

Mrs. Jos. Poindexter
Elgin, Ill.


Sam White
Evanston, Ill.

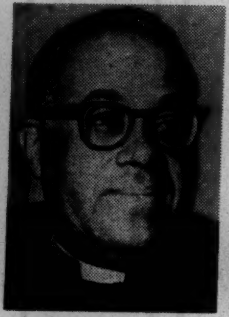
CTICES OF RACIAL HOUSING DISCRIMINATION, WHICH PRESENTLY UNDERMINES ALL HUMAN FREEDOMS.

AFFIRMATIZING, SOCIALIZING, FACTUALIZING, DRAMATIZING AND LEGALIZING "FREEDOM OF HOUSING" FOR ALL

David Owens
E. St. Louis, Ill.

Dr. Garetta Busey
Champaign, Ill.

B. V. Clemons
Peoria, Ill

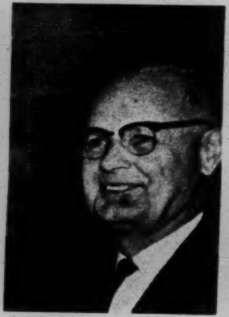

Elder G. Hawkins
Bronx, N Y

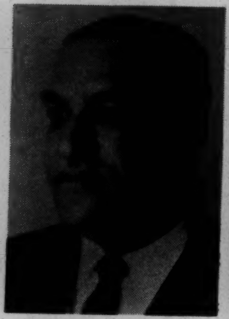
Rt. Rev. James Pike
San Francisco, Calif.

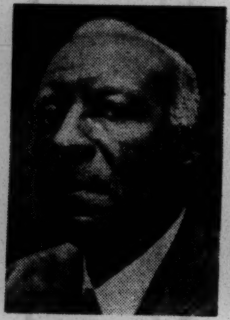
Virginia Nolan
Evanston, Ill.

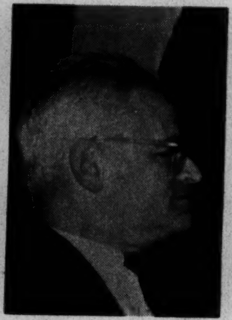
Erwin A. Salk
Chicago, Ill.

Pat Crowley
Wilmette, Ill.


Harold Johnson
Springfield, Ill.


Chester E. Stovall
St. Louis, Mo.

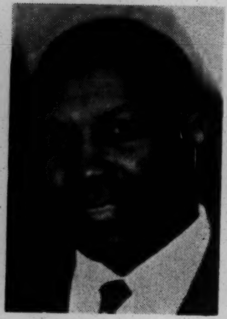

A. Philip Randolph
Harlem, N Y

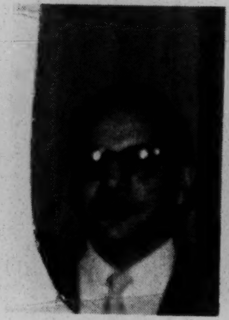

Dr. Homer Jack
Boston, Mass.

Mrs. Ruth Porter
St. Louis, Mo.

Rev. Clarence Bigler
Marion, Wis.

Mrs. Joe Williams
Allendale, Ill.

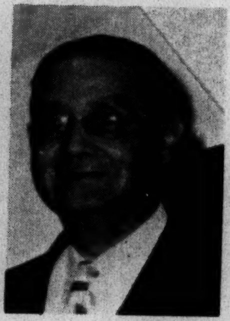

Rev. Ed Bailey
Evanston, Ill.


Dr. Wendell Lanton
Montclair, N Y

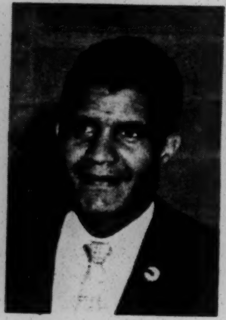
Roland M. Sawyer
New York, N Y

Mr. Jack Hageboeck
Moline, Ill.

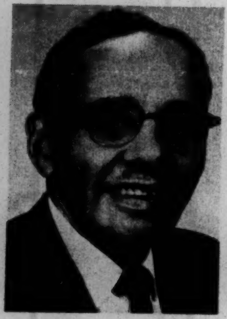
Joe Chindu
Nigeria


Dr. S. C. MacDonald
Evanston, Ill.

Rev. Arthur Burks
Chicago Hgts., Ill.


Stanley Lawrence
Chicago, Ill.

Mrs. Bertha Williams
Danville, Ill.


Loren Miller
New York, N Y

Howard Theilbar
Pekin, Ill.

Bayard Rustin
New York, N Y

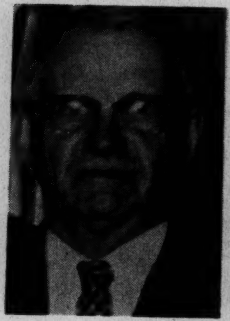
Miss Jane Landrum
Peoria, Ill.

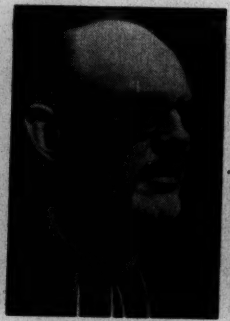
Dr. Kenneth B. Clark
Harlem, N Y

Peter Perdue
Danville, Ill.

Whitney M. Young, Jr.
New Rochelle, N Y

John Kirby
Chicago, Ill.


Burr Blackburn
Spooner, Wis.


Dr. Jules Moreau
Evanston, Ill.

Mr. David Batzka
Eureka, Ill.

SOME OF THESE PARTICIPANTS (AND OTHER AMERICANS) WILL BE AT NATIONAL COLLEGE STUDENT ASSEMBLY FOR FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE, EUREKA COLLEGE, EUREKA, ILL., (NEAR PEORIA, ILL.) MARCH 19-20, 1965.

HERE IS YOUR -
Advanced Program and Registration Form -

liberty under law

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

on PROGRESS in

EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

ALA.
ALAS.
ARIZ.
ARK.
CAL.
COL.
CONN.
DEL.
FLA.
GA.
HAW.
ID.
ILL.
IND.
IA.
KANS.
KY.
LA.
ME.
MD.
MASS.
MICH.
MINN.
MISS.
MO.

MONT.
NEB.
NEV.
N. H.
N. J.
N. M.
N. Y.
N. C.
N. D.
OHIO
OKLA.
ORE.
PA.
R. I.
S. C.
S. D.
TENN.
TEX.
UTAH
VT.
VA.
WASH.
W. VA.
WIS.
WYO.

(Fifth Annual Multi-State Conference of Civic and Religious Leaders) and governmental and non-governmental organizations, to exchange views and develop more effective means to defend and advance the HUMAN RIGHT TO LIVE - the annual inspirational peak of the vital and fundamental Freedom of Residence movement.

March 18 - 20, 1965

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS
(New Holiday Inn - East)

Sponsored by -
THE FOUNDATION FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY
IN COMMUNITY LIFE, INC.
1514 Elmwood Avenue - Evanston, Illinois

A VITAL NATIONAL EVALUATION of the road ahead in community by community implementation of the 1964 Federal Civil Rights Act and the responsibilities of acceptance and positive voluntary action by people in their states and communities, spelling out the challenges of THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS - "Everyone has the right to FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT and RESIDENCE within the border of each state."

OF YOUR CONFERENCE -

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON HAS SAID:

> "I AM HAPPY TO EXTEND MY GREETINGS TO THOSE ATTENDING THE MID-AMERICA CONFERENCE ON FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE....
>
> "THE CONCERN AND INTEREST OF THE CITIZENS OF AMERICA IN THE CONCEPT OF EQUAL HOUSING OPPORTUNITY IS A CRUCIAL FACTOR IN ACHIEVING OUR GOALS. YOUR CONFERENCE TESTIFIES TO THE WORK BEING DONE TO STIMULATE CITIZEN ACTIVITY IN THIS FIELD, AND TO THE COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP WE MUST HAVE TO TRANSLATE EQUAL HOUSING OPPORTUNITIES FROM A PLEDGE TO A REALITY."

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY HAS SAID:

> "THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OFFERING THE SERVICE OF THE FOUNDATION FOR FREEDOM & DEMOCRACY IN COMMUNITY LIFE IN THE CONVENING OF CONFERENCES TO IMPLEMENT THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL.
>
> "[I]WOULD NOT PRECLUDE YOUR FOUNDATION FROM TAKING THE INITIATIVE IN THIS AREA. THIS IS ESSENTIALLY A MATTER WHICH WILL HAVE TO BE SETTLED INDIVIDUALLY AMONG THE SEVERAL STATES, PROBABLY AT THE INITIATIVE OF THE GOVERNORS OF THOSE STATES....
>
> "[BUT I HAVE NO] DESIRE TO DISCOURAGE ANY REPUTABLE ORGANIZATION FROM MOVING AHEAD IN THIS IMPORTANT FIELD.
>
> "IN OTHER WORDS, I ENCOURAGE YOU AND YOUR FOUNDATION TO TAKE WHATEVER STEPS YOU BELIEVE TO BE APPROPRIATE AND POSSIBLE IN THIS IMPORTANT AREA."

THE HON. SARGENT SHRIVER, DIRECTOR OF THE WAR ON POVERTY PROGRAM, HAS SAID:

> "IT IS ENCOURAGING TO KNOW THAT EFFORTS SUCH AS YOURS ARE TAKING PLACE AND I LOOK FORWARD TO A CONTINUED DIALOGUE BETWEEN US."

FORMER PENNSYLVANIA GOVERNOR, THE HON. DAVID L. LAWRENCE, HAS SAID:
(CHAIRMAN OF PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING)

> "THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE SINCERELY APPRECIATES YOUR CONSTANT DEVOTION TO THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE FOR ALL AMERICANS AND YOUR HARD WORK ON ITS BEHALF. WITHOUT THE DETERMINED EFFORT OF CITIZENS LIKE YOURSELF, THE GOALS WE SEEK WOULD BE MUCH MORE REMOTE.

SENATOR EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN HAS SAID:

> "I AM GLAD TO NOTE THE WORK OF YOUR COMMITTEE IN SEEKING TO ACHIEVE FAIR HOUSING PRACTICES NOW FOR ALL COMMUNITIES...ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS.
>
> "IN THIS DAY AND AGE THE TREND SEEMS TO BE TOWARD GOVERNMENT COMPULSION AT ALL LEVELS AND TO ME THIS IS ALIEN TO THE SPIRIT OF OUR COUNTRY AND ITS TRADITIONS AND SEEMS TO DOWNGRADE OUR CAPACITY FOR ACHIEVING PROGRESS IN THIS AND OTHER FIELDS AT THE LOCAL LEVEL ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS. ALL POWER TO YOU."

MAJOR SPEAKERS, PANELISTS AND RESOURCE LEADERS

AT

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON PROGRESS IN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY HOUSING

ON

MARCH 18, 19, 20 - 1965

(SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS - HOLIDAY INN - EAST)

MR. KERMIT BAILER, Assistant Administrator, Office of Community Programs, Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington, D.C.
DR. ALGERNON D. BLACK, Chairman of the Board, National Committee against Discrimination in Housing, 323 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York 10016
DR. DETON J. BROOKS, JR., Executive Director, Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity, 1 N. Wacker Dr. Chicago, Ill.
DR. PAUL A. SCHILPP, Northwestern University, Department of Philosophy College of Arts and Sciences, Evanston, Illinois
MR. JACK E. WOOD, JR., Associate Executive Director, National Committee against Discrimination in Housing 323 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016
HON. DONALD M. FRASER, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.
MR. THEODORE A. JONES, Senior Vice President-General Manager Supreme Life Insurance Company of America, 3501 South Parkway, Chicago 53, Illinois
MR. WILLIAM ROBINSON, 2851 South Parkway, Chicago, Illinois 60616
MR. ERWIN A. SALK, President, Salk, Ward & Salk, Inc. 11 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois 60603
MR. SARGENT SHRIVER, Director, Office of Economic Opportunity, Executive Office of the President, Washington D.C.
THE REV. CURTIS BARGE, 1721 Leland Avenue, Evanston, Illinois
MR. N. P. DOTSON, Zone Intergroup Relations Advisor, Federal Housing Administration, 219 South Dearborn St. Chicago
MR. ROLAND M. SAWYER, Housing Consultant, United Steelworkers of America, 1500 Commonwealth Building, Pittsburgh 22 Pennsylvania
MISS LUCILLE D. LAMKIN, Associate Executive Director, The YMCA of Chicago, 1001 North Dearborn St. Chicago, Illinois
MR. REX CARR, Kassly, Weihl, Carr & Bone, 401-409 Spivey Building, East St. Louis, Illinois
MRS. DIANA ZENTAY, Program Assistant, Community Relations Service Washington, D.C. 20230
MR. ALFRED E. COWLES, Executive Director, City of Grand Rapids, Human Relations Commission, Grand Rapids, Mich.
MR. WILLIAM H. OLIVER, Co-Director, Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department - UAW, Solidarity House 8000 East Jefferson Avenue, Detroit 14, Michigan
WILFRED REID, D.D., Saint Stephen African Methodist Episcopal Church, 2000 West Washington Blvd. Chicago, Illinois
MR. MORRIS MILGRAM, Modern Community Developers, Inc. Suite 111, 7750 Roosevelt Blvd. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

MR. RALPH HELSTEIN, President, United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers, AFL-CIO, 1800 Transportation Building, 608 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois
THE REV. BLAINE RAMSEY, JR., 106 North Fourth Street, Champaign, Ill.
DR. G. AUBREY YOUNG, Director, Governor's Commission on Human Rights, 900 State Office Building, 1 West Wilson Street, Madison, Wisconsin
REV. EDWARD F. BAILEY, The Ministerial Conference of Evanston, 944 Elmwood Avenue, Evanston, Illinois
MR. JOHN R. ALLEN, 600 Forestview, Geneva, Illinois
REV. ARTHUR BURKS, President, Chicago Heights Branch NAACP, 1612 Portland Avenue, Chicago Heights, Illinois
MR. JOHN A. QUISENBERRY, 2112 Park Lane, Highland Park, Illinois
MR. CHARLES M. JUDD, Breneman-Hartshorn, Inc., 1133 Sycamore Street, Cincinnati 10, Ohio
REV. A. ALTON HILL, Mount Zion Baptist Church, 1113 Clark Street, Evanston, Illinois
MRS. ANN PROSTEN, 5109 South Cornell Avenue, Chicago, Illinois
MR. EDWARD NOONAN, 53 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois
MR. RICHARD THAIN, Assistant Dean, Roosevelt University, 430 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60605
MRS. HELEN O'BRIEN, 412 Lee Street, Evanston, Illinois
MR. HOWARD W. SMITH, Executive Secretary, National Committee on Tithing in Investment, 1914 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C.
MR. HERBERT H. FISHER, 8343 St. Lawrence Avenue, Chicago, Illinois
MRS. IRENE TURNER, 5342 South Kimbark Avenue, Chicago, Illinois
MR. EDWARD MARCINIAK, 211 West Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois
MRS. PAULINE MORTON-FINNEY, 2918 Boulevard Place, Indianapolis, Ind.
MR. J. PHILIP WARING, 5903 Cates, St. Louis, Missouri
MR. CHARLES BENTON, President, Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc. Wilmette, Illinois
DR. HOWARD HASSINGER, 1044 Asbury Avenue, Evanston, Illinois
MRS. IRENE L. RIEHL, 2312 Fairview Drive, Alton, Illinois
BILLY JONES, ESQ., Attorney-at-Law, 342A East Broadway, East St. Louis, Illinois
MRS. DAVID BLAKE, 1116 South 16th Street, Springfield, Illinois
MR. GEORGE WASHNIS, Administrative Assistant, City Hall, East St. Louis, Illinois
MR. DAVID OWENS, 3502 Trendley Avenue, East St. Louis, Illinois
DR. CHARLES KIMBROUGH, Route #2, Sparta, Illinois
JEROME B. BOHMAN, ESQ. Attorney at Law, 901 Third National Bank Bldg. Dayton, Ohio
MR. HAROLD HATCHER, Director, Indiana Civil Rights Commission, 1004 State Office Building, Indianapolis, Indiana
MR. JOHN K. ARNOT, Interracial Fellowship of LaGrange, 315 North La Grange Road, La Grange Park, Illinois
MR. GLENN A. KNISS, Springfield (Ill.) Committee for F.O.R., 423 West Lawrence, Springfield, Illinois
REV. ARTHUR BURKS, NAACP, 1612 Portland Avenue, Chicago Heights, Ill.
MR. DONALD O'HAIR, United Campus Christian Fellowship, Northern Illinois University, U.C.C.F. House, 246 Carroll De Kalb, Illinois
MRS. HENRY AMT, Elkhart Council of United Church Women, 4800 West Indiana Avenue, Elkhart, Indiana
DR. MARTIN BICKHAM, Wilmette Human Relations Committee, 429 9th Street, Wilmette, Illinois

PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON PROGRESS IN EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

THURSDAY, MARCH 18, 1965

8:00 A.M. Clergymen - Legislators' Breakfast
Theme - "THE MORALITY OF PRIVATE PROPERTY"
"THE ROLE OF LAW TO ACHIEVE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY"

(Held in conjunction with meeting of Illinois legislators who will be considering passage of a Fair Housing Practices Bill)

10:00 Panel Presentation
Theme - "THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN BUILDING STRONGER AND HEALTHIER COMMUNITIES"

(Examples of leadership by Judeo-Christian leaders throughout America to eliminate the practices of racial and religious prejudice that divide and frustrate community progress)

12:00 Noon LUNCHEON TIME OPEN - allowing for informal gatherings and committee meetings for final preparations for a vigorous and constructive conference. Interviews with press, review of public exhibits developed by community groups.

2:00 P.M. Panel Presentation
Theme - "THE ROLE OF FEDERAL, STATE AND MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS TO GUARANTEE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING"
- Official declaration in every town in America
- Improvements to existing statutes

4:00 WORK SHOPS - Organized on various aspects of the Freedom of Residence Movement, with arrangements for Work Shops to have supper together and continue discussions with Resource Leaders of outstanding achievement.

7:00 "FREEDOM FIRESIDE FORUMS" - Role playing by conference attendants at hotel and throughout city of Springfield arranged by Springfield Freedom of Residence Committee

8:00 MEETING OF THE TRUSTEES of the Foundation for Freedom and Democracy in Community Life

ALL HAVE A HIGH STAKE IN AND A DEEP RESPONSIBILITY FOR BUILDING FREE AND TRUE COMMUNITIES

BANKERS - BANKING AND BUSINESS GENERALLY ARE SEEING THAT THE "EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY CRUSADE" APPLIES TO THEM AS WELL. THEY ARE SPEAKING UP AND ACTING UP AND REVIEWING THEIR PRACTICES.

BUILDERS - BUILDERS AND MANAGERS OF HOUSING, PLANNERS, AND ARCHITECTS WILL NOT LAG BEHIND IN MAKING INTEGRATED URBAN LIVING POPULAR AND DESIRABLE.

RELATORS AND BROKERS - IN SPITE OF BEING BUT AGENTS FOR PROPERTY OWNERS, REALTORS AND BROKERS HAVE A CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY TO PERSUADE PEOPLE ON THE BENEFITS OF INTEGRATED LIVING AS WELL AS THE LEGAL REQUIREMENTS.

EDUCATORS - COLLEGE STUDENTS AND TEACHERS SEE SEGREGATION AS A THREAT TO THE FUTURE OF FREE EDUCATION AND TO THE WORLD'S PEACE AND HEALTH.

GOVERNMENT - POLITICIANS, CIVIL SERVANTS AND PROFESSIONAL HUMAN RELATIONS EXECUTIVES SEE THE NEED TO TAKE POSITIVE ACTION TO ACHIEVE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING - THE BASIC RIGHT OF AMERICANS.

CHURCHES - CLERGYMEN AND LAYMEN MUST NOT ONLY PREACH "EQUALITY" BUT MUST PERSONALLY LEAD IN SPECIFIC ACTIONS TO ACHIEVE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING FOR ALL AMERICANS.

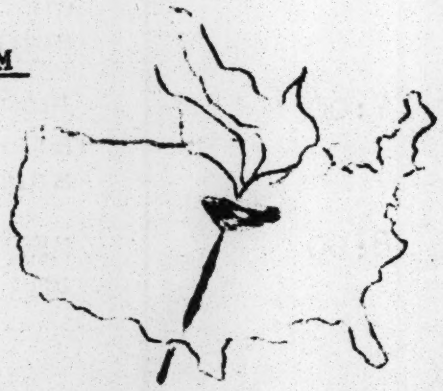
LABOR - LABOR IS ORGANIZING FOR "COMMUNITY" AS WELL AS "FOR JOBS".

LAWYERS - LAWYERS AND POLITICAL SCIENTISTS SEE THE THREAT TO DEMOCRACY AND AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS IF THE FALSE CONCEPT OF "AN ABSOLUTE REGARD TO DO WITH ONE'S PROPERTY WHAT HE PLEASES" IS GIVEN ANY CREDENCE.

CITIZENS - ALL CITIZENS IN EVERY WALK OF LIFE, AND PARTICULARLY SOCIAL SCIENTISTS, MUST COME TO RECOGNIZE THE HIGHER HUMAN VALUES OF INTEGRATED LIVING IN EACH AREA BEING "A LITTLE WORLD COMMUNITY".

HOLD FORTH THE TORCH OF FREEDOM

OVER ALL AMERICA



PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

ON PROGRESS IN EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

Friday - March 19, 1965

7:30 AM **FREEDOM FACT FINDING BREAKFASTS**
Informal groupings of conferees with emphasis on surveying housing injustices and bringing them to responsible public attention.

9:00 AM **NATIONAL ASSEMBLY PLENARY SESSION**
Keynote Address: COMMUNITY CHALLENGES IN THE NEW AGE OF HUMAN RELATIONS
Followed with Panel Presentation by outstanding citizens, giving examples of positive citizen action taken in their communities.

12:15 PM **Recess for Luncheon**
(Informal luncheon groups made up of Workshop participants)

2:16 PM **Panel Presentation:** THE ROLE OF BANKERS, BUILDERS, REALTORS and CITY PLANNERS IN TOMORROW'S INTEGRATED COMMUNITY
Personal case histories by leading citizens.

6:00 PM **RECEPTION:** Informal gathering of all conferees to meet each other and the distinguished leaders in housing throughout the country.

7:00 PM **CHAMPION OF OPEN OCCUPANCY AWARDS BANQUET**
- Distinguished Speakers -

THE WORKSHOPS* FOR

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON PROGRESS IN EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

(*PLEASE DESIGNATE ON YOUR ADVANCED REGISTRATION STATEMENT WHAT PARTICULAR AREAS OF INTEREST YOU WOULD LIKE TO EXPLORE AT THE ASSEMBLY)

1. IMPLEMENTATION OF EXECUTIVE ORDERS (FEDERAL - STATE) FHA - VA
2. IMPROVEMENT OF STATE LEGISLATION (INTERPRETATION AND ADMINISTRATION)
3. MUNICIPAL ACTION FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY (CITIES, TOWNS, COUNTIES)
4. LITIGATION TO ACHIEVE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY (EXISTING REMEDIES)
5. RESPONSIBLE VOLUNTARY ACTION TO CURB UNFAIR PRACTICES (ALL PROGRAMS)
6. EFFECTIVE FACT FINDING COMMUNITY SURVEYS (HOW? WHAT? FOLLOW-UP)
7. PROTEST TECHNIQUES - EVALUATION, IMPROVEMENT
8. PUBLIC HOUSING PROBLEMS
9. POPULARIZING INTEGRATED LIVING - MOTIVATION AND MYTH
10. LEADERSHIP FROM BANKING AND REAL ESTATE INTERESTS
11. LEADERSHIP FROM UNION AND CIVIC GROUPS
12. SPECIFIC STEPS CHURCHES ARE TAKING

( ) I want to participate in Workshop No. ______________________.

( ) I will want ______reservations for the "Liberty and Law Luncheon" Sat. March 20 ($3.00 per person)

$______________________Enclosed

( ) I want _______reservations for the "Champion of Open Occupancy Awards" Banquet ($4.00 per person)

$______________________Enclosed

PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

ON PROGRESS IN EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

Saturday - March 20, 1965

7:30 AM BREAKFAST * Workshop Leaders and Reporters to come together to gauge productiveness of Conference, other informal gatherings.

9:00 AM Panel Presentation - THE ROLE OF LABOR UNIONS, CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS, CIVIC AND SOCIAL CLUBS and OTHER VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS -
Series of case histories on specific techniques being followed.
Question period. (followed with final Workshop Sessions)

12:15 PM "LIBERTY AND LAW LUNCHEON"
Address: "The Higher Values of Integration."
Introduction of more Workshop Leaders and Resource Persons.
Community implementation of Federal Civil Rights Act of 1964.

2:30 PM NATIONAL ASSEMBLY PLENARY SESSION

Reports and Recommendations from Workshops
- Popularize the "Equal Opportunity Brokers, Bankers, Builders"
- Launching Journal - "Equal Opportunity Housing"
- Saluting College Student movement for Freedom of Residence
- Proposition 14 in California

4:00 PM SUMMATION OF ASSEMBLY

Caucus of various state groupings of citizens for statewide action.

Decision on date and place of next NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

THE FOUNDATION FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY IN COMMUNITY LIFE, INC.

1514 ELMWOOD AVENUE, EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

(IS A NOT1FOR1PROFIT CORPORATION CONSISTING OF CONCERNED HUMAN BEINGS OF ALL FAITHS, ALL RACES, ALL OCCUPATIONS, AND ALL POLITICAL PARTIES WHO VOLUNTEER THEIR TIME TO ADVANCE THE FOLLOWING PROPOSITIONS - AND INVITE THE FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS OF INDIVIDUALS AND AGENCIES TO AID IN THEIR ADVANCE.)

(1) THAT - "AMERICANS ARE LIVING UNDER A DICTATORSHIP OF RACIAL PREJUDICE IN REAL ESTATE" WHICH MUST BE OVERTHROWN NOW, RAPIDLY AND PEACEFULLY, BY MARSHALLING THE TOTAL LEADERSHIP OF EACH COMMUNITY ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS THROUGH THE POSITIVE, SPECIFIC, INDIVIDUAL ACTION OF EVERY GOOD CITIZEN.

(2) THAT - THERE IS NO SINGLE FACT OF INJUSTICE ON THE AMERICAN SCENE WITH MORE MANIFOLD AND DEEPER INJURIES TO AMERICAN LIFE THAN THE WHOLESALE DENIAL TO MINORITY GROUPS OF THE RIGHT TO BUY OR RENT A HOME ANYWHERE THEY CAN AFFORD.

(3) THAT - HOUSING INTEGRATION IS THE ACID TEST OF DEMOCRACY, WITHOUT WHICH OUR SCHOOLS CANNOT BE INTEGRATED, EQUALITY IN JOB ADVANCEMENT CANNOT BE ACHIEVED, CHURCHES CANNOT BE INTEGRATED, URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAMS CANNOT SUCCEED, AND THE WHOLE RACIAL CRISIS CANNOT BE RESOLVED.

(4) THAT - FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE WILL ELIMINATE RACIAL AND RELIGIOUS PREJUDICE, BRINGING THE MORE ABUNDANT LIFE TO ALL PEOPLE, IN FREE AND TRUE COMMUNITIES, AND IN THE FREEDOM AND UNITY OF ALL MANKIND.

PLANNING AND ARRANGEMENTS COMMITTEE FOR THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON PROGRESS IN EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

Springfield, Illinois, March 18-20, 1965

MR. GLEN KNISS, 423 W. Lawrence Avenue, Springfield, Ill.
MR. HAROLD JOHNSON, 100 West Adams St., Springfield, Ill.
MR. JOHN ALESIA, 333 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
DR. MARTIN H. BICKHAM, 429 9th Street, Wilmette
MRS. DAVID BLAKE, 1116 South 16th St., Springfield, Ill.
MRS. MARGUERITE JOHNSTON, 1130 Dewey Avenue, Evanston, Ill.
MRS. HELEN BARNHILL, 434 West Clark St., Milwaukee, Wisconsin
MRS. WILLIAM BURNS, 1001 Harrison, Lincoln, Nebraska
MRS. MARY S. COX, 514 West 6th Street, Dixon, Illinois
MRS. EDITH BOYS ENOS, Box 188, Mishawaka, Indiana
MR. GRANVILLE,GADDIE, 931 N. Robinson Street, Danville, Ill.
MR. CHARLES M. JUDD, 1133 Sycamore St., Cincinnati, Ohio
MR. CALVIN KNAPP, Box 28, R.R. 22, Mukwonago, Wisconsin
MRS. JEWEL S. LAFONTANT, 180 West Washington, Chicago, Ill.
MRS. AGNES MYER, 3439 Harlem Boulevard, Rockford, Ill.
MISS ANNA JANE MICHENER, 1829 University Ave., Wichita, Kansas
MRS. ELEANORA MILLER, 208 S. Church St., Leon, Iowa
MRS. GEORGINE MOORE, 1808 Hovland Court, Evanston, Ill.
MRS. EVELYN MORRIS, 8 North Louis St., Freeport, Ill.
MRS. PAULINE MORTON-FINNEY, 2918 Boulevard Place, Indianapolis, Ind.
REV. WILLIAM T. "oCONNOR, St. Ambrose College, Davenport, Iowa
MRS. BEATRICE RUSSELL, 500 Ridge Avenue, Evanston, Ill.
MRS. RUTH SCHMIEDESKAMP, 1819 Jersey St., Quincy, Ill.
MRS. ETHEL UNTERMEYER, 1400 Sanders Rd., Deerfield, Ill.
DR. J. PHILIP WARING, City Hall, St. Louis, Missouri
MISS ANNA MARIE WEEMS, Box 2231, Waterloo, Iowa
REV. WESLEY E. WHARTON, 412 North 14th Street, East St. Louis, Ill.
MRS. MARY MORGAN WILLIAMS, Route 1, Box 55, Allendale, Ill.
DR. HERBERT K. ABRAMS, 1170 Terrace, Glencoe, Ill.
MR. DAVID L. BATZKA, Eureka College, Eureka, Ill.
MRS. WILLIAM BURNS, 1001 Harrison, Lincoln, Nebraska
MR. WILLIAM J. COOK, 1609 Sherman Avenue, Evanston, Ill.
REV. WARREN R. EBINGER, 417 E. 13th St., Kansas City, Mo.
DR. KEWAN A. EVANS, 2327 Church Street, Evanston, Ill.
MR. DAVID L. FLEER, 7726 N. Eastlake Terrace, Chicago, Ill.
DR. HOWARD HASSINGER, 1044 Asbury Ave., Evanston, Ill.
MR. HIRAM B. HOLDRIDGE, 813 Washington St., Evanston, Ill.
DR. GRACE JAFFEE, 628 Garrett, Evanston, Ill.
REV. PAUL C. JEWELL, 1055 S. W. Locust Street, Portland, Oregon
MR. WILLIAM H. JOHNSON, 1020 Darrow Ave., Evanston, Ill.
REV. JAY LOGAN, 475 Riverside Dr., New York City, N.Y.
REV. JOHN D. McCARTY, 815 Second Avenue, New York, N.Y.
REV. JOHN MORRIS, 5 Forsythe St. N.W., Atlanta, Georgia
REV. ROBERT L. PIERSON, 9 Oakley Rd., White Plains, N.Y.
MR. HENRI B. PICKENS, Acamco Box 2506, Dhahran, Saudi Arabia
RT. REV. JAMES A. PIKE, 1055 Taylor St., San Francisco, California
MRS. IRENE RIEHL, 2312 Fairview Ave., Alton, Ill.
MR. WILLIAM SCHWAB, 475 Lockwood, Webster Groves, Missouri
DR. GRANT SHOCKLEY, 1610 Greenwood Ave., Evanston, Ill.
MRS. GRACE SMEDSTAD, AFL-CIO CSA Rep. 123 W. Madison St. Chicago, Ill

(over)

MR. DONALD SULTNER WELLES, Dover, Pennsylvania
DR. TYLER THOMPSON, 1618 Ashland Avenue, Evanston, Ill.
MR. CLEMENT F. WADE, 2533 Hartrey Avenue, Evanston, Ill
MRS. ARNETTA WALLACE, 5120 South Park, Chicago, Ill.
DR. DONALD B. WARD, Yankton College, Yankton, South Dakota
MR. SAMUEL WHITE, 1939 Hartrey Avenue, Evanston, Ill.
MR. STEVE WILHIDE, 79 Hill Street, Frostburg, Maryland
MR. JOHN YOLTON, 8000 East Jefferson Street, Detroit, Michigan

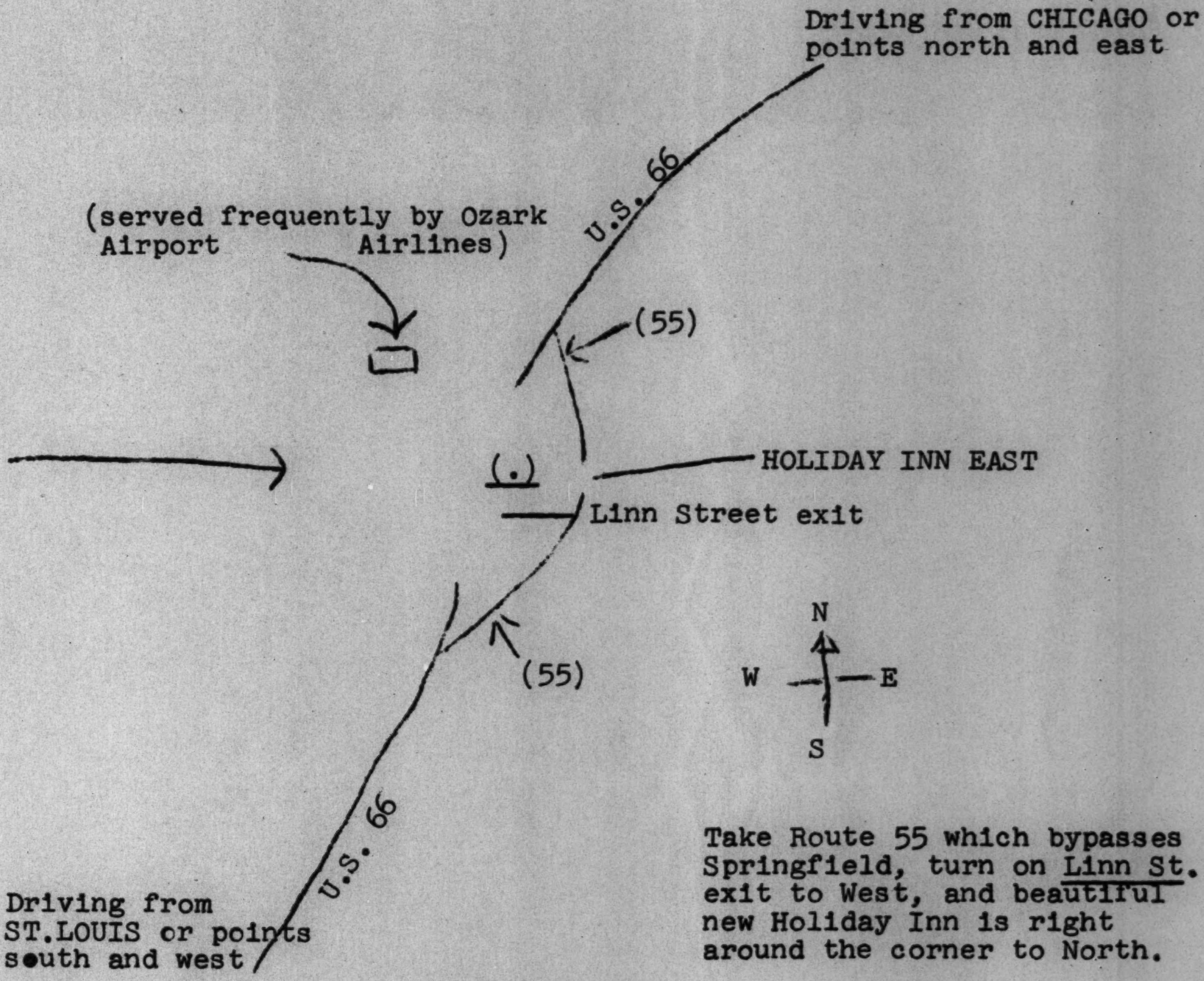
* * * * * * * * * * *

It is easy to come to the -

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON PROGRESS IN EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY HOUSING

Springfield, Illinois -- Holiday Inn - East

March 18 - 20, 1965


Driving from CHICAGO or points north and east
U.S. 66
(served frequently by Ozark Airlines)
Airport
(55)
HOLIDAY INN EAST
Linn Street exit
N
W
E
S
(55)
U.S. 66
Driving from ST.LOUIS or points south and west

Take Route 55 which bypasses Springfield, turn on Linn St. exit to West, and beautiful new Holiday Inn is right around the corner to North.

Large, quiet rooms for discussion with civic, business, government, religious and labor leaders from all over the country - shopping area, relaxation areas - a Lincoln Memorials all near by.

MAIL TODAY

( ) I nominate --

( ) My ( ) Church ( ) labor ( ) business ( ) civic ( ) human relations group nominates --

To Receive at the Forthcoming

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
ON PROGRESS IN EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING

Springfield, Illinois, March 18 - 20, 1965

A
CHAMPION OF OPEN OCCUPANCY AWARD

The name and address of the nominee is:

Name ______________________________ Print Clearly

Street __________ Town __________ State __________

In addition to advancing the "14 steps in shelter justice" set forth on the back of this Nomination Sheet, my nominee has specifically accomplished the following:

____

____

____

____

____

____

"We must each act out against discrimination in housing - holding our unfair housing practices to be not only the last major barrier to full equality of opportunity, but the critical factor in perpetuating the whole monolithic structure of segregation and discrimination"

"We must win the total leadership of each community to recognize how morally sound, practical and profitable Freedom of Residence is, by all of us --

- Affirmatizing in Freedom
- Socializing " "
- Factualizing "
- Dramatizing " "
- Legalizing " "

FOURTEEN WAYS TO MEASURE "SHELTER JUSTICE" IN AN AMERICAN COMMUNITY

(1) HOW MUCH public housing is segregated by color and creed?

(2) HOW MUCH de facto segregation in schools by color and creed?

(3) HOW MANY people of all colors and creeds are playing a proportionate role in the official planning, legislative and administrative councils of the community?

(4) HOW MUCH de facto segregation is in the recreational facilities and social activities of the community?

(5) HOW MANY people of all colors and creeds have equal opportunity to all jobs and to advancement in their jobs in their community through neighborhood acceptance?

(6) HOW MUCH private and owner-occupied or rental housing is segregated by color and creed?

(7) HOW MUCH new or adequate private housing is available to families in a community, regardless of race or creed? (Same price for equivalent space - same amount of space)

(8) HOW MANY people of the community are willing to accept in their neighborhood a family of a different race or creed?

(9) HOW MUCH of the community is willing to encourage efforts to invite and genuinely welcome people of different races and creeds to live in the community?

(10) HOW MANY community issues are met be votes divided on basis of color and creed in residential areas?

(11) HOW MUCH of the membership of individual churches and their locations in the community is representative of division by color or nationality?

(12) HOW MANY business concerns and prospective employees refuse to be drawn to the community because of racially discriminatory housing attitudes?

(13) HOW MANY Urban Renewal Programs are deterred because of relocation problems caused by racial and religious discrimination in housing?

(14) HOW MUCH increased cost in public assistance, law enforcement, and other public needs can be traced to racial and religious discriminatory practices?

"Freedom of Residence is a practical, American way for deepening the channels of expanding individual freedom and democracy in a pluralistic society, and of strengthening the chances for world peace and order in the Atomic Age."

. . . . Don Frey

FOR

IMPORTANT REQUESTED SHEET

Fold this sheet and it becomes a postage-paid return envelope.

( ) PLEASE list the following individuals as advanced registrants for THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON PROGRESS IN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING - March 18-20, 1965, Springfield, Ill. (Registration fee - $2 per person.) Please make room reservations ( ) yes ( ) no

NAME	POSITION	ADDRESS and CITY

( ) PLEASE reserve free display space at the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (Holiday Inn-East Springfield, Ill.) for materials showing specific work being done by -

NAME OF ORGANIZATION	INDIVIDUALS IN CHARGE AND ADDRESSES

( ) PLEASE send to (Name)______________________ at (address)__________

______________________, ______(number) copies of the Program Folder and Registration Sheet for ( ) THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON PROGRESS IN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY I IN HOUSING, or ( ) THE NATIONAL STUDENT CONFERENCE ON FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE, for distribution by me to key individuals, church, civic, labor, business, or student gr groups in my state of______________________.

( ) **NOTE:** COLLEGE STUDENT AND FACULTY ADVISORS: Please list the following individuals as advanced registrants for the National College Student Conference on Freedom of Residence, March 19-20, 1965, Eureka College, Eureka, Ill., - Near Peoria, Ill. (Registration Fee - $1 per person.

NAME	COLLEGE ADDRESS

( ) PLEASE send me immediately the materials checked on the attached order sheet which tell of practical specific steps each individual can take to strike effectively at the root causes of racial and religious discriminatory practices in community life and help America move forward to achieve the democracy her founders envisioned in the freedom and unity of all mankind.

Date______________________ Name______________________________

Address and City______________________

____

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ILLINOIS

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UNITED CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE

1514 Elmwood Avenue
Evanston, Illinois 60201

What the Nation
is saying about the -

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
ON
PROGRESS
IN
EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY
IN
HOUSING

(Springfield, Ill. - March 18-20, 1965 - Holiday Inn East)
("FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE DAYS AROUND THE NATION")

(Business, Labor, Civic, Religious, and Federal, State and Local Government Leaders will exchange ideas on solving together and rapidly the most crucial domestic problem of our time - which undermines all human freedoms.)

IN THE NAME AND BY AUTHORITY OF THE

COPY

NEWSPAPER INFORMATION
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Governor's Office

Harrisburg

PROCLAMATION

FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE DAYS - MARCH 18-20, 1965

WHEREAS, Democracy guarantees to all citizens, regardless of race, creed or color, the right to reside in the neighborhood of their choice; and

WHEREAS, The goal of equal opportunity in housing is in strict accordance with our American tradition of personal liberty; and

WHEREAS, A Nation-wide effort in good citizenship is being led by the Foundation for Freedom and Democracy in Community Life a highlight of this effort being the National Assembly for Progress in Equal Opportunity in Housing, to be held in Springfield, Illinois, March 18-20, 1965; and

WHEREAS, Pennsylvania takes pride in its equal housing laws and wishes to participate in this Nation-wide endeavor in human relations;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, William W. Scranton, Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in conjunction with the Assembly to be held in Illinois, do hereby proclaim March 18-20, 1965, as FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE DAYS in Pennsylvania, and urge all Pennsylvanians to renew their commitment to the basic democratic principle of freedom of residence for all citizens without discrimination.

GIVEN under my hand and the Great
Seal of the State, at the City
of Harrisburg, this tenth day of
December, in the year of our Lord
one thousand nine hundred and
sixty four, and of the Commonwealth
the one hundred and eighty-ninth.

WILLIAM W. SCRANTON
GOVERNOR

BY THE GOVERNOR:

Secretary of the Commonwealth

State of Connecticut

By His Excellency JOHN DEMPSEY Governor;

Official Statement

FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE DAYS
MARCH 18 - 20, 1965

DEMOCRACY TRADITIONALLY GUARANTEES FREEDOM OF RESIDENDE TO ALL CITIZENS WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, RELIGION OR COLOR.

DESPITE NOTEWORTHY SOCIAL PROGRESS IN RECENT YEARS, THERE IS EVIDENCE OF DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING, A PRACTICE WHICH IS DESTRUCTIVE OF COMMUNITY VALUES AND WHICH VIOLATES THE PRINCIPLES OF LIBERTY AND JUSTICE.

THE FOUNDATION FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY IN COMMUNITY LIFE, AN ORGANIZATION WHICH SEEKS TO ELIMINATE THE BASIC CAUSES OF DISCRIMINATION, IS SPONSORING THE NATIONWIDE OBSERVANCE OF FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE DAYS MARCH 18 - 20, 1965, A PERIOD WHICH COINCIDES WITH THE DATES OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON PROGRESS IN EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING TO BE HELD IN SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS.

CONNECTICUT, LONG AWARE OF THE RIGHT OF FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE, HAS TAKEN STEPS, THROUGH EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS AND LEGISLATIVE ACTION, TO INSURE PROTECTION OF THAT RIGHT FOR ALL INDIVIDUALS. THE RIGHT OF FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE, HOWEVER, CANNOT BE TRULY OPERATIVE UNLESS THERE IS FULL COOPERATION ON THE PART OF ALL CITIZENS.

MAY THE OBSERVANCE OF FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE DAYS IN CONNECTICUT SERVE TO EMPHASIZE THE FACT THAT ALL CITIZENS ARE ENTITLED, LEGALLY AND MORALLY, TO EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING.

S/ JOHN DEMPSEY
GOVERNOR

COPY

STATE of MINNESOTA
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

P R O C L A M A T I O N

WHEREAS, voluntary programs of individual and organization action to achieve EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING to eradicate racial and religious discriminatory practices from all communities in peaceful, imaginative and orderly ways is of the utmost importance and urgency, and

WHEREAS, the President has repeatedly urged educational programs by civic, educational, religious, industry, labor and other non-government groups to eliminate the basic causes of discrimination, and

WHEREAS, as long as there are housing discrimination practices destructive to the human values of the community, the moral and spiritual life of America cannot be supported,

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Karl F. Rolvaag, Governor of the State of Minnesota, do hereby proclaim March 18-20, 1965, as

"EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING DAYS"

in Minnesota, and urge wide participation in the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FOR PROGRESS IN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING in Springfield, Illinois, March 18-20, 1965, as one means of attack on one of the most destructive of discriminatory practices existing in the LAND OF OPPORTUNITY.

S E A L

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of the State of Minnesota to be affixed at the State Capitol this eighth day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and sixty-five and of the State, the one hundred seventh.

G O V E R N O R

SECRETARY OF STATE

COPY

STATE OF ILLINOIS

Executive Department

PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS, The United Citizens' Committee for Freedom of Residence has requested that March 18, 19 and 20, 1965, be proclaimed as Freedom of Residence Days in Illinois, the dates coinciding with the National Assembly on Progress in Equality of Opportunity in Housing in Springfield, Illinois, and

WHEREAS, Freedom of residence is a right that democracy guarantees to all citizens, regardless of race, creed or color, in strict accordance with our American traditions of individual liberty, and

WHEREAS, An Executive Order, signed by the President of the United States, calls for educational programs by civic, educational, religious industrial, labor and other non-governmental groups to eliminate the basic causes of discrimination, and

WHEREAS, As long as there are housing discrimination practices destructive to the human values of the community, the moral and spiritual life of America cannot be supported, and

WHEREAS, The forthcoming National Assembly on Progress in Equality of Opportunity in Housing, to be held in Springfield, Illinois, during March 18, 19 and 20, 1965, is a nationwide effort in good citizenship and, as such deserves the support of all our citizens,

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Otto Kerner, Governor of the State of Illinois, do hereby proclaim that March 18, 19 and 20, 1965, be set aside as FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE DAYS in Illinois, and request all our citizens re-examine their personal motives concerning social discriminations, and call upon all realtors, builders, attorneys, community leaders, human relations group members and religious leaders, to discuss and develop effective roles in achieving integrated housing in Illinois in an orderly fashion as befits true Americans.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and caused the Great Seal of the State of Illinois to be affixed

(SEAL)

Done at the Capitol, in the City of Springfield, this FOURTH day of JANUARY, in the Year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and SIXTY FIVE, and of the State of Illinois the one hundred and FORTY-SEVENTH

By the Governor:

William H. Chamberlain

Secretary of State

GOVERNOR

MESSAGE FROM THE HON. MARK O. HATFIELD, GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF OREGON, TO THE PROGRAM COMMITTEE FOR THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON PROGRESS IN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING (SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, MARCH 18 - 20, 1965)

****

COPY ON THE LETTERHEAD OF:

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
STATE CAPITOL
SALEM 97310

MARK O. HATFIELD
GOVERNOR

JANUARY 13, 1965

MR. DONALD S. FREY
1514 ELMWOOD AVENUE
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS 60201

DEAR MR. FREY:

I HOPE YOU WILL CONVEY TO THOSE ATTENDING THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON PROGRESS IN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING MY BEST WISHES IN COPING WITH PROBLEMS OF MUTUAL CONCERN.

IN EACH OF MY MESSAGES TO THE OREGON LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY I HAVE CALLED ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT OUR STATE HAS AN ENVIABLE RECORD IN THE FIELD OF CIVIL RIGHTS, BUT THAT THERE IS A CONTINUING NEED TO KEEP OUR CIVIL RIGHTS STATUTES PROGRESSIVE, STRONG, AND ADEQUATE.

IN A SPECIAL MESSAGE JANUARY 11, 1965, I NOTED THAT OREGON TOOK ENLIGHTENED AND HUMANITARIAN CIVIL RIGHTS ACTION LONG AGO. OUR PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS LAW AND THOSE GUARANTEEING FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE ARE SUCH THAT MINORITY AND ETHNIC GROUPS WITHIN OUR SOCIETY ENJOY FULL AND COMPLETE PRIVILEGES OF CITIZENSHIP.

THE GOAL OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND HOUSING IS ONE WHICH CANNOT BE ATTAINED EXCEPT THROUGH ACTIONS WHICH REPRESENT THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF OUR CITIZENS. LAWS MUST BE UNDERGIRDED WITH A TRUE DESIRE, AND COMMITMENT TO THE BASIC CONCEPTS OF OUR DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY.

AS THIS ASSEMBLY SEEKS MEANS WHEREBY THIS THESIS MAY BECOME A REALITY THROUGHOUT AMERICA, I WISH YOU EVERY SUCCESS.

SINCERELY,

S/ MARK O. HATFIELD

GOVERNOR

MOH:AE

1/17/65

COPY

1959

Executive Chambers
Honolulu

MESSAGE FROM GOVERNOR JOHN A. BURNS
FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE DAYS

March 18-20, 1965

A part of the educational program aimed at removing the causes of discrimination in housing is the request by the Foundation for Freedom and Democracy in Community Life that March 18th, March 19th and March 20th, 1965, be designated "Freedom of Residence Days" in Hawaii.

All who serve the cause of eliminating racial discrimination and its vestiges from our life do a service to our State and our Nation and deserve the support of our citizens in such efforts.

In the spirit in which President Johnson has asked all Americans to unite, I urge the people of Hawaii to participate and encourage programs aimed at the elimination of all such divisive doctrines as those which establish discrimination in housing of all types.

John A. Burns

Governor

ON THE LETTERHEAD OF

STATE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

CONCORD

John W. King
Governor

December 2, 1964

Mr. Donald S. Frey
Executive Secretary
Foundation for Freedom &
Democracy in Community Life
1514 Elmwood Ave
Evanston, Illinois, 60201

Dear Mr. Frey:

Thank you for your letter enlisting our cooperation in achieving Equal Opportunity in Housing. We do indeed recognize the vital nature of freedom of residence on our community.

You may be assured that we will participate in the forthcoming National Assembly for Progress in Equal Opportunity in Housing by proclaiming, in conjunction with your national assembly, "Freedom of Residence Days" in New Hampshire,

Sincerely,

John W. King

d

ON THE LETTERHEAD OF -

STATE OF IOWA
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
DES MOINES

HAROLD E. HUGHES
GOVERNOR

JANUARY 25, 1965

MR. DONALD S. FREY, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
THE FOUNDATION FOR FREEDOM AND
DEMOCRACY IN COMMUNITY LIFE
1514 ELMWOOD AVENUE
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS 60201

DEAR MR. FREY:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF JANUARY 3 REGARDING THE FORTHCOMING NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN HOUSING AND THE ENCLOSED PROGRAM.

I AM PROUD OF THE ADVANCES IOWA HAS MADE IN PROMOTING EQUALITY FOR ALL CITIZENS. THREE MAJOR ACTIONS HAVE BEEN TAKEN BY THE STATE GOVERNMENT IN THE PAST TWO YEARS TO ELIMINATE DISCRIMINATION FOR REASONS OF RACE, COLOR AND CREED. ONE WAS THE ENACTMENT OF THE FIRST FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES ACT IN THE STATE'S HISTORY. THE SECOND WAS MY ISSUANCE OF AN EXECUTIVE ORDER TO FORBID DISCRIMINATION IN ALL DEPARTMENTS OF GOVERNMENT UNDER MY JURISDICTION. THE THIRD WAS THE CONSTRUCTIVE EFFORT OF THE GOVERNOR'S HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION.

IN MY INAUGURAL MESSAGE PRESENTED TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON JANUARY 14, I RECOMMENDED THAT THEY PASS LEGISLATION CREATING A STATUTORY HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION WITH AN APPROPRIATION ADEQUATE TO HIRE THE REQUIRED STAFF AND TO ACONDUCT THE INVESTIGATIVE AND EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMISSION.

I TRUST YOUR NATIONAL ASSEMBLY WILL BE SUCCESSFUL AND PRODUCTIVE.

SINCERELY,

S/ HAROLD E. HUGHES
GOVERNOR

C O P Y

ON THE LETTERHEAD OF: MARYLAND COMMISSION ON INTERRACIAL
PROBLEMS AND RELATIONS

STATE OFFICE BUILDING
301 WEST PRESTON STREET, BALTIMORE, MD.

OFFICERS:
WILLIAM C. ROGERS, SR., CHAIRMAN
RABBI ISRAEL M. GOLDMAN, VICE CHAIRMAN
PARREN J. MITCHELL, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

MEMBERS:
G. CHESTON CAREY, SR.
MRS. HENRY E. CORNER
FATHER ROBERT M. POWELL
MRS. JOHN B. RAMSAY
S. EDWARD SMITH
RICHARD H. THOMAS
DR. EDWARD N. WILSON

DECEMBER 11, 1964

THE FOUNDATION FOR FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY
IN COMMUNITY LIFE
1514 ELMWOOD AVENUE
EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

ATTENTION: MR. DONALD S. FREY, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

DEAR MR. FREY:

WITH REFERENCE TO OUR COPY OF THE NOVEMBER 27TH CORRESPONDENCE TO GOVERNOR TAWES, BE ADVISED OF THE FOLLOWING:

1. THIS COMMISSION HAS DRAFTED LEGISLATION BANNING DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING. WE HOPE THIS LEGISLATION WILL RECEIVE FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION BY THE 1965 MARYLAND GENERAL ASSEMBLY. A VERY LARGE NUMBER OF COMMUNITY, CIVIL RIGHTS AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS ARE ACTING IN SUPPORT OF THIS LEGISLATION.

2. THE COMMISSION WILL URGE THAT GOVERNOR TAWES ISSUE A STATEWIDE PROCLAMATION SETTING ASIDE CERTAIN DAYS, IN MARCH, AS FREEDOM OF RESIDENCE DAYS. IN THE EVENT THE GOVERNOR DOES NOT ISSUE SUCH A PROCLAMATION, IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THIS COMMISSION WILL UNDERTAKE SOME TYPE PROGRAM IN THIS CONNECTION.

3. MORE THAN LIKELY, THIS COMMISSION WILL BE REPRESENTED AT THE MARCH CONFERENCE, SCHEDULED FOR SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS. I AM CERTAIN WE SHALL RECEIVE ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS FROM YOU CONCERNING THE CONFERENCE.

ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS, THIS COMMISSION HAS SPOKEN OUT AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING, HOLDING IT TO BE NOT ONLY THE LAST MAJOR BARRIER, BUT, ALSO, THE CRITICAL FACTOR IN PERPETUATING THE WHOLE MONOLITHIC STRUCTURE OF SEGREGATION AND DISCRIMINATION.

THEREFORE, YOUR WORK IS OF VITAL IMPORTANCE TO US, AND ASSUREDLY YOU SHALL RECEIVE OUR COOPERATION.

WITH HOPES OF ADDITIONAL SUCCESSES IN THE CAUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, I AM

CORDIALLY YOURS,

s/ PERREN J. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

and that it falls far short of the several recommendations submitted by NCDH in behalf of its 37 affiliate organizations (copy enclosed).

Each of the affiliate organizations will be requested to take separate action, urging immediate and extensive expansion of the Order. This step is especially important since it is being implied in Washington that there has been virtually no pressure on the housing front from civil rights organizations and that such pressure, if received, would bring about change.

After reviewing the enclosed material, I certainly hope that you will find it convenient to forward letters or telegrams to the President and Vice President setting forth your own recommendations. Needless to say, I would be pleased to work on this with you if you are interested.

Sincerely yours,

Jack

Jack E. Wood, Jr.
Associate Executive Director

JEW/jpb
Enclosures

file
Housin

Mr. James Farmer
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, N. Y.

TRENDS IN HOUSING

Published bimonthly by the

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Center for Fair Housing
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Rhode Island Wins Fair Housing Act

Colorado Broadens Law

At a brief, impressive ceremony on April 12, Governor John H. Chafee signed Rhode Island's 1965 fair housing bill into law. With this action, after a hard-fought, 7-year campaign, Rhode Island became the 14th state in the Nation to adopt legislation prohibiting discrimination in private housing.

And earlier in April, the State of Colorado adopted amendments to expand the coverage of her 1959 fair housing statute.

Rhode Island

The Rhode Island signing has been described by the press as one of the great enactment ceremonials in the state's history. Among the large crowd assembled to celebrate the event were some of the state's most eminent business and political figures, as well as more than 100 leaders from religious, civil rights, labor and civic groups which had worked continuously, surmounting defeats for six consecutive years to achieve victory in 1965.

In recognition of their efforts, Governor Chafee told those who witnessed the signing: "These men and women have what we need more of in Rhode Island—old-fashioned staying power."

The Governor also had a special word of praise for Irving J. Fain, a Providence businessman who has been in the vanguard of the campaign for such legislation for almost a decade. Mr. Fain, past president of Citizens United for a Fair Housing Law in Rhode Island, is a member of the NCDH board of directors.

Rhode Island's law will apply to all sales of residential property, including vacant land, and to all rentals except apartments in owner-occupied two- and three-family houses. Also exempt are rentals of rooms in private residences. The business transactions of real estate brokers and salesmen and of mortgage lenders, and real estate advertising are covered. Enforcement is under the jur-

(*Continued on page* 8)

Nation's Top Lawyers Meet on Housing Bias

National Legal Conference Held in Berkeley

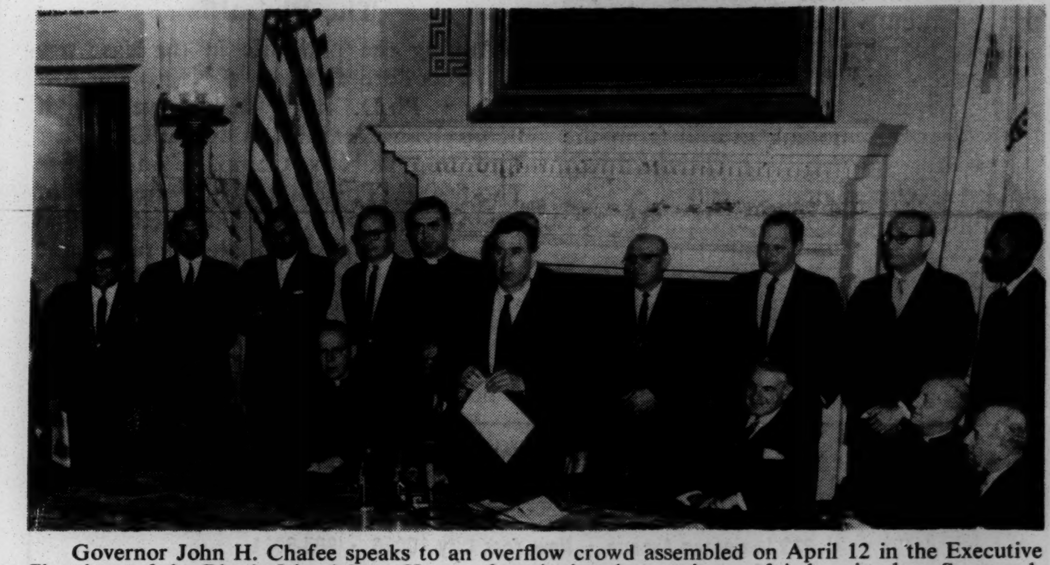
A National Legal Conference on Equal Opportunity in Housing, with in-depth examination of the constitutional and legal aspects of anti-fair housing referenda as its principal feature, was recently held at the University of California in Berkeley under the joint sponsorship of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing (NCDH) and the University's School of Law.

This unprecedented meeting brought together 48 of the nation's outstanding law professors and attorneys who are actively concerned with civil rights matters. For two days, Feb. 5 and 6, these scholars reviewed and studied the constitutional and legal principles applicable to discrimination in housing and the relevance of such principles to anti-fair housing referenda and other actions which limit the achievement of equal opportunity in housing. A select number of government and private agency experts attend as observers.

The immediate stimulus for calling the conference was the 2 to 1 approval by California voters last November 3 of "Proposition 14," which appeared on the

(*Continued on page* 6)

A Victory Ceremony in Rhode Island



Governor John H. Chafee speaks to an overflow crowd assembled on April 12 in the Executive Chambers of the Rhode Island State House after signing the state's new fair housing law. Surrounding him are distinguished public figures and leaders in the 7-year campaign to secure enactment of the legislation. *Seated, left to right:* the Very Rev. Msgr. Arthur T. Geoghegan, Roman Catholic Diocesan school superintendent, and former chairman, Citizens United for a Fair Housing Law; former Governor John A. Notte; former Governor Christopher Del Sesto; the Rt. Rev. John S. Higgins, Episcopal Bishop of R. I.; Hon. Frank Sgambato, Democratic Majority Leader, State Senate. *Standing, left to right:* James N. Williams, executive director, Urban League of R. I.; John Maddox, president, Providence Chapter, NAACP; the Rev. Arthur L. Hardge, former chairman, R. I. CORE; Hon. Frederick Lippitt, Deputy Republican Leader, House of Representatives; the Very Rev. Ronald E. Stenning, Dean, Episcopal Cathedral of R. I., and chairman, Coordinating Council for Racial Justice; Hon. John J. Wrenn, Democratic Speaker of the House; Hon. C. George DeStefano, Senate Republican Leader; Prof. Barry Marks, chairman, Citizens United; Irving Jay Fain, former chairman, Citizens United, and NCDH board member; and Clifford Monteiro, chairman, R. I. CORE.

Akron Realtors Attacked Under Antitrust Statutes

NAACP Legal Defense Fund Brings Court Action

In the first court action of its kind, attorneys of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., have charged that the discriminatory practices of the 1,800-member Akron (Ohio) Real Estate Board violate the Sherman Antitrust Act.

On April 7, the Legal Defense Fund filed suit in the Federal District Court in Cleveland, asking that the Board and 28 Akron real estate firms be permanently enjoined from continuing an "unlawful conspiracy in restraint of interstate commerce," such conspiracy having as its purpose the prevention of Negro persons from owning or renting property in "white" neighborhoods.

Fair Housing Test

The case comes at a moment when the Akron Fair Housing Ordinance, passed in July 1964 by the City Council, is facing a test as to whether it remains valid. At the general election last November, in a referendum promoted by the local real estate board, a majority of the electorate voted to amend the City Charter to require that nondiscrimination housing ordinances have prior approval by the voters. The validity of this amendment is now being challenged in the courts.

The Legal Defense Fund argues that racial discrimination practiced by the Akron realtors violates the Antitrust Act for three reasons:

- Brokers and salesmen act as agents for the purchase or rental of real property by persons moving to and from the Akron area in interstate commerce to and from other states.
- Materials, supplies and machinery for homes are manufactured outside of Ohio and transported in interstate commerce to the Akron area.
- Brokers and salesmen arrange mortgages and insurance for clients who are purchasing homes in Akron, and the mortgage lending institutions and insurance companies are engaged in interstate commerce.

Broad Implications

The possibilities of the case have far-reaching implications. Jack Greenberg, director-counsel of the Fund, told the press that if the courts apply the Sherman Act to combinations practicing racial discrimination, it will amount to "a Federal conspiracy statute against housing discrimination."

NAACP's complaint charges that no licensed Negro brokers or salesmen are members of the Akron board; that members of the Akron board have delineated certain areas as "white" neighborhoods and refuse their services to Negroes desirous of living in those neighborhoods; that prices quoted to Negroes are far greater than those quoted to prospective white buyers or renters for the same property; that the realtors have falsely informed Negroes that white owners would not sell to them; that they have declined "open" listings requested by owners; that they have refused to show property to Negroes after purporting to accept an "open" listing; and that realtors have misrepresented to Negroes the reasons for failure to consummate sales.

The Plaintiffs

Among the plaintiffs in the case are Dr. Theodore Hunter, a Negro chemist with a Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania, employed by the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company in Akron; Thomas F. Powell, a white member of the University of Akron faculty; and Mrs. Idell Ferguson, a Negro real estate broker in Akron.

In May 1963, Dr. Hunter, prior to starting his work with Goodyear, traveled from Philadelphia to Akron to secure a home for his family. He applied to a local real estate firm for a specific house which was listed "for sale or rent." The broker rejected his application, stating the owners no longer wanted to rent. The following month a "for rent" sign was again posted on the property. Dr. Hunter had similar experiences with other Akron real estate firms, and ended up in an inadequate apartment, too small for his family of four.

Misrepresents White Owner

Mr. Powell is moving to New York State. He owns a home in an all-white suburb of Akron. When he attempted to list it on a nondiscriminatory basis, several realty firms refused to accept the listing. Finally, one firm listed the house, assuring Mr. Powell that it would be handled without regard to race. But when a Negro real estate broker brought a Negro prospect interested in buying the Powell property, he was told the owners wanted it shown only to whites.

Mrs. Ferguson, the Negro broker, negotiated a cooperative arrangement with an Akron real estate firm to split the commission for sale of one of the firm's listings for which she had a buyer. The real estate firm agreed, but later withdrew from the arrangement when it learned the prospective buyer was a Negro. Mrs. Ferguson lost a commission of 3 per cent of $17,000.

The Board's Records

The Legal Defense Fund's complaint documents many cases in which discrimination against Negro homeseekers is alleged, and filed along with its complaint was a motion asking that the court order the Board and the real estate firms involved to submit all papers and records related to the attempts of Negroes to purchase or rent homes in the Akron area. The Fund also asked the court to direct that all documents dealing with the Board's involvement in the anti-fair housing referendum be submitted.

Precedent for Case

In 1946, a court action involving economic abuses was brought against a number of New York City realtors and mortgage lenders under the Federal antitrust laws. The case was based on the theory that such laws are applicable to local sales and financing of real estate. Since the defendants agreed to a permanent injunction, the case did not go to trial. It does, however, serve as a precedent for the Akron proceedings.

Mr. Greenberg told the press that the Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., probably will file similar suits in California, Detroit, and other cities where local real estate boards and other **real estate interests have promoted campaigns for anti-fair housing referenda.**

TRENDS *IN HOUSING*
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Founded in 1950, the National Committee is composed of 37 religious, civil rights, labor and civic organizations which seek to end racial, ethnic and religious discrimination and to achieve an integrated housing market in which the Nation's commitment to "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family" becomes a reality. A subscription to *Trends in Housing* is $2 a year.

CHARLES ABRAMS, *President* ALGERNON D. BLACK, *Chairman*
EDWARD RUTLEDGE, *Executive Director*
JACK E. WOOD, JR., *Associate Executive Director*
MARGARET FISHER, *Director of Information and Publications*
Second Class mail privileges authorized at New York, N.Y.

Cal. Judges Doubt Prop. 14 Validity

Ask High Court Ruling

A series of cases are on their way to the Supreme Court of the State of California involving the constitutionality of the new Article I, Section 26 of the State Constitution. This is the section added by Proposition 14, which was approved by a majority of the voters at the general election last November, and which would guarantee the right of an owner to practice racial, religious and ethnic discrimination in housing.

On March 1, the Municipal Court for the City and County of San Francisco handed down a decision of particular interest in one of these actions. The case (*Doris R. Thomas, Plaintiff vs. G. E. Goulias, et al, Defendants*) involved a suit for damages which had been brought under the Unruh Fair Housing Act prior to Nov. 3, 1964. The defendants entered a motion that the case be struck down on the ground that the adoption of Proposition 14 had terminated the right of the plaintiff to sue under the fair housing law.

Expedites Test

The decision states that because of the importance of the constitutional issue, a three judge court had been convened. The court recognized the importance of the damage suit to the plaintiff. Nonetheless, it said, the issue of constitutionality of Article I, Section 26 was of such importance to the community at large that it should be determined "by a court of last resort at the earliest possible moment." Therefore, it granted the defendants' motion to strike down the damage case in order to expedite an appeal, and recommended to the plaintiff that she request that the matter be certified to the District Court of Appeals "for the settlement of an important question of law."

Doubt Constitutionality

The three judges then expressed the following view: "While the court has granted the motion to strike for the reasons set forth, the court does wish to state that it entertains serious doubts as to the constitutionality of the new Article I, Section 26 of the California Constitution in the light of the equal protection of the laws provision of the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution and the plain language of the 13th Amendment of that Constitution and the legislation enacted by Congress (42 USC, 1842) pursuant thereto abolishing slavery and its incidents."

(See also "Backfire," page 8.)

Delegation to Confer With Humphrey on Housing Order

NCDH Pressing for Strengthening Amendments

On May 6, a top level delegation composed of leaders of the major civil rights organizations and other NCDH board members will meet with Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey to urge that he recommend to President Johnson immediate expansion of Executive Order No. 11063, prohibiting discrimination in federally-aided housing.

"There is every logical reason for the President to take this action," declares NCDH Executive Director Edward Rutledge. "The present Order is out of line with the Federal policy of nondiscrimination. Reaching less than 10 per cent of federally-aided housing—new and old, it has had little effect on housing barriers. It satisfies no one. Leading builders and lenders have joined in urging its expansion."

NCDH Recommendations

On Nov. 19, 1964, the second anniversary of the issuance of the Housing Order by President Kennedy, NCDH submitted the following recommendations to President Johnson:

1. That the Order be extended to cover all banks and savings and loan associations chartered, regulated, insured or otherwise aided by the Federal Government. These "conventional" mortgage lenders are now affected only with respect to FHA and VA loans. Their inclusion would bring more than 80 per cent of all new housing under the Order's requirement of nondiscrimination.
2. Expansion to cover the enormous supply of federally-aided housing built or contracted for before Nov. 20, 1962, which continues to enjoy Federal benefits but is now exempt from coverage.
3. Withdrawal of the procedural power provided various Federal housing agencies to grant exemptions from the scope of the Order. Under this power, FHA, for example, applies the Order only to initial sales by the developer. Thus, a single-family or two-family house with an FHA-insured mortgage which has been occupied by an owner and then is offered by him for resale is not covered.
4. The President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing should be directed to assume broader responsibility for the implementation of the Order and should be provided with sufficient staff and budget expansion to administer an effective national program.

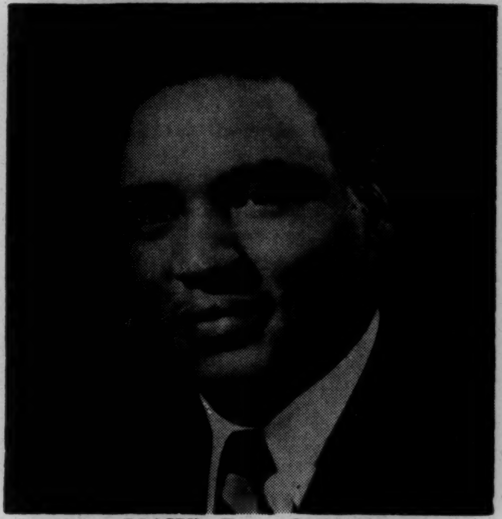
Mr. Rutledge urges that groups and individuals write or send telegrams to President Johnson calling for expansion of the Order to include both the conventional mortgage lending market and pre-Order federally-aided housing.

Inclusion of both categories is particularly important since recommendations recently submitted to the White House by the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing requested extension only to include housing financed by federally-supervised lending institutions. While this limited action would make the Order apply to a major part of all new home construction, discrimination would remain unchecked in most existing federally-aided housing.

"Bringing existing housing under the requirements of the Order would be no innovation," comments Mr. Rutledge. "Laws in 14 states and 27 cities go farther. The Federal Government certainly should not lag behind them."

The NCDH recommendations and other materials are available on request. Also, please send NCDH copies of communications to the President.

Regional Seminars Held



UAW's Bill Oliver

Under the direction of NCDH Vice President William H. Oliver, seminars on fair housing practices are being conducted for leadership and members of the United Auto Workers, AFL-CIO, in every Region over the country. Mr. Oliver is Co-Director of UAW's Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department.

NCDH executives Edward Rutledge and Jack Wood are cooperating in planning the housing workshops and have participated in some of the meetings. In a major address at the Region 9 conference in Newark, N. J., on April 9, Governor David L. Lawrence, chairman of the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing, announced that the committee's recommendations for expansion of the Housing Order had been submitted to the White House. NCDH Vice President Frank S. Horne was the principal speaker at the Region 9-A meeting, held in New York City on April 23.

FAIR HOUSING NEWS EXCHANGE

A Reporting Service of the

NCDH Center for Fair Housing

Center for Fair Housing

The *Center for Fair Housing*, with which local fair housing and other community groups may affiliate, is a program operation of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing which was recently created by the NCDH Executive Committee.

Initiation of the *Center* is in response to the growing number of requests from local groups to affiliate with NCDH. Its purpose is to establish a national coordinated service to give practical assistance to groups over the Nation in their work to combat discrimination and achieve integrated communities.

It is also hoped that affiliation with the *Center* will result in an even closer sense of identification with the national fair housing movement.

In addition to having a channel for sharing program ideas and experiences, groups affiliated with the *Center* will have available a wide range of specific—

Services

- **Consultation on program development and implementation.**
- **Technical aid in evaluating urban renewal and other programs or problems arising from housing and planning operations of government and private industry.**
- **Field visits for consultation on matters of special complexity or significance.**
- **Regional and national conferences where volunteers and professionals may exchange information, explore new methods, develop new skills.**
- **Representation of the concerns of local groups before Federal agencies and national industry groups involved in housing.**
- **Periodic distribution of important literature. Special effort will be made to meet "needs and gaps" indicated by affiliated groups.**
- **Development of a series of "how to" materials: how to encourage more rapid movement of minorities into the general housing market; how to use more effectively the services of government agencies; how to promote cooperative involvement of responsible builders, brokers, lenders; how to combat panic and maintain integration.**

The voluntary fair housing committee movement is steadily increasing in importance. NCDH has identified and recently been in touch with more than 1,000 local groups spread over the country. Those interested in affiliating with the *Center for Fair Housing* are invited to make contact with NCDH.

Southern California

Centenela Bay Human Relations Committee has organized a "visitors group" to consult with families who inquired about housing but did not follow through.

San Fernando Valley Fair Housing Council, in order to increase its "stock" of available housing, is leaving cards soliciting listings at houses with "For Sale" signs. The Council also monitors newspaper ads. This group has a very active Housing Industry Committee which works to develop a cooperative relationship with real estate agents, builders and lending institutions.

Crenshaw Neighbors now has a member who is a licensed real estate broker. This group's primary concern is neighborhood stabilization.

Compton Committee on Human Relations recently awarded prizes totaling $1,000 in Junior-Senior High School Brotherhood contests with essay, poetry and art categories.

Baltimore

Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc., is a city-wide fair housing committee which was formed several years ago by a number of groups from various sections of the city which were working to keep the integrated character of their own neighborhoods. While BNI has operated one of the major "neighborhood stabilization" programs in the country, underlying all of its activities has been its drive to end discriminatory practices and to achieve integrated communities.

Under the leadership of Edward Holmgren, its executive director, BNI has been unusually successful in involving a substantial segment of the city's top business leadership in its program efforts, including the Greater Baltimore Committee, an organization which represents most of the local financial power structure. The Real Estate Board of Greater Baltimore is a BNI affiliate, and the cooperation of leading realtors has enhanced the group's efforts to open housing opportunities for minority group families.

BNI and its affiliates have assisted several hundred nonwhite families in securing the homes of their choice in formerly all- or predominantly-white neighborhoods. It has also assisted more than 200 white families in locating and buying homes in integrated communities, in many cases stopping the threat of resegregation. BNI also coordinates the activities of groups throughout Baltimore in support of fair housing legislation.

This organization has developed a series of excellent, practical materials for use in combating panic selling and the tactics of "blockbusting" real estate operators. For specimen copies, write to Baltimore Neighborhoods, Inc., One Charles Center, Baltimore, Md. 21201.

National Survey

The NCDH Center for Fair Housing is conducting a comprehensive survey of the organization and program activities of local fair housing groups over the country. Questionnaires have been sent to the chairman or other appropriate contact person for more than 1,000 committees.

Information compiled through these questionnaires not only will supply background material for studies, research, articles, feature stories, and other educational literature which will benefit the entire fair housing committee movement, but, even more importantly, will facilitate the Center's efforts to provide maximum service to each local fair housing and community group.

Members are urged to be sure that their committees received the questionnaire and that it is filled in and returned to NCDH as promptly as possible. Analysis of the survey will be completed by May 18.

Greater St. Louis

The Greater St. Louis Committee for Freedom of Residence and Washington University co-sponsored a Fair Housing Workshop on March 12 with the aim of sparking a coordinated effort to achieve maximum results under the city's new fair housing ordinance (in operation about a year) and to further integration throughout the metropolitan area. Workshops on Real Estate, Citizens Action, and the Law attracted 250 persons.

The St. Louis Committee recently acquired a tax-exempt status and is now raising its budget to provide for a professionally-staffed operation. On May 25, it will honor The Ten Incredible Women, who expect to announce on that date that they and their co-workers have raised $10,000 for the committee. Here's how they are doing it: Each woman formed a team of 10 members, each of whom pledged to raise $100 by securing contributions of $10 each from 10 people.

The committee reports that since its organization three years ago, Negro families have moved into 51 previously all-white neighborhoods in 31 communities in the Greater St. Louis area.

Share New Ideas

Trends invites local fair housing committees and others with useful information to send in significant news items, as well as pictures and other educational and promotional materials (see box, this page) which may be helpful to their colleagues in other regions. The aim of the _News Exchange_, a reporting service of the Center for Fair Housing which will be carried as a regular feature in _Trends_, is to spark new ideas and stimulate a sharing of experiences among local groups across the country. Let us hear from you. Put _Trends_ on your mailing list!

Seattle

Fair Housing Listing Service in Seattle is operated by a 25-woman crew of volunteers and has its headquarters in the basement of the home of Sidney Gerber, a local businessman. In the last two years, FHLS has directly negotiated the sale of homes located on widely scattered sites in many formerly restricted areas to more than 70 minority-group families. The total dollar volume of sales is around $1.5 million.

FHLS is sponsored by some 30 religious and civil rights organizations in Greater Seattle. It maintains a list of about 300 houses, all located in all- or predominantly-white neighborhoods. Prospective buyers are referred by civil rights groups, satisfied customers, or come through publicity. Neither the buyer nor the seller pays a commission, and the small budget for printing and advertising is raised by contributions.

Most of the homes which have been sold have been in the $18,000 to $25,000 class, and Mr. Gerber says every time a sale is made real estate people complain that the service is unethical because it cuts out a salesman and his commission. "We tell them if they promise to show homes without discrimination they can have the commission," he comments. "But not one big realtor would do so." Mortgage firms, however, have become easier to deal with.

Building Firm

A few years ago it was so difficult for Negroes to buy homes outside of circumscribed areas in Seattle that a corporation, Harmony Homes, was set up for the specific purpose of building and buying individual homes scattered through restricted sections and making them available to nonwhite purchasers. The firm introduced the first Negro residents into numerous suburban communities and sections of the city proper.

Since many owners of good housing in desirable locations are now listing with FHLS, Mr. Gerber says Harmony Homes has served its purpose and is "on the shelf." Its officers had served without remuneration, it ended up with a small surplus, and the original capital is being returned to those who backed the project. The surplus will be used for fair housing activities.

Buyer Encouragement Program

The Association of Fair Housing Committees of Metropolitan New York is accelerating its "Buyer Encouragement Program" with a luncheon meeting on May 8, to be attended by top leadership from more than 150 minority group organizations. NCDH is joining AFHC in hosting the luncheon.

The invited guests will include the presidents and other officers of fraternities, sororities, civil service organizations, alumni associations, professional groups, church and political clubs, and various other groups with predominantly Negro and Puerto Rican memberships.

NCDH Executive Director Edward Rutledge will be the principal speaker, and representatives of several local fair housing committees will tell of the services their groups offer. Guests will be urged to spread the news of housing opportunities to their members, and to encourage them to move into the general market to meet their housing needs.

There are now more than 150 local fair housing committees in the Greater New York area.

The New York association is affiliated with the American Friends Service Committee's regional office, which provides staff assistance.

Two Important Books

Let in the Sun. By Woody Klein. 297 pages. New York: The Macmillan Company. $5.95. This Nation's slum-ghettos, the outgrowth of discriminatory practices, lie at the very heart of the Negro revolution. For a look at life in the slums, through the eyes of people who are trapped in them (one out of every five Americans), don't miss this book. Mr. Klein, a prize-winning newsman for the *New York World-Telegram and Sun*, writes out of his personal experience. He lived for months in the squalor of a Harlem slum-tenement as an undercover reporter.

"Housing," writes Woody Klein, "is not simply an economic or real estate problem. Housing is people, human beings whose destinies are directed and shaped by the nature of the homes in which they are born and in which they grow.

"Housing must be a major part of the war on poverty. It will do little good to train, find jobs for, or educate the poor of this nation, especially the young, if they remain confined to the slums."

Offering a 10-point program, the author calls on the Federal Government to tackle our own "under-developed areas" with the same of urgency it gave to the Marshall Plan.

The foreword to Mr. Klein's eloquent plea for war on the Nation's slums was written by Congressman John V. Lindsay (R., N. Y.).

The Church and Residential Desegregation. By Henry Clark. 254 pages. New Haven, Conn.: College & University Press. $5.00. The author, a professor at Union Theological Seminary in New York, uses this case study of an "Open Housing Covenant" pledge signing campaign to examine the larger role of the Church in the movement for residential desegregation. The setting is a small industrial city of the North whose residents are predominantly Protestant and Roman Catholic.

Dr. Clark emphasizes that an "Open Housing Covenant" or a "Good Neighbor" campaign is but one step in a much larger and more complex battle. He suggests, however, that a pledge signing project which is based on careful, representative planning, which is executed with maximum ingenuity and skill, and which is properly followed up can lead to a whole new cycle of important program activities.

While the book gives the principal "do's" and "don't's" for conducting a successful pledge signing campaign, it also includes extensive background information on many factors related to residence and race: attitudes, housing practices, the need for both technical and moral wisdom on the part of the clergy and religious and other community leadership.

This book is an important new resource for fair housing committee members.

Send Pictures and Art

The NCDH Center for Fair Housing wants to build a library of meaningful pictures and art work which can be shared with community groups, the press, and with individuals who are preparing educational materials and publications related to race and housing. We would also like to feature a "winning" photograph or design in each issue of _Trends_.

Fair housing committees, other organizations, and individuals are urged to send in photographs which depict some aspect of life in integrated neighborhoods, drawings which have been used to illustrate brochures or articles, symbols which are used on program materials, appropriate cartoons, and other items which may tell an important story. If a sufficient number of these are received on a continuing basis, the NCDH Publications Committee will be asked to choose a bimonthly "winner" for publication.

Legal Conference

(*Continued from page* 1)

ballot at the general election as an initiative constitutional amendment (*Trends*, Jan.-Feb., 1965). Proposition 14, which was promoted by the California Real Estate Association with the support of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, would weld into the state's basic law the right of a person to discriminate in the sale or rental of his property. Its objective was to wipe out all existing nondiscrimination housing laws in California and to prevent future adoption of such legislation by either the State or any of its subdivisions.

(A report on recent developments in the California situation will be found on page 3.)

Nationwide Threat

"Taken together with a similar vote on the same day in Akron, Ohio, and fair housing defeats in earlier referenda in Berkeley, Seattle, Tacoma and Detroit," comments NCDH Associate Executive Director Jack E. Wood, Jr., "it has become increasingly evident that the power of the real estate lobby and its national strategy to kill fair housing legislation present a direct challenge to all efforts to achieve a nondiscriminatory housing market under law."

Mr. Wood, who headed the conference planning committee, continues: "Immediately after the November election, NCDH began searching for ways to bring together the Nation's best legal minds in the housing field to explore the best legal means of dealing with this nationwide threat."

Serving with Mr. Wood on the planning committee were NCDH President Charles Abrams, lawyer and housing and planning consultant; Frank C. Newman, Dean of the University of California Law School; Robert L. Carter, General Counsel, NAACP; Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.; Ira M. Heyman, Professor of Law, University of California; Arthur J. Levin, Staff Director, Potomac Institute; Sol Rabkin, Director of the Law Department, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and chairman of the NCDH Legal Committee; Joseph B. Robison, Director of the Commission on Law and Social Action, American Jewish Congress, and NCDH General Counsel; and Edward Rutledge, NCDH Executive Director.

Conference Sessions

The co-chairmen of the meeting were Mr. Abrams and Dean Newman. Following welcoming remarks from Dean Newman, presented by Prof. Heyman, the working conference got underway.

"Initiative and Referenda in Civil Rights," was the topic considered at the opening session, with Mr. Greenberg presiding. A background paper tracing the history and development of the initiative and referendum generally and their use in civil rights issues specifically over the past 20 years had been prepared by Mr. Rabkin. Since a conflicting engagement prevented Mr. Rabkin's personal attendance, his paper was presented by Prof. David Vernon of the University of Washington.

Judge Loren Miller of Los Angeles, a Vice President of NCDH, presided over the second conference session which dealt with "Pending Litigation Arising Out of Anti-Fair Housing Referenda." Leading the discussion were attorneys Nathaniel Colley of Sacramento and Bruce Miller of Detroit, both of whom are playing leading roles in litigation on referenda in their respective states. Pending court action was reviewed in detail, with particular reference to the state and local issues involved.

The last session on the first day was devoted to "Application of Constitutional Principles to State Constitutional Provisions Barring Fair Housing," with Jefferson B. Fordham, Dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, presiding. A panel of four speakers explored a variety of approaches for possible constitutional attacks on the validity of "Proposition 14's." The speakers were Prof. Robert O'Neil of the University of California Law School, and three practicing attorneys from San Francisco: Ephraim Margolin, Joseph Grodin and Howard Nemerovski.

The Second Day

Prof. Thomas I. Emerson of the Yale University Law School presided over the opening session on the second day of the conference. This dealt with "Application of the Fourteenth Amendment to Discrimination in Housing." Papers were presented by Prof. Harold W. Horowitz of the University of California Law School; Theodore St. Antoine, attorney of Washington, D. C.; and Mr. Robison. During discussion, the three speakers developed theories under which Federal constitutional provisions and statutes could be invoked to halt housing discrimination, even in the absence of state legislation.

The Executive Order

The final session was on "The Legal Basis for Extending the Executive Order," and was presided over by Prof. Heyman. Papers were presented by Martin E. Sloane, attorney of Washington, D. C., and Prof. Monroe Freedman of the George Washington University Law School. These set forth the need and the legal justification for making the Executive Order on housing issued by President Kennedy in November 1962 (No. 11063) applicable to all financial institutions regulated by the Federal Government and to the sale and rental of all housing financed by such institutions.

Results and Reactions

While the conference was not structured to produce resolutions or formal policy statements, there was consensus among the participants that more than ample legal authority exists for expanding the Executive Order and that expansion is essential if the Federal policy of nondiscrimination is to be effective.

It was also apparent that the conference set in motion continuing study and dialogue among some of the Nation's top legal minds. Participants, all of whom took a very active part in the discussions

The "Referendum States"

Twenty-two of the 50 states have provisions which permit the people to make law directly by use of the initiative or referendum process: Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington and West Virginia.

In his paper on initiatives and referendum, prepared for the National Legal Conference, Sol Rabkin, Director, Law Department, Anti-Defamation League, and chairman of the NCDH Legal Committee, points out that there are marked differences in the provisions of the 22 states.

"Some allow amendment of the Constitution itself by initiative while others limit the use of the initiative and referendum techniques to statutes," he states. "Some bar appropriation bills from being subjected to referendum, others make laws for the immediate preservation of the public health and safety and laws for the support of the state government and institutions immune from referendum.

"Massachusetts provides that religious matters are not subject to initiative and referendum. Maryland exempts from referendum appropriation laws and laws concerning spirituous liquors. There are also variations in the percent of the total number of voters who must sign petitions in order to get them on the ballot."

In commenting on the types of exemptions various states have placed in their referendum provisions, Mr. Rabkin suggests that persons concerned with statutory protection of civil rights will find the Massachusetts limitation of especial interest.

"This limitation," he says, "may well reflect recognition by the lawmakers of Massachusetts that allowing the people to vote on religious matters might create the danger that members of a majority religious group, serving what they believed to be the greater glory of God, would use the referendum to ride roughshod over the rights of religious minorities—thus destroying religious freedom."

Mr. Rabkin suggests a parallel between religious rights and civil rights with respect to the exemptions which should be incorporated in referendum provisions.

throughout, seem to agree that it laid the groundwork for more effective legal action against the ghetto system.

The following comments are typical of those NCDH has received from the conferees: "Creative and productive—extraordinarily good." ... "It shed new light upon many legal facets in this field." ... "A highly valuable event of great importance." ... "It is invaluable for lawyers to have this kind of opportunity to bounce ideas off each other's minds."

Commenting on the long-range effects of the conference, NCDH General Counsel Joseph B. Robison says: "The Berkeley discussions probed deeply into new approaches to both legislation and litigation, and will undoubtedly challenge the bar to further exploration of means of dealing with long-standing discriminatory housing practices. We have every reason to believe that the possibilities for future action by NCDH and its affiliates opened up by the conference will lead to significant gains in the years ahead."

Immediate Benefits

Although it is generally agreed that some time may elapse before the full benefits of the conference are felt, an immediate gain was apparent with respect to pending litigation on referenda. In the huge State of California, for example, several court actions have been instituted in various parts of the state challenging the constitutionality of Proposition 14. The conference afforded the opportunity, both in the formal sessions and in informal conversations during social hours, for lawyers involved in these cases to have an interchange of ideas, approaches and information. These discussions stimulated a high degree of coordination in the handling of pending litigation, both as to the procedural tactics of the cases and the substantive constitutional arguments to be presented to the courts.

"We in California," writes one of the participants from that state, "owe a particular debt to the National Committee for bringing us together."

Further Exploration

Another immediate outgrowth of the National Legal Conference is a meeting of public and private agency officials NCDH is convening in New York City on June 29 of this year. At that time, leading participants in the Berkeley conference will review its results and the discussions which took place with state attorneys general and officials of human rights commissions concerned with the administration of nondiscrimination laws, ordinances and regulations in states and cities over the Nation. Also participating in the June 29 meeting will be representatives from Federal civil rights and hous-

(*Continued on page 8*)

Conference Participants

In addition to those mentioned in the accompanying report on the National Legal Conference, the following distinguished lawyers participated in the deliberations:

Berl I. Bernhard
Washington, D. C.
John Clancy
San Francisco, Calif.
LeRoy D. Clark
New York City
Prof. William Cohen
University of California
at Los Angeles
Judge J. E. Conway
Albany, N. Y.
Prof. John H. Denton
University of California
Prof. Robert Girard
Stanford University
Prof. David Haber
Rutgers University
Prof. Patricia Harris
Howard University
Prof. Robert Harris
University of California
Samuel Jackson
Topeka, Kan.
Eugene B. Jacobs
Los Angeles, Calif.
Chester Lewis
Wichita, Kan.
Prof. Thomas Lewis
University of Kentucky
Edwin J. Lukas
Director of National Affairs,
American Jewish Committee, and
NCDH Executive Committee member,
New York City
Prof. Daniel Mandelker
Washington University
Charles B. McKesson
Los Angeles, Calif.
Fred Okrand
Los Angeles, Calif.
Prof. Daniel H. Pollitt
University of Oregon
Prof. Norman Redlich
New York University
Prof. Terrance Sandalow
University of Minnesota
Leonard W. Schroeter
Seattle, Wash.
Herman F. Selvin
Los Angeles, Calif.
Alfred J. Westberg
Seattle, Wash.
Charles E. Wilson
San Francisco, Calif.
A. L. Wirin
Los Angeles, Calif.
Melvin F. Wulf
Legal Director, American Civil
Liberties Union, New York City

Observers

Among the experts in housing and civil rights who attended the Legal Conference as observers were:

Paget Alves
Associate Director, National Urban
League, and NCDH Executive
Committee member
Arthur Bradford
Intergroup Relations Advisor,
Federal Housing Administration
C. L. Dellums
Chairman, California Committee
for Fair Practices
Walter Giesey
Staff Director, President's Committee
on Equal Opportunity in Housing
Clive Graham
Chairman, California Fair
Employment Practice Division
John Gunther
Director, U. S. Conference of Mayors
Edward Howden
Chief, California Fair Employment
Practice Division
Clarence R. Johnson
Intergroup Relations Officer,
Public Housing Administration
Harry L. Kingman
University of California
Haskel Lazere
Director, American Jewish Congress,
Western Region
Arthur J. Levin
Staff Director, Potomac Institute
Felix Lewis
President, Mid-Peninsula Fair Housing
Groups
Tad T. Masaoka
Intergroup Relations Officer,
Urban Renewal Administration
Carl McCall
Taconic Foundation, Inc.
B. T. McGraw
Assistant to the Administrator for
Intergroup Relations, Housing and
Home Finance Agency
Lee A. Merriwether, Jr.
Assistant to the Regional Administrator, Housing and Home Finance
Agency
Irene Miller
Community Relations Representative,
San Francisco Redevelopment Agency
William H. Oliver
Co-Director, Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department, United
Auto Workers, AFL-CIO, and
NCDH Vice President
Tyrea Pittman
West Coast Regional Director,
NAACP
Robert Pitts
Regional Administrator, Housing and
Home Finance Agency
Frank A. Quinn
Executive Director, San Francisco
Human Rights Commission
Peter Robertson
Executive Director, Missouri State
Human Relations Commission
W. Byron Rumford
Assemblyman, California State
Legislature, and sponsor of the
Rumford Fair Housing Act
Glenda Sloane
Staff Attorney, President's Committee
on Equal Opportunity in Housing
Eugene R. Wolfe
Executive Director, San Francisco
Council for Civic Unity

Conference Reporter:

Arnett Hartsfield
Associate Counsel, California Fair
Employment Practice Division

New Law in R. I.

(*Continued from page* 1)

isdiction of the Rhode Island Commission Against Discrimination (State House, Providence, R. I. 02902—JAckson 1-1700), which is empowered to initiate investigations on its own motion. The law became effective immediately after it was signed.

Rhode Island previously had barred discrimination only in public housing.

Bipartisan Support

"Fair housing was enacted in Rhode Island this year because its leaders chose to lead," said *The Providence Journal* in an April 13 editorial hailing the new law. Republican Governor Chafee bent his efforts toward persuading Republican members of the Legislature who heretofore had voted against fair housing to support the Administration's bill. Leadership of the Democratic Party, which had introduced an identical bill, worked to bring in substantial majorities in the Senate and the House, both of which are controlled by the Democrats. The Senate has favored fair housing proposals over the years. It approved the 1965 bill by a vote of 28 to 16.

The impact of this year's bipartisan leadership, however, was reflected in the vote of the lower House, which in previous years had consistently killed fair housing legislation. The House voted 54 to 42 in favor of the 1965 bill, with 42 Democratic and 12 Republican members forming the majority. In 1964, the House had voted 32 to 61 against a fair housing bill, with 25 Democrats and 7 Republicans voting in favor.

Calling passage of the new law "only the beginning," Mr. Fain and other leaders among the civil rights forces are now turning to broad educational efforts to inform both Negro and white citizens of its provisions and the opportunities it affords.

"The moral impact of this bill is tremendously strong," says Mr. Fain. "It gives us the prestige and the force of law. But it is also a demand for the people of this state to work for integration."

Colorado Amendments

On April 2, the Colorado State Legislature passed amendments to extend the primary coverage of this state's 1959 Fair Housing Act to include the sale and rental of owner-occupied structures, previously exempt. Thus, the broadened law will now reach all housing transactions, excluding only rentals of rooms in private residences.

The vote to strengthen the Colorado statute was 30 to 5 in the Senate, and 57 to 3 in the House.

Other Developments

Earlier this year, Indiana chalked up a victory when Democratic Governor Roger D. Branigin signed the state's first law prohibiting discrimination in private housing (*Trends,* Jan.-Feb., 1965). And campaigns for new laws are still underway in Delaware, Illinois, Maine, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio and Wisconsin.

Also, a comprehensive fair housing proposal was submitted by Mayor T. R. McKeldin to the City Council of Baltimore, Maryland, on April 5.

Proposals which would strengthen existing nondiscrimination housing laws are pending in the state legislatures of Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York.

During this year's legislative sessions, fair housing bills have been defeated or died in committee in the states of Kansas, Maryland, New Mexico, Utah and Washington.

Referendum Moves Fail

Efforts to provide for anti-fair housing referenda were made this year in the state legislatures of Arkansas, Indiana, Maryland, Nevada, Rhode Island, Texas, Utah and Washington. All have either been defeated or have died in committee.

In the Lone Star State, an interfaith group composed of clergy and laity representing the Texas Council of Churches, the Baptist General Convention of Texas, B'nai B'rith, and the Texas Catholic Conference are credited with waging a skillful and effective campaign which caused to be buried in committee a "Proposition 14"-type bill which would have involved the issue of fair housing in an election campaign for a constitutional amendment to bar such legislation.

National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing
323 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10016

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Legal Conference

(*Continued from page* 7)

ing agencies and from national private organizations.

An emergency conference of state and city human rights commissions held by NCDH last November (*Trends,* Jan.-Feb., 1965) revealed an urgent need for continuing examination of the legal implications involved in the anti-fair housing referenda movement.

The Conference Proceedings

It is expected that the conference proceedings, now being edited for publication, will help shape community strategy in the fair housing field for years to come, and will serve as a valuable reference for lawyers who are handling housing litigation.

In addition to the full proceedings, two of the major discussion papers presented at the conference are being made available to the public. With the campaign for extension of the Executive Order now in full swing (see page 3), NCDH has provided key figures throughout the country with copies of "The Executive Order on Housing and Conventional Financing." Single copies of this legal document—a revision of an earlier article by Mr. Sloane and Prof. Freedman—are available on request. (Please include 25¢ to cover mailing and handling costs.)

Mr. Rabkin's paper, "Civil Rights and Initiatives and Referendum," is an excellent resource both for lay persons and professionals. It will be published shortly in booklet form for mass distribution. NCDH expects to announce its availability and price in the May-June issue of *Trends.*

●

Backfire

In the San Fernando Valley (Los Angeles), a real estate firm which had not supported Proposition 14 sold a home in a new de luxe development to a Negro family. Immediately there came a number of telephone calls from residents who objected to the sale. "How did you vote on Proposition 14?" the salesmanager asked each caller. Each indicated he had voted "Yes."

"Then," queried the salesmanager, "why are you upset? This is precisely what you voted for—the right of an owner to dispose of his property as he sees fit. That's what the owner of this property did." Silence.

The next door neighbors and many other residents said the sale was fine so far as they are concerned, and have since welcomed another Negro family to the neighborhood.

(See also page 3, col. 1.)

File Housing

A DECENT HOME FOR EVERY AMERICAN

A JOINT STATEMENT BEFORE THE HOUSING SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SENATE BANKINGAAND CURRENCY COMMITTEE

BY U.S. SENATORS

Birch Bayh
Joseph S. Clark
Philip A. Hart
Edward M. Kennedy
Robert F. Kennedy
Pat McNamara
Wayne Morse
Claiborne Pell
Joseph Tydings

April 9, 1965

We are here to support S.1354, the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965.

In 1949, the Congress declared "that the general welfare and security of the Nation and the health and living standards of its people require ... the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family."

Today, sixteen years later, we are still a long way from our goal. The construction industry, assisted by a variety of Federal, State and local government actions, has built new and better housing on an unprecedented scale. But our population has increased; millions of families have changed their place of residence and much of our housing stock has deteriorated.

As a result, one out of every four American families lives in substandard housing. Of the 58.3 million housing units in the United States in 1959, 8.4 million were deteriorating; 3.0 million were thoroughly dilapidated; and 4.3 million otherwise sound units lacked basic plumbing. By now, the figures are almost certainly worse.

Nowhere has this raised greater problems than in the core areas of our great cities. In part, this is because they are old: 57 percent of all housing units in the central cities were built before 1929, as compared with 41 percent of all housing units outside the center cities; and while 22 percent of housing outside the cities has been built in the last ten years, only 9 percent of city housing units have been built in that same decade.

The Plight of the City Poor

In larger part, it is because poor people have been moving to the cities. City after city has received waves of migrants from marginal and depressed areas. These newcomers -- too often without the education or the skills to earn a living adequate to the high cost of city living -- have crowded into slums every bit as crowded, unsanitary, and dangerous as those in which earlier generations of immigrants lived. For those earlier immigrants, conditions improved as they found their place in American society.

But the present generation of poor people faces barriers to advancement which are higher and more difficult than those faced by their predecessors. An advancing technology requires nearly every worker to be as skilled, educated, and trained as were only a small and fortunate elite in past generations. And many of the present poor are elderly; or are without one or more parents; or are the victims of discrimination. We are committed to removing these handicaps--and to securing decent and dignified lives to those who labor under them.

That is why we passed the Civil Rights Act

It is why we passed the Economic Opportunity Act

It is why we will pass Medicare and the Elementary and Secondary Education bill

And it is also the reason why the Federal government should now act to fulfill the pledge of the Housing Act of 1949.

Families -- whatever their income -- should have access to housing which is sound and sanitary, has basic necessary facilities, and which they can afford. We think it is also clear that this housing should offer its occupants -- particularly the children who live in it -- an environment which, so far as possible, embodies the ideals and ways of living which those of us who are more fortunate would want and expect for our own children.

These are general aims; they require specific programs.

In our judgment, the Administration's housing bill, S.1354, is a good bill. Its emphasis is upon housing for the poor. We support its passage. But there are additions in the bill which should be made, if we are to realize our goal of a decent, safe, and sanitary home for every American family.

Strengthened Low Income Housing Program

Our most pressing need is more housing for low-income families. The Housing and Home Finance Agency has testified that local housing authorities applied for over 94,000 public housing units last year. And were more units available, applications would surely increase; New York City alone, for example, presently has on file over 100,000 applications from people desiring admission to public housing projects.

Philadelphia has 100,000 families eligible for public housing, yet only a fraction of the public housing needed to accomodate them.

We are all disappointed that the local public housing authorities have been unable to build the number of public housing units Congress has allocated. In face of this fact, it is difficult to argue for an increase in the annual contributions for public housing, provided in this bill, desirable as that might seem.

We should take a look at why the construction of public housing is going so slowly, when the need is so great. We believe that this country can and should do better.

We should eliminate the artificial distinction between clearing a site for public housing and clearing a site for urban renewal. The Act should be amended to provide the same write-down for the clearance of public housing sites as is available for urban renewal.

We should also facilitate local community-wide planning for low income housing by making the local public housing authorities eligible for assistance under the urban planning assistance program.

We further propose:

First, that local public housing authorities should be able to make use of every federally-supported program to provide low-income housing. One reason for such program variety is simply to make more housing available to low-income families; obviously, a housing authority able to assist tenants to acquire housing outside of public-housing projects has wider possibilities for effective action than one which must build every unit it wishes to offer.

But a more important reason is that low-income housing should be distributed throughout the society. Tenants receiving housing assistance should not be collected in ghettos, separated from Americans of other income levels. Democratic principles are not fostered by marking off those who accept assistance from the government. We do not segregate farmers from townspeople because the farmers receive soil-bank payments. We do not put scholarship students in separate colleges. We do not list airlines which receive subsidies on a separate stock exchange, or sell the goods which are protected by high tariffs in separate stores. Neither should we mark off those who receive housing assistance to live in separate neighborhoods or, necessarily, separate buildings.

This is often thought of as a problem of race. But as was made clear in the consideration of the Economic Opportunity Act, poverty knows no color line. 78 percent of all poor people in the United States are white. And even within the great urban centers, the great majority of low-income persons are white. In the very core of New York City, for example, the island of Manhattan, there are 91.8 thousand families with incomes under $3,000, only 30.8 thousand are non-white.

We, therefore, applaud the amendment proposed by S.1354 to Section 402 of the Housing Act. This amendment, which would allow the local housing authority to purchase, or rehabilitate, or lease existing housing for low-income use, is a firm step in the right direction. This excellent provision can be further improved by giving local housing authorities a clear mandate to acquire an appropriate participating share of any type of housing project in which such participation would be financially feasible. It should be possible, for example, for a housing authority to share in the development of a 221(d)(3) project, by arrangement with the sponsor. It should likewise be possible for a housing authority to buy participating shares in a cooperative, or enter into advance lease agreements with a private builder for some of the rental units in a projected building or development. As long as the cost does not exceed the cost of annual contributions for a new public housing unit in the community, the federal government, the local housing authority, and the housing industry can only gain from such voluntary cooperation.

Further, the local housing authorities should be able to develop their own 221(d)(3) projects or use the direct low-interest rehabilitation loans of Section 312 of the 1964 Housing Act. We are aware of the fights for exclusive control of these and other programs that have taken place between different groups. But we cannot now afford -- if we ever could -- to allow jurisdictional disputes to divert us from our main concern, which is the building of more housing. We are, therefore, in favor of making every program available to every organization -- public or private -- that evidences a will and ability to build such housing.

Secondly, those local housing authorities which have not performed adequately should no longer be allowed to handicap the performance of others. In not one year in the past ten have all authorized public housing units been built; over this ten-year period, well over 100,000 units have been reserved and placed under contract, but not built. We are informed by the Housing and Home Finance Agency that some of these unbuilt units were reserved in the early 1950's.

Such performance denies decent housing for the poor; frustrates the intent of Congress; and leads to an underestimation of the true need for public housing We, therefore, urge that the bill be amended to provide that units on which construction has not begun three years after the initial reservation be returned to a general pool for allocation to localities willing and able to make use of them, which in the judgment of the Administrator are most in need of additional units. The waste of authorized units is particularly burdensome to those states which have the greatest need for public housing and are only restricted from building more by the 15 percent limitation on authorized units which may be allocated to any single state.

Third, every federal housing program should be carefully examined -- and amended where necessary -- to make more direct its relevance to low-income housing. Sections 220 and 220(h), for example, have been little used because the cost limits per unit are too low for major rehabilitation of low-income units in center cities. These limits will also restrict use of the direct low-interest loans authorized under Section 312 of the 1964 Housing Act when that program is funded. Every other program makes allowance for the higher cost of building in cities; so should rehabilitation. We, therefore, suggest that the Administrator be authorized, where justified by comparative cost, to increase, the per-unit limitations of 220 by 45 percent.

Fourth, we further propose that private bodies -- non-profit and limited profit corporations -- be encouraged to house low-income people through the use of the proposed rent-supplement program.

Title I of the bill establishes a program of rent supplements for persons who are elderly, physically handicapped, displaced by government programs, or who are occupants of substandard housing. The Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency would enter into contracts with the builder of a rental unit under Section 221(d)(3) of the National Housing Act. Under this contract, the Administrator would pay to the builder or sponsor the difference between the economic rent for the property and 20 percent of the tenant's income. As the tenant's income increased, the subsidy would decline; at the point where 20 percent of income would pay the economic rent, the tenant would be like any other tenant in a non-profit or limited-profit rental unit -- paying his own way, able to choose his own residence within the limits set by his income.

But as presently drawn, rent supplements would be available only to those whose incomes are too high for them to qualify for admission to public housing. Thus it would help not the families with the greatest need, but people who, whatever their housing problems, are better able to deal with them unaided. Granting that rent supplements should be available to those whose incomes are above public-housing limits, we believe that our failure to provide enough housing for very low income families makes it imperative that families with incomes below $4,000 should also be eligible for rent subsidies.

Making rent supplements available to low-income families will require other changes in the bill. These supplements, as the bill is now drafted, would be paid only in cases where the housing units are built under Section 221(d)(3), which do not receive the full subsidy afforded public housing. Housing built under this section should, therefore, be afforded the benefits of the below-market interest rate loans of 221(d)(3). Moreover, this interest rate should be fixed at a flat 3 percent to carry out the original intent of the 221(d)(3) program.

Taken together, the use of rent supplements, full use of public housing authorizations, and direction of other federal housing programs toward the needs of low-income families would do much to alleviate the current shortage of low-income housing. The level of authorization of S.1354 as proposed could result in making available an average of about 200,000 low-income units in each of the next four years. This would mark the first concerted effort by the Congress to eradicate slum housing. This combination of programs would provide us with the weapons to begin to realize the basic goal of the 1949 Housing Act.

Moreover, our suggestions would also go far toward reducing the unhealthy tendency, now prevalent, toward the separation of Americans into rigid income classes. As drafted, the bill contemplates that tenants receiving rent supplements will not occupy all of these new housing units; rather the new buildings will be expected to attract tenants paying the full economic rent from the outset.

REHABILITATION

We believe that the committee should make amply clear, perhaps by clarifying amendment, that rent supplements are to be used for families moving into newly rehabilitated dwellings as well as newly constructed ones. Philadelphia, for example, has a vacancy ratio of 6 percent among low and moderate income housing. Much of this is located in the so-called "Gray areas" which surround the heart of nearly every city. Use of rent subsidies to encourage the rehabilitation of such housing can help us upgrade the deteriorating sections of many cities while providing safe and sanitary housing at the same time.

One of the major factors holding back construction of more public housing in the larger cities has been the lack of sites. Through rehabilitation of existing housing we can substantially increase the volume of lower income housing. Lowering the income limitations for rent subsidies will help. But we also need to increase the volume of rehabilitation through other techniques. The rehabilitation grants recommended in this bill for those with incomes below $2,000 are unrealistic. The upper limit for these grants ought at least to correspond to the income limits qualifying families for public housing. With public housing in short supply we should do all we can to encourage the upgrading of existing housing for families in public housing income levels. Therefore we recommend raising the level of income which qualifies a family for a rehabilitation grant from the $2,000 in the Administration Bill to $4,000 and the maximum grant from $1,000 to $2,000.

Just the other day, the House Appropriations Committee approved funding of the section 312 direct Federal loan program for rehabilitation which was included in last year's Housing Act. This is a start in the right direction, but that program carries an authorization of only $50,000,000 -- a sum far too small to accomplish the massive rehabilitation of existing housing needed if we are to slow down the generation of new slums in the cities. There are at least 15 million substandard dwelling units in the urban areas of the country. Estimates by the National Planning Association indicate that it is going to take roughly three times our present rate of public and private investment in urban rehabilitation to curb the growth of slums over the next 20 years. Rehabilitation of existing housing is one of the best and most efficient ways to curb that expansion of blight.

In order to make a major rehabilitation program for the cities effective we also suggest that we permit rehabilitation outside of urban renewal areas.

(MORE)

THE CITIES AND POVERTY

We believe that one of the best ways to attack both the employment and the environmental aspects of poverty is through self-help. Those out of work and living in substandard housing could be taught a skill while rehabilitating their housing if we were to make provision for integrating community action programs under the War on Poverty with the Housing Program. A Community Action Program could be prepared under which participants could be supervised by experts in upgrading their own dwellings using Federal assistance doing those tasks which do not displace employed labor. In the process they could acquire useful and employable skills. Such a program was initiated in 1952 in Philadelphia by the Society of Friends. It was a success.

We suggest a directive be incorporated in the present bill to that end.

NEW TOWNS

We congratulate the Administration on the broad-ranging concept of new communities that is included in Title II of the Bill. Clearly, as our urban population doubles within the next forty years, we cannot allow our present cities to just sprawl into the surrounding countryside. It now takes from forty minutes to an hour to reach green space from the center of any major city; should present growth patterns continue, it will soon take two hours or more.

But as we create new towns, largely self contained -- with their own industry, their own commerce, their own schools and recreation facilities -- we must assure that they house families of all income classes. Too many cities are already experiencing the problems that inevitably arise when low-income families are restricted to the center city and higher-income families are encouraged to move to the suburbs. City after city has seen the downtown tax base decline as welfare costs rise; educational problems grow more difficult while the concerned and educated citizens who alone can improve an educational system move elsewhere; and transportation becomes almost an insoluble problem as upper-income workers commute from the suburbs to the central cities, while many lower-income workers commute from residences in the city to factory jobs on the outskirts of town.

If the new towns are to help solve our housing problems within a democratic tradition-and we believe that they can-then they must house a representative sample of the American population. If the rent-supplement provisions of the legislation are amended to apply to low-income housing, builders of new towns will have no added financial burden in providing it; singly or in combination, they can form a limited-profit corporation and receive building money under 221 (d) (3). The bill should, therefore, be amended to require the builders of a new town, as a precondition of receiving assistance under Title II, to provide low-income housing for fifteen percent of the families who will live in the new town.

This part of the bill should be further strengthened by discouraging builders from spreading housing all over the landscape without regard for such rudimentary utilities as water and sewer lines -- a tendency which is the source of many a heartbreak for a new suburban homeowner. FHA insurance should be denied for any mortgage on housing built in areas unserved by sewer or water lines where the Administrator determines that these services are economically feasible.

REGIONAL COOPERATION IN METROPOLITAN AREAS

Section 701, in our opinion, is one of the most useful sections of the Housing Act. It has led many communities, through urban planning assistance, to think for the first time about what the future holds.

We have fallen down, however, in encouraging more area-wide cooperation in metropolitan areas. Few indeed are the urban areas of the country where any official form of metropolitan government exists -- or even an area-wide planning commission, for that matter.

To encourage greater metropolitan cooperation we must extend assistance to the level where it counts -- the councils of elected officials representing all the local jurisdictions in metropolitan areas. There are many such organizations throughout the country -- around Seattle, Baltimore, Detroit, New York, Washington and Philadelphia, to name but a few. 701 Planning Assistance must be made available to such groups to help them develop the forms of metropolitan cooperation needed to cope with increasingly complex regional problems. With Federal seed money, many of these councils of elected officials will move their metropolitan areas toward more cooperative and productive intergovernmental arrangements to cope with area-wide problems.

(MORE)

OPEN SPACE

One of the major concerns of a metropolitan region is preserving open space and conservation areas before they are all irretrievably lost to metropolitan sprawl.

There are currently two programs to help acquire such areas: the Open Space Program in the Housing and Home Finance Agency providing 20-30 percent grants to local communities and the Land and Water Conservation Fund administered by the Department of the Interior, which offers 50 percent grants -- a sum expected to exceed $30 million this year.

From the point of view of most metropolitan areas the Land and Water Conservation Fund is a more desirable source of assistance because of the larger grant ratio. This the Administration Bill attempts to meet half way by asking for 40 percent grants for the Open Space Program. It should ask for at least 50 percent to make the two comparable.

But we have discovered that the Bureau of the Budget has drafted an Executive Memorandum which effectively denies use of the Land and Water Conservation Fund in metropolitan areas unless less than 50 percent of a conservation area is within the metropolitan area. We supported that vital bill because it seemed to be the best vehicle for getting the open areas we need close to the population. This proposal of the Bureau of the Budget would completely frustrate that intent. The Fund should be fully available to the metropolitan areas -- not excluded from them. We hope this Committee will not only increase the level of grants available under the Open Space program to 50 percent, but also express itself strongly on the question of the availability of Land and Water Conservation Fund money to metropolitan areas.

ADEQUATE FUNDS FOR URBAN RENEWAL AND COMMUNITY FACILITIES

We are well aware of the criticism that has been aimed at urban renewal in recent years. Some of that criticism is justified, particularly with regard to our failure adequately to re-house the poor. But many of the arguments have been based on inadequate statistics and faulty arguments. Certainly we should acknowledge the failings of our urban renewal program. But we cannot afford to slacken our efforts to re-build the physical and economic base of our cities through commercial and industrial renewal.

Cities all over the United States have prepared long-range workable programs to rehabilitate their commercial, industrial, and residential areas. Those plans extend 15 or 20 years into the future. Through Federal assistance we encouraged the preparation of those plans.

(MORE)

The present bill, however, would cut back the Federal commitment to urban renewal. The bill calls for expanding programs without providing an expanding authorization. Every year more communities come into the urban renewal program. It costs more -- not less -- to renew and preserve historic buildings, architectural treasures, and the charm of old neighborhoods. It costs more -- not less -- to preserve rather than destroy beauty. Federal authorizations for urban renewal should be expanding with the need for it in the cities. We believe that the capital grant authorization in the Administration Bill should be raised to at least $1 billion per year.

We also believe that the $100,000,000 requested for community public works is too small a sum to meet the chronic need in most cities to eliminate obsolescence of community facilities. There are now on file applications from local communities for at least $750,000,000 in community public works. We believe that Congress should provide an authorization more in line with this need.

In his State of the Union Message President Johnson said: "We do not intend to live -- in the midst of abundance -- isolated from neighbors and nature, confined by blighted cities and bleak suburbs, stunted by a poverty of learning and an emptiness of leisure."

We believe that the programs recommended to Congress this year by the President will go a long way toward eliminating the poverty of learning and the blight of idleness which afflicts millions in our cities.

We believe this Housing Bill can do much to rid us of the physical blight which afflicts city and suburb, too.

That is why we support its passage.

But it is also why we believe it must be amended as we have suggested. For more than fifty years, the great cities of America have willingly shared their wealth with the rest of the nation. They will continue to do so.

But if they are to continue as viable centers of industry and commerce, enlightenment and entertainment -- for the entire nation -- they need our help. Their contributions to all America have earned that help.

And we shall all be the richer for their prosperity.

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TENANT NEWS

METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING
215 West 23rd Street, New York 10011
SP. 7-8900

YOU are needed at the TENANT EMANCIPATION RALLY, Sat., April 24, at City Hall!

The date? Saturday, April 24

The time? 2 to 4 p.m.

The place? City Hall (not Gracie Mansion as reported in the last TENANT NEWS)

You -- and hundreds of other tenants -- will be there with signs and banners, with kids and baby carriages. We will be demanding action to free tenants from lack of heat and hot water, no emergency repairs, rising rents, not enough public low rent housing, discrimination in housing, and slow City action against slumlords.

The TENANT EMANCIPATION RALLY is being organized by MCH and its affiliates with the support of dozens of leading citizen sponsors. A partial listing includes:

Revs. Eugene Callender, David Giles, Donald Harrington, Howard Moody, Robert Nichol, Melvin Schoonover, Anthony Shipley, and Arthur Simon.

City Counc. Paul O'Dwyer and Theodore Weiss; State Sen. Manfred Ohrenstein; Assem. Jerome Marks, Seymour Posner, Carlos Rios, Mark Southall, & Percy Sutton.

Also, Jane Benedict, Dr. Leonard Covello, Gilberto Gerena-Valentin, Ruth Goring, Dr. Helen Harris, Major Owens and John Rey of Local 89, Hotel & Rest. Workers.

Hy Bershad, chairman of the rally committee, expects a huge turnout on April 24. Some local tenant groups are hiring buses to take their members to the rally. Others are planning motorcades which will leave the neighborhoods at 1 p.m.

Leaflets, stickers and other material about the TENANT EMANCIPATION RALLY are now available. Call MCH, SP. 7-8900.

Vol. III, No. 7
March, 1965

500 TENANTS SWARM THROUGH STATE CAPITOL -- ROCKEFELLER VOWS TO BUILD PUBLIC HOUSING WITH $$ FROM STATE BUDGET

Nine busloads -- about 500 tenants -- under the sponsorship of MCH, descended upon Albany on Mar. 2. They went to urge passage of the MCH legislative program. Coming from all parts of the city, the delegation was truly representative of the people of the city. It included Negro and white tenants, and many Spanish-speaking tenants. It included neighborhood organizations and several unions. The Hotel and Rest. Wkers. Union sent 2 railroad cars full of members to lobby for their entire legislative program and assigned some to lobby with MCH.

The big Tenant Lobby was preceded by a small advance delegation of 4 people who arrived in Albany on Mar. 1 and arranged appointments with Gov. Rockefeller, Sen. Maj. Leader Zaretzki and Speaker of the Assemb. Travia's counsel, and other legislative leaders.

Capitol surrounded by marchers

By noon the auditorium of Trinity Methodist Church in Albany was filled with delegates. From there the tenants marched about ½ mile to the Capitol building, and then around it, with signs and shouted slogans. It was a beautiful spring-like day and the parade was an impressive sight.

Governor promises public housing

The next few hours were spent in the bewildering maze of the Capitol building. Each neighborhood delegation saw its own state sen. and assemblyman and sent delegates to special appointments with top legislators. A large group, representing the different organizations, met with Gov. Rockefeller. This meeting brought a promise from the governor that he would support a $200,000,000 appropri-

(continued on page 4)

HOUSING BOOKSHELF

Code Enforcement for Multiple Dwellings in New York City, Part II, Enforcement through Criminal Court Action, Jan., 1965. Issued by the Community Service Society, 105 E. 22nd St., NY 10010. No charge. A detailed and very critical study of how and why the City courts fail to punish slumlords and stop housing violations. An expose, with recommendations.

MET COUNCIL SCORES BUILDER, CITY AND STATE FOR EXCLUDING LOW INCOME FAMILIES FROM NEW GIANT PROJECT AT FREEDOMLAND

Last month City and State officials and the United Housing Foundation announced, with much news coverage and hoopla, the planned construction of 15,500 units of middle income housing on 300 acres in the Bronx. The site is now empty or occupied by Freedomland amusements. The apartments will be cooperative, at a purchase price of $450 per room and monthly payments of $22-23 per room.

MCH's reaction was one of disappointment that this large empty site would be used for only middle income housing, with not one apartment set aside for low income families. In a letter to the United Housing Foundation, Mayor Wagner and Milton Mollen, Jane Benedict, MCH chairman, protested "the planned neglect of tens of thousands of low income families. Studies and surveys by the mile have shown that what is wanted now is mixed projects of middle income and low income housing. MIXED. Built together on the same site! Only with mixed housing can the city avoid the stupid repetition of perpetuating and strengthening the ghetto walls. Mixed housing, with the necessary subsidies, is the only way to bust the ghettos -- both racially and economically."

Trade unions and their insurance funds provide the main financial support for UHF. The MCH letter called on the unions to think of their low income members and their housing needs when funds are invested in new housing construction.

The letter urged the City and trade union officials, responsible for planning this new project "not to throw away the splendid opportunity of building a project that will admit the inclusion of low as well as middle income citizens -- Negro and white and Puerto Rican."

TENANTS TELL MOLLEN AND MAYOR: MAKE GOOD ON PROMISE OF EMERGENCY REPAIRS!

Leaking coal gas -- no heat & hot water -- no electricity -- plumbing leaks -- rats! Are these emergency conditions? Are they hazardous to safety and health?

You may think so. And so does the Independent Action Committee, a MCH affiliate, and so do the tenants of 346 E. 13 St. who live under these conditions. But Mr. Milton Mollen, housing coordinator for New York City, doesn't think so.

When 47 tenants plus leaders from IAC told him of these conditions on Mar. 4, his answer was: I will not send emergency crews. I will send only inspectors.

Tenants sit-in, get arrested

A week later, the tenants returned to Mollen's office at 2 Lafayette St. and began a 24-hour sit-in for emergency repairs. They were supported by a picket line downstairs, manned by MCH and affiliates. On Fri. evening, Mar. 12, 8 tenants and Al Leichtman of IAC refused to leave and were arrested. With Richard Levenson, MCH law comm. ch., and Lester Evens and Assem. Jerome Marks as their lawyers, they were released until Mar. 19.

Their brave fight for better conditions was saluted that evening by a reception at the New Friends of Good Faith Social Club, a Hispanic fraternal association. They arrived home about 9:30 p.m. to find the radiators cold -- altho Mr. Mollen had claimed that heat was restored.

East Harlem and Bronx on the move

The battle for emergency action has also been waged in recent days by the Bronx Council on Rents & Housing, a MCH affiliate, and the East Harlem Tenant Council.

Emergency conditions will not be solved by (1) throwing demonstrators out of an office bodily or by (2) labelling tenant leaders as "agitators" or "outsiders." The only solution to hazardous slum conditions is immediate repairs. Mr. Mollen and Mayor Wagner announced on Jan. 31 that the City has $1 million to make such repairs. Use it!

DON'T JUST STAND THERE . . . .
Come to the
TENANT EMANCIPATION RALLY
SATURDAY, APRIL 24, 2 p.m.
CITY HALL (note change of place)

LEGISLATIVELY SPEAKING

by Frances Goldin

As far as low income tenants are concerned, Pres. Johnson slammed the door of his Great Society in their faces this month. Yielding to pressure from the real estate crowd, he kept the lid on public housing, proposing no increase in new construction. No wonder most of the City's real estate industry endorsed the program enthusiastically. And why not? It provides no more public housing -- 35,000 units per year -- than Eisenhower's meager program did. NYC would get only 3,000 new apartments per year. The City now gets 100,000 applications per year.

The Johnson program emphasizes a new gimmick -- the rent subsidy. Under this plan, low income families would be given private apartments when available. A Federal rent subsidy would be paid to the landlord, to take care of the difference between what the tenants can pay and the actual rent. It is similar to an experimental subsidy already being tried in NYC. Families must pay about 20% of their incomes for rent before they can be subsidized. MCH feels that 20% or one-fifth is too much to pay for rent for most families.

But the real estate boys like the subsidy idea. It is a fine way to bail them out when their overpriced apartments are empty. Thus our tax dollars will rescue the private speculator, rather than being spent on low rent, vest-pocket housing on vacant land to end the housing shortage.

Strong criticism of the short-changed public housing proposals came from Citizens Housing & Planning Counc., the Community Service Society, the City Club, and the NYC Housing Authority. Roger Starr of CHPC called the program "Ridiculous. . . . We need a big public housing program. We've got something that works and we need more of it."

Washington ought to be the scene in 1965 of a massive housing demonstration, called by all who endorse a real program for low rent housing. We call on the unions, the civic organizations, and religious leaders, who have endorsed public housing in the past. We must act together for a revitalized public housing program

TENANTS WIN NEW POLICY ON LOCKED DOORS, INTERCOMS -- RRA SAYS LANDLORDS MUST RESTORE 1943 PROTECTIVE SERVICES

A new decision by the RRA has resulted from demands by tenant groups. Any building which had protective services -- locked front door, bell-buzzer, intercom or a guard in 1943 can have these restored without rent increase. This is the meaning of an Order and Opinion issued by Rent Administrator Gabel on Jan. 20. The decision referred to an order concerning 763 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, C.J.R. No. 1499, Protest Docket No. CPLA 8165, D.R.O. Docket No. 2T 25951-26071.

In the order, Mrs. Gabel said that these protective services are a "fundamental, important, and substantial service, and so essential to the effective preservation of available housing, that in those buildings where the service has been included in the maximum rent its maintenance must be encouraged and its curtailment resisted."

The fact that the services may have been cut off since 1943 without objections from the tenants is no longer accepted as an excuse for failure to restore.

Organized tenants should lose no time in filing for restoration of protective services. The new policy should not be allowed to die for lack of enforcement.

DID YOU MISS THE HOUSING HOOTENANNY? TOO BAD. IT WAS A SWINGING AFTERNOON!

Here's the all-star lineup that you missed: Phil Ochs, Lou Gossett, Len Chandler, Alix Dobkin, Biff Rose, Stanley Myron Handelman, Marcus Gordon and his Afro-Cuban Bata Drummers, Jeanne Selden, Janice Fink, Barbara Dane -- and of course, MCH's own Tenant Troubadours, Sally Goldin, and Steve and Dan Beinart. And Roy Davis of radio station WWRL deftly handled the m.c. chore. All of these wonderful people donated their time and talent to raise money for MCH at the Village Gate on Sun., Feb. 21.

But the real heroines of the hootenanny were Jeanne Selden, Roanna Judelson and Evelyn Aronowitz who slaved through the job of putting the program together and coordinating ticket sales. All of these heroes and heroines deserve another hootenanny -- this time in their honor!

ALBANY LOBBY (continued from page 1)

ation right out of the budget to build public housing. This would avoid a bond issue and the requirement to submit such a bond issue to the electorate, which is usually voted down by the upstaters.

Rocky asked to carry out promise
MCH is making all efforts to publicize the Governor's promise and see to it that he carries it out promptly.

MCH legislative chairman Frances Goldin will go up to Albany several times before the end of the session. Most of the MCH program has been put into bills and introduced. Mrs. Goldin will check on the progress of housing legislation and advise MCH and its affiliates on what they can do to push for passage.

Richard L. Levenson

MET COUNCIL DIARY

Health Dept., Feb. 16: A delegation met with Dr. George James, Commissioner of the Health Dept. It asked the dept. to use heat recording thermometers (see Jan. TENANT NEWS) to check on buildings which get off-and-on heat.

The group was led by Major Owens, ch. of Brooklyn CORE, and included Jane Benedict, ch. of MCH, Pepe Sanchez of the Puerto Rican Progressive Youth, Hy Bershad of the Pkway.-Stuy. Comm. Council, Eugenio Matta of Neighbors in Action, Emanuel Vodvarka of Local 89, Mrs. Eleanor Jackson and Mrs. Kay Brances Bethea, pres. & vice pres. of the Brooklyn Community Tenants Union, and Mr. & Mrs. Konyn of the Yorkville Save Our Homes Committee.

Alliance for Jobs or Income Now, Feb. 20 & Mar. 6: Two MCH board members, Major Owens, Brooklyn CORE, and Wilbert Tatum, Cooper Sq. Comm., were speakers at a series of forums on slums and discrimination.

Morningside GNRP, Mar. 12: The desperate plight of Negro and Puerto Rican residents of the Morningside section was forcefully presented to the Bd. of Estimate at a public hearing on the General Neighborhood Renewal Plan. GNRP, slum clearance, urban renewal -- whatever you call it -- it's the same old thing. This was the point made by Jane Benedict as she reviewed the shameful history of slum clearance in NYC. She pointed out that it is time to plan urban renewal for the tenants living in the community, not for higher income families primarily.

Others who spoke included William Stanley, Uptown Ten. Council.; Mrs. Estelle Edwards, Tri-Community Organization; John Haddon, Morningsiders United; Marie Runyon, Morningside Ten. Comm.; and Grace Jeffers, Morningside Open Stairs Comm.

The new Manh. boro pres., Mrs. Constance Motley, asked some pointed questions indicating her concern for the people of the neighborhood. She queried the institutional representatives on their plans for rehousing the tenants, and was dissatisfied with their evasive answers.

The METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING welcomes the support of every organization and individual who wants to work for more decent non-segregated housing at rents that people can afford to pay.

Yearly membership is $10 for organizations; $5 for individuals. You may join by signing this address label --------- and sending it with membership fee to Met Council, 215 W. 23rd St., N.Y. 10011

TENANT NEWS is a publication of the Met Council. $1 per year for 10 issues; free to members; bulk order, $2 per 100.

Chairman, Jane Benedict; Editor, Ruth Beinart; Staff, Frances Goldin, Maria Harriton, Richard L. Levenson, Meryl Lewis; designed by Helen DeMott.

Met. Council on
Housing
215 West 23rd St.
New York 11, N. Y.

BULK RATE
U. S. POSTAGE
PAID
NEW YORK, N. Y.
PERMIT No. 6383

RETURN
REQUESTED

James Farme
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038

May 13, 1965

CHARLES C. PLATT

MAY 14 1965

Dear Mr Farmer

Regarding the plan I have been sending you for reclamation of a sample Ghetto area, I see little hope of the City administration showing the way, due to increasing political demands on its time and attention.

I believe CORE will have to show the way. The sample project would take several million dollars and if CORE will do its part, I will undertake to raise the money. You mentioned some time ago our having a conference arranged. When would be a convenient time and place?

Very sincerely

Chas C. Platt

145 EAST 52ND STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 5-0177

Call appt.

get other material

CHARLES C. PLATT

Dear Mr Farmer

From the looks of things I believe you will be too busy to give this any special attention for some time to come whether the desired legislation passes or not

Suppose you appointed a Building Committee (or a Committee to consider a Building Committee) at your New York headquarters, and I'll agree to meet with them and iron out the preliminary considerations

Mr Herzil, my associate, will set the date, should I be away

Yours Sincerely

Chas C. Platt

3/12/64

145 EAST 52ND STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 5-0177

CHARLES C.

Dear Mr. Farmer
In line wit
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Sincerely

Chas C. Platt

3/7/64

S C. PLATT

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145 EAST 52ND STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 5-0177

3/7/64

CHARLES C. PLATT

Dear Mr Farmer

In presuming to advise in this matter perhaps you should know of my long interest in the subject. I quote from a letter from an officer of a leading savings bank:-

"I am certainly pleased to see that you have a continuing interest in this field, as I know very few persons who have a background of experience such as yours in this area of activity"

Then back in the La Guardia

145 EAST 52ND STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 5-0177

(over)

administration, there was
a similar movement, the
"Mayor's Committee on Property
Improvement" of which I was
Consulting Architect. This
kind of work has not much
"architecture" in it, but it
does involve a call to civic
duty which can and should
be the desired incentive, with
financial returns a necessary
but secondary consideration

Sincerely

Chas C. Platt

3/4/64

MAR 5 1964

CHARLES C. PLATT

Dear Mr. Farmer

I shall be glad to discuss this with you and will phone later for a meeting.

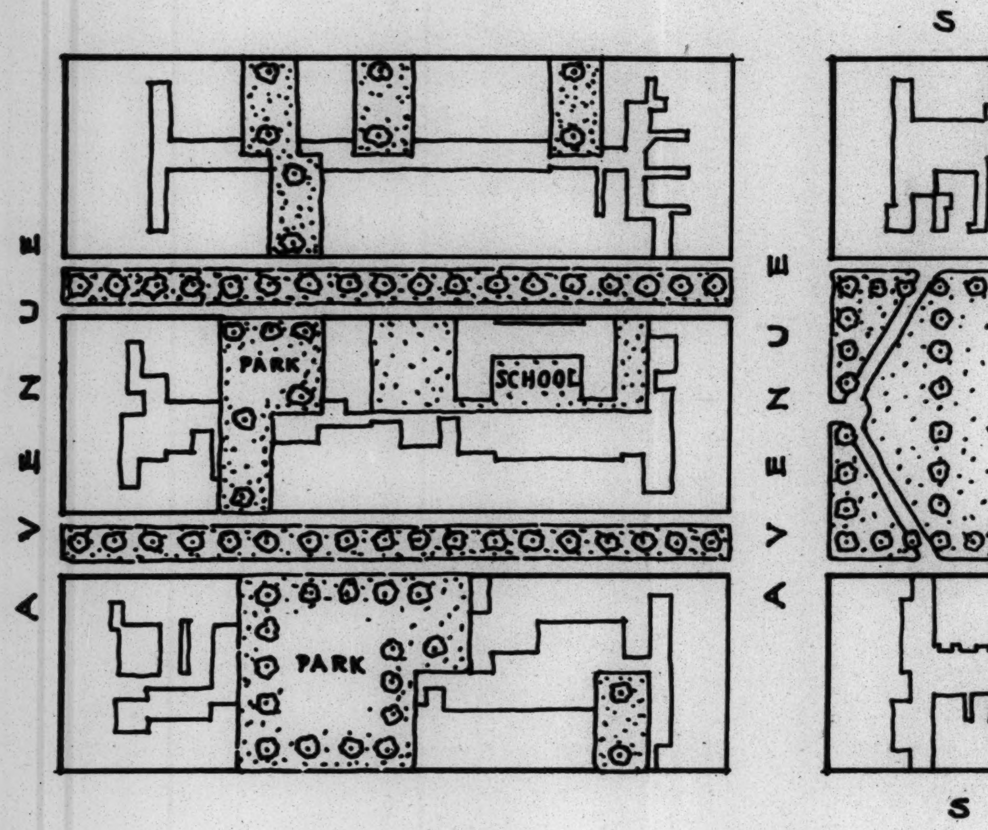
Two projects are involved; the rehabilitation and desegregation of these districts, and new open housing for relocating the imbalances. School desegregation automatic.

If the financing of these interlocked projects is assured, will CORE undertake the sponsorship with the initial financing for legal, architect's fees, etc. provided by a Foundation? For a pilot demonstration?

Sincerely Yours

Chas C. Platt

145 EAST 52ND STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 5-0177



AVENUE
AVENUE
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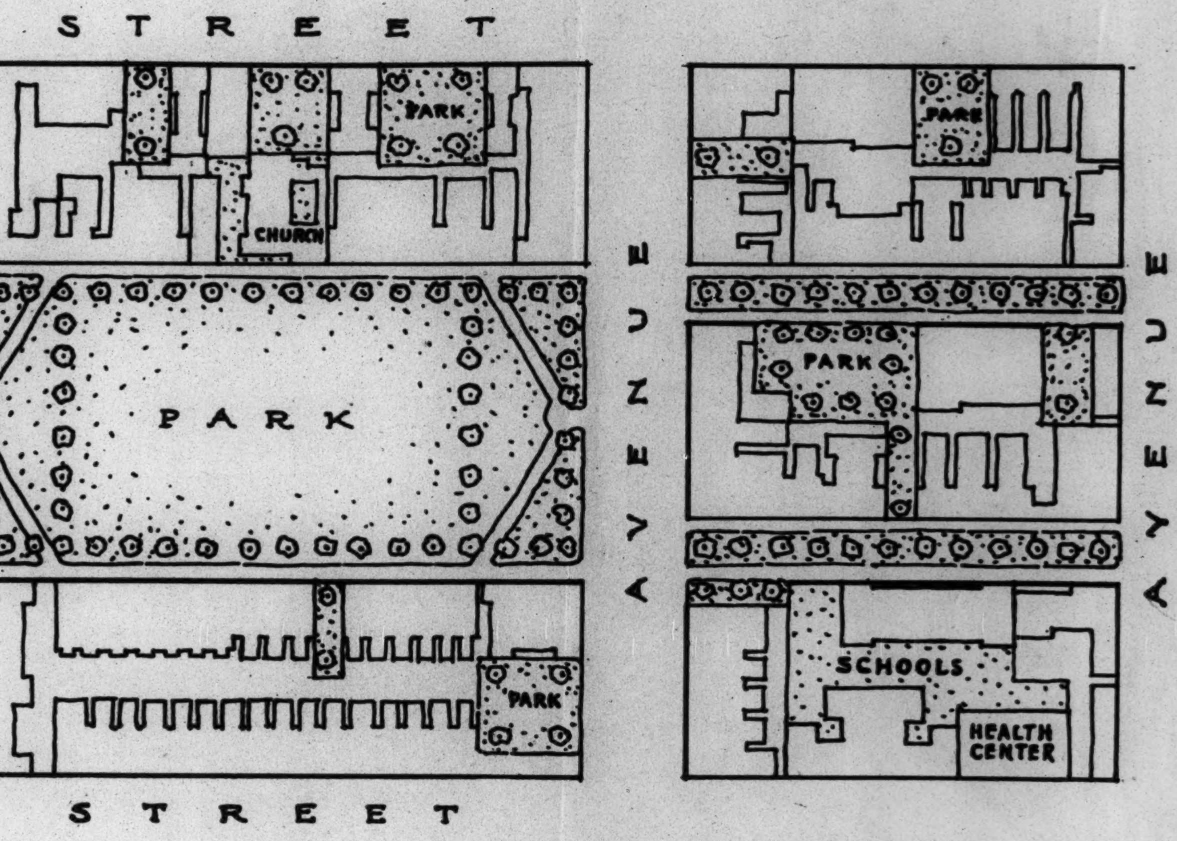
PARK
SCHOOL
PARK

EXAMPLE OF A TY
WITH PROPOSE
(Plan

(1) Central block demolished for
made into playgrounds; (2) side s
(3) buildings repaired and neighb
managed. (5) Desegregated.


STREET
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CHURCH
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PARK
SCHOOLS
HEALTH CENTER
AVENUE
AVENUE
STREET

F A TYPICAL NEIGHBORHOOD
ROPOSED IMPROVEMENTS
(Plan View)

l for park and playgrounds; or vacant lots
side streets closed as thoroughfares;
neighborhood dressed up; (4) community
l.

CHARLES C. PLATT
145 E. 52 St.
New York 22, N. Y.

February 27, 1964

Mr. Charles Platt
145 East 52nd Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Platt:

Thank you very much for sending me copies of your plans. They look very interesting, and I would like to get further details from you.

Perhaps you would be good enough to call my office sometime next month to set up an appointment.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:LP

TY'S SLUM PLAN
DEFENDED BY COR

RLES C. PLATT

FEB 14 1964 /13/64

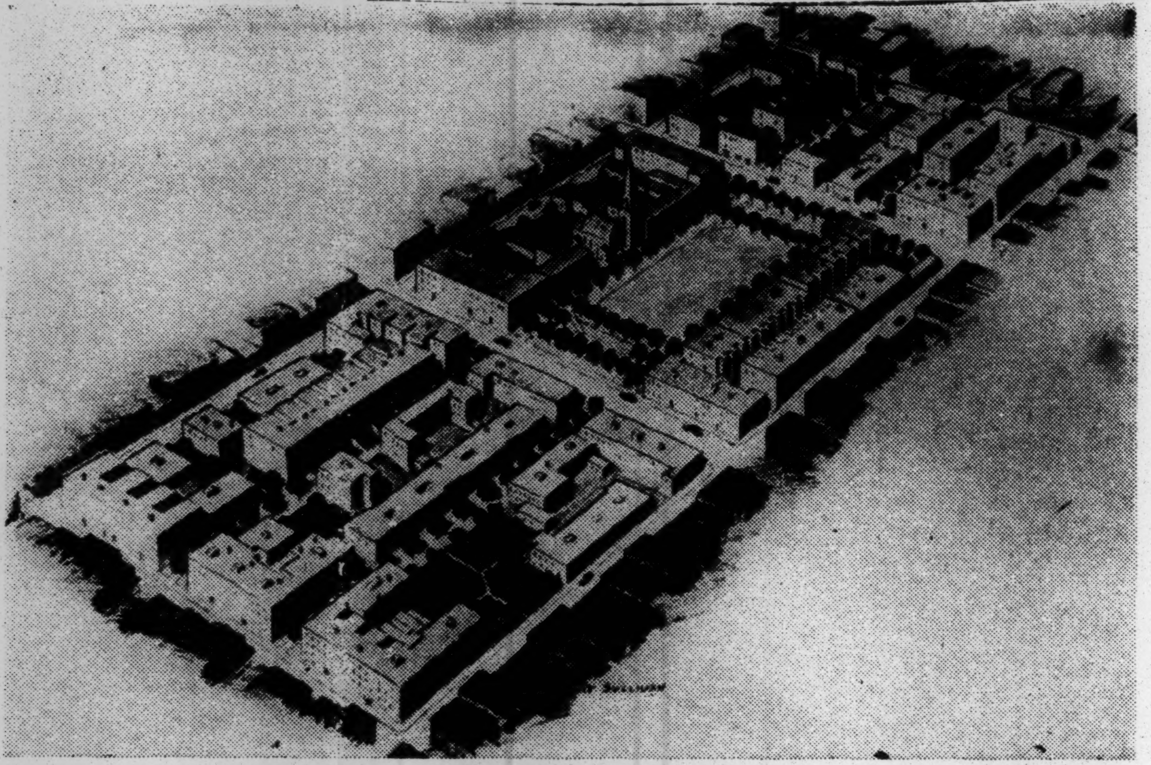
CORE

Solving the slums with receivership, building by building is too costly and too long. The job must be done on a large scale basis to meet the issues The solution, herewith, has a purpose, a plan and a pattern It is befor th Planning Commission, awaiting action, prior to formation of a non-profit company to do a pilot project It has been submitted to th Mayor, and Commissioner Mollen Does it interest you?

Chas C Platt

145 EAST 52ND STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 5-0177

Architect Stresses Civic Pride In Proposal to Modernize Slums



FACE-LIFTING—Artist's visualization of a neighborhood that was a slum changed into an acea with a central park and playground, side streets closed on thoroughfares, buildings repaired and dressed up and run as integrated community under a plan drawn by Architect Charles C. Platt, who sees in subsidized, collective communities the answer to slum clearance.

Attack on Slums Urged

Architect Wants Bulk Ownership, Financed by Public Laws

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The slums are still the unsolved problem of city and nation. Measures proposed from time to time always have and always will prove futile so long as they deal with effects and not with the primary cause.

The cause is a monumental one, "the poor housing the poor," an irresponsible agglomeration of ownerships irresponsibly in charge of housing millions of our people, powerless in themselves to do anything about it. The problem is even more complicated by the number and diversity of public agencies having to do with it. Manifestly, something new and drastic must be done.

Let the slum areas, in whole or by parts, be vested in single ownership, under condemnation, and on terms fair to existing owners. The ownership may be public or private, whichever is more likely to bring these areas up to compliance with the law and with all decent amenities and in the shortest possible time, and to keep them so conditioned for the life of the buildings or their earlier demise in the course of the city's growth through public and private enterprise.

And let it be understood that these buildings, frequently decrepit-looking, are essentially sound, having been built in the days when lower material and labor costs worked toward that assurance. Calling them "rattraps," fit only for demolition, as has ben said many times, is like destroying a ship for rats in the hold, a kind of reasoning that helped to bring on our acute shortage of low-rent housing and has piled up the overcrowding that is the beginning of the slums.

Unfortunately, that attitude still prevails in some quarters—"when in doubt, destroy." It should be "when in doubt, reclaim," a harder job, but most needed of all.

Government Funds

On the question of new ownership, due to the city's heavy involvement in so many problems of housing and city planning, it would appear more desirable to vest the ownership in private hands. That could be done through a limited-profit corporation or a nonprofit corporation, or possibly both, as the situation may demand, financed by government loans under existing statutes—Federal state and city.

The slum problem is not one of merely local concern. The spectacle of mass misery amid plenty has injured our standing and influence abroad and provided a powerful weapon that is being used against us to our definite disadvantage. If, then, to the normal urge for action against the slum areas, inspired by compassion, civic pride, danger to morals and health, we add the exigencies of world unrest, a case is fully made for the unusual action.

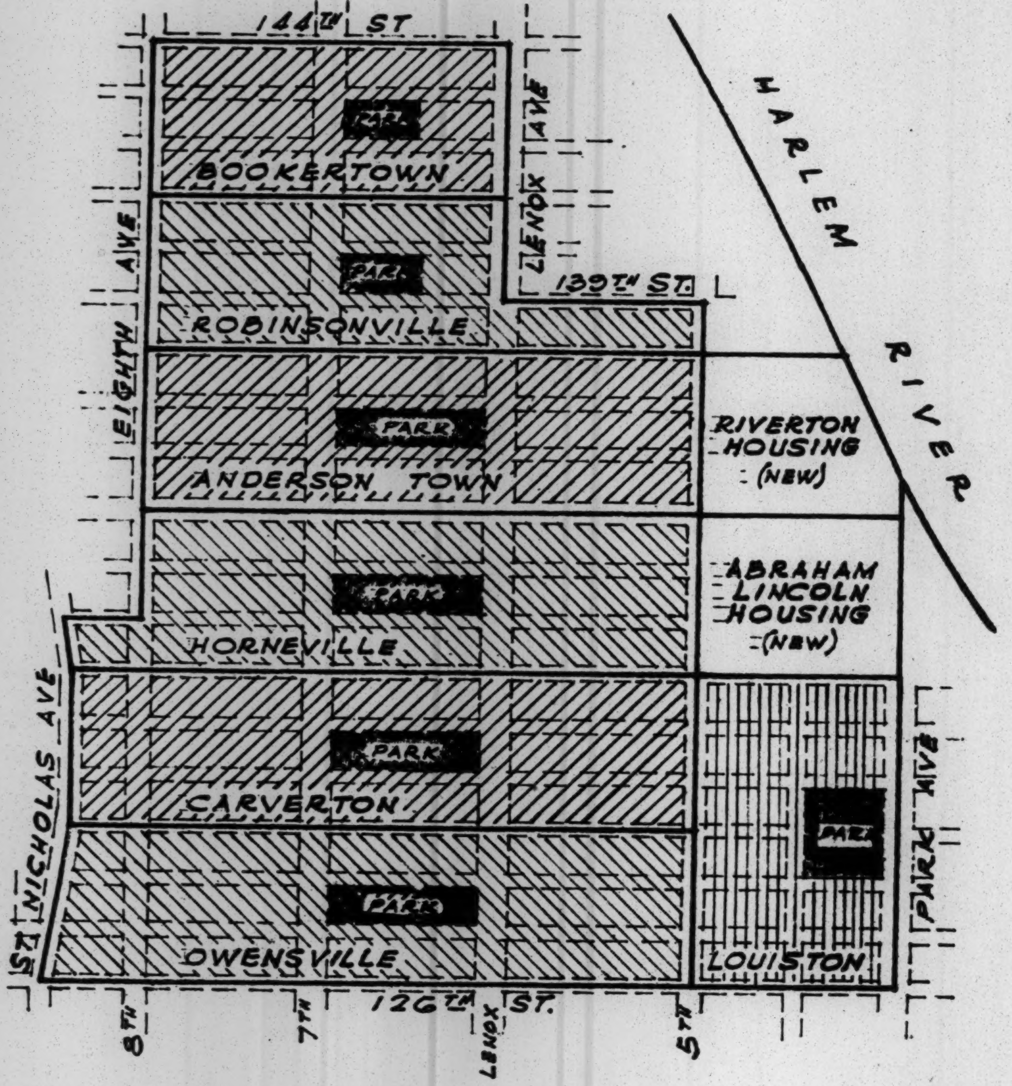
To start with, the transfer of a rectangular area of, say, nine blocks, giving a pattern of a park in the center, for "ventilating" the area, so to speak, is proposed, with a preliminary study to develop the proposal and solve the initial problems in advance of the comprehensive action to follow.

The idea has been submitted to the Federal and city agencies, and early action is earnestly to be desired. CHARLES C. PLATT.

New York, May 13, 1963.

F.P. PLATT & BRO
ARCHITECTS
NEW YORK

JULY 20 1948


144TH ST
BOOKERTOWN
PARK
ROBINSONVILLE
PARK
ANDERSON TOWN
PARK
HORNEVILLE
PARK
CARVERTON
PARK
OWENSVILLE
PARK
LOUISTON
PARK
RIVERTON HOUSING (NEW)
ABRAHAM LINCOLN HOUSING (NEW)
HARLEM RIVER
139TH ST.
LENOX AVE
EIGHTH AVE
ST. NICHOLAS AVE
PARK AVE
126TH ST.
8TH
7TH
LENOX
5TH

TENTATIVE NEIGHBORHOOD DIVISION
BASED UPON
CITY MASTER PLAN OF CLEARANCE AREAS
USING AREA M2-(a) AS AN EXAMPLE

TENANT NEWS

METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING
215 West 23rd Street, New York 10011
SP. 7-8900

LEGISLATIVELY SPEAKING

by Frances Goldin

Save the afternoon of Sunday, May 16 for D-Day. The "D" stands for DO SOMETHING! On that afternoon, tenants will DO SOMETHING -- picket the Democratic legislative leaders, Zaretzki and Travia -- and demand that they stop stalling and DO SOMETHING to pass housing legislation.

Sen. Zaretzki will be picketed at his home, 160 Cabrini Blvd., in Wash. Hts., 1:30-2:30 p.m.; Assemb. Travia at his home, 38 Jerome St., Bklyn., 4-5 p.m.

Join one or both picketlines -- and join the motorcade which will travel between them! Call SP. 7-8900 for more details.

There have been many excellent bills introduced in the State Legislature this year, at the urging of MCH and its affiliates. If passed, these laws would immediately improve the housing situation. They would provide many new low rent apartments, break down discrimination in housing, make rent strikes more effective etc. BUT NONE OF THESE MEASURES WILL BE PASSED, if we do not demand that the Legislature respond to tenants' needs. The Legislature should take orders from the voters -- not from political bosses.

Write to chairmen and others

The bills are bottled up in committees. They will only be blasted out if enough letters are received by committee chairmen, demanding that they be reported out favorably. Until they are reported out, they cannot be voted upon. The leader of the Senate, Joseph Zaretzki (State Senate, State Capitol, Albany, N.Y.) and the Speaker of the Assembly, Anthony Travia, (State Assembly, State Capitol, Albany, N.Y.) can also see to it that the bills get out of committee. Write to them and

(turn to page 3)

Vol. III, Nos. 8-9
April-May, 1965

YOU CAN FIGHT CITY HALL -- AND WIN!

Low-rent housing -- that's what the tenants of Cooper Sq. demanded last Christmas. The Board of Estimate turned down plans to build low-rent housing on a vacant site last Nov. and middle-income housing was substituted. The Cooper Sq. Comm. picketed, held an all-night vigil at the Mayor's home and charged a "deal" between Assemb. DeSalvio and Triboro Authority and City officials. (See TENANT NEWS, Dec., 1964 and Jan., 1965.)

The low-rent housing is vital to the Cooper Sq. Alternate Plan for renewal of the area because it would provide relocation housing for the first families which must be moved. The plan also includes middle-income housing in other parts of the area later.

On April 20 the Mayor announced a switch back to low-rent housing and the Bd. of Estimate is expected to approve it on May 20. So it proves that you can win!

METROPOLITAN
COUNCIL
ON
OUSING
ANTS
MAND
LECTIVE
GAINING
RIGHTS
GUARDS
FOR
PROJECTS

TENANT EMANCIPATION RALLY, City Hall, (story on page 2) -- (Photo, Lucy Flato)

1,000 PARADE AROUND CITY HALL PARK; SCORE MAYOR FOR INACTION ON HOUSING

"We'll remember in November..," sang the Tenant Troubadours. And "we'll remember in November..," echoed the sign-carrying tenants in Murray Street on Apr. 24. After a thousand-strong picketline that completely circled City Hall Park, the Tenant Emancipation Rally had adjourned to nearby Murray Street to listen to tenant leaders and to vow a continuing fight for better housing.

City Hall ringed by paraders

Babies and oldsters -- a fast-stepping marching band and drum majorettes from the Boys Club of Bedford Stuyvesant -- and one thousand angry tenants carried signs demanding that the Mayor take immediate action toward..more public housing....rent strike laws....emergency repairs and rapid receivership. Motorcades of cars and charter buses converged on City Hall Park from the Bronx, Washington Hts., Harlem, Yorkville and Chelsea and from Brooklyn. Lower East Side tenants paraded downtown to City Hall.

The vibrant spirit of the picketline was somewhat dampened as the Rally had to move into dark, chilly Murray Street to hear the speakers who included some of the sponsors and Leon Davis, president of Local 1199. The speakers were "warm" but the day was cold. Those who stayed throughout were rewarded for their cold feet and hands by the quick beats of the Hi-Liters Steel Band at the end.

If you were wondering why we had to leave the bright sunshine of CityHall Park for the chill of Murray Street -- it was an arbitrary ruling by the Police Dept. which obstinately refused permission for the speaking part of theRally to be held anywhere around City Hall Park -- which is almost abandoned on a Saturday. Why?

The Rally was organized by MCH and was sponsored by an impressive list of community leaders which included many legislators; James Farmer, chairman of CORE; Sol Gorelick,president,Local 371,AFSCME; Richard Hatch, ch. of ARCH; Nat Hentoff, Village Voice columnist; Jane Jacobs, author; Rev.Douglas Reid of Trinity Parish; Ted Velez, ch. East Harlem Tenants Council; Mollie Ilson, Federation Jewish Womens Clubs; Daniel H. Schwartz, Assoc. of Bronx Community Orgs.; and Germaine Wasserman, Fur and Leather Workers Union. A more complete list is on the Rally leaflet which was distributed all over the city.

MCH on TV

In addition to some press coverage, the Rally received attention from radio and TV. WNBC-TV televised interviews with Jane Benedict, MCH chairman, and Major Owens, MCH vice ch. and ch. of Brooklyn CORE, on its late newscast.

MCH VICE-CHAIRMAN AIMS FOR CITY COUNCIL

At last -- a tenant leader in the City Council! This could be a reality next year if the newly-born Brooklyn Freedom Democratic Movement elects its first candidate. He is one of MCH's vice-chairmen -- Major R. Owens -- who is running for councilman in the 11th Dist.(Bedford Stuy.). Owens is seeking to defeat the incumbent councilman,who has been labelled "Do-nothing" Diggs, in the Sept. 14 Democratic primary.

Owens is chairman of Brooklyn CORE, was chairman of the CORE Rent Strike Comm. last year and helped found the Community Tenants Union which resulted. He is co-author of MCH's Organizing Handbook.Born in rural Tennessee, he graduated from Morehouse College and Atlanta Univ. and is now employed as a community coordinator by the Bklyn. Public Library. He and his wife, Ethel, have three small sons.

The BFDM, in its preamble, calls for a "movement whose leadership sprouts from the roots of the ghetto..a militant leadership guided and pushed by a mobilized people behind it...We are a logical extension of the Downstate Med.Cent. fight for jobs, the Brooklyn-based school protest movement, and the Brooklyn rent strike movement..." Volunteers to work in the campaign and donations of money are vital. Headquarters are at 1088 Fulton St., Bklyn. 11216, phone 622-9141

HOUSING BOOKSHELF

Housing Statistics Handbook, Oct., 1964. Issued by the Mayor's Housing Executive Committee, 2 Lafayette St., Room 1405. NY 10007. No charge. 46 pages of facts and figures about housing in New York City -- average rents, how many apartments in the city, number of rooms, etc.

LEGISLATIVELY SPEAKING

(continued from page 1)

send copies of the letters which you send to committee chairmen. Also send a copy to the bill's sponsor so he knows you are fighting for passage of his bill.

A list of the key committees and their members is available upon request. Also available from MCH is a Legislative Memo listing 18 vital bills, their Intro and Print numbers, the sponsoring legislator, and the committee which has it, and its chairman, Among the bills listed are:

* Wilson-Baker (S Pr 2444, A Pr 3140) & Warner-Baker (S Pr 1963, A Pr 3139) bills to revive the State public housing program which is dying for lack of new funds.

* Kretchmer bill (A Pr 5842) to make receivership work faster and better.

* Blumenthal bill (A Pr 5638) for locked front doors and intercoms in all apartment houses.

MCH is sending a follow-up delegation of tenants to Albany on May 5. They will see legislators to get housing bills out of committee and will observe the debate on some bills already reported out.

NEW OFFICERS, EXECUTIVE BOARD ELECTED

A new 30-member executive board was elected at MCH's last quarterly meeting on April 19. In addition to many old members who were re-elected, new members included: Harold Duval (Yorkville SOHC), Robena Elam (Uptown Ten. Counc.), Gary Farsakian (West Side Action Comm.), John Hadden (Morningsiders United), Eleanor Jackson (Bklyn. CORE), Leo Lillard (Ind. Action Comm.), Maria Piedra (United Students of Amer.), and Pepe Sanchez(Puerto Rican Progressive Youth).

Newly-elected officers are: Chairman, Jane Benedict (Yorkville Save Our Homes Comm.); vice-chairmen, Stanley Aronowitz (individual member), Richard Levenson (Neighbors in Action), Major Owens(Brooklyn CORE), Petra Rosa (ind. memb.), Wilbert Tatum(Cooper Sq.); recording secy., Barbara Fisher (Artist-Tenants Assn.); corresponding secy., Virginia Rosen(ind. memb.); treas., Caroline Roest(ind.memb.).

MCH GETS A HOME --

219 Seventh Avenue -- remember that address. It's MCH's new home as of May 1! The new office is just south of 23rd St. and will aid in centralizing our activities. A committee has been set up to scout around for donations of office equipment. If you can donate anything --shelves, desks, filing cabinets, typewriters or other office machines -- call MCH at SP. 7-8900. Volunteers are also needed for cleanup and painting chores. One more thing -- MCH will also need more money than ever -- to continue all its actions and pay the rent. Pledge a monthly contribution. When? NOW!

I pledge $__________ per month to pay the rent at 219 Seventh Avenue:

Name ______________________________

Address ___________________________

Phone _____________________________

Fill this in and send today to MCH.

WELCOME TO . . . .

* Independent Action Committee

* Marble Hill Tenants Association (public housing project)

* Puerto Rican Progressive Youth (Brooklyn)

our newest affiliates. The chairman and secretary of the last group celebrated their affiliation to MCH by getting affiliated themselves. Our best wishes to Pepe Sanchez and Flora Santiago who were married last month. United we stand!

A NOTE OF THANKS

Teamwork gets things done. And the team which gets TENANT NEWS to the postoffice each month is a dedicated one -- Jean Congdon, Elizabeth, Clara and Mary Josephson, Bill Tatum and Ed Smith. Just like the U.S. mail-- neither snow, sleet or even the Josephson sisters getting re-settled in a new apartment keeps them from their duties. Our thanks to all.

MET COUNCIL DIARY

Armory use, Mar. 15: Jane Benedict testified for MCH and for the YorkvilleSave Our Homes Comm. at a hearing before the City's Site Selection Committee on use of the armory site at Madison Ave.& 94th St. A combination of housing and school space was urged by Miss Benedict, with a mixture of middle-income and low-income apts. At least 20% should be low-income.

Greenwich Village-Chelsea NAACP, Mar. 28: A KickoffForum to launch the new housing clinic of thisNAACP branch was held with Jane Wood, MCH bd. member and ch. of the Chelsea Save Our Homes Comm. as the main speaker. The branch is a MCH affiliate and several MCH bd. members, among them Major Owens, Esther Rand and Bill Tatum, helped its housing committee, headed by Bertina Hunter, set up the clinic.

Public housing on Lower East Side, Mar. 31: A proposal to replace 287 low-rent apartments with a smaller public housing project was attacked in a public hearing by Frances Goldin, representing MCH, and Esther Rand for the East Side Tenant Coun. The project, between 1st and 2nd Sts. and Ave. A and 1st Ave., would replace integrated housing which is rundown but basically sound, when at least 2 vacant sites are available nearby. The tenant speakers urged that the Housing Authority use the vacant sites instead so that the total supply of housing could be increased.

Riverside Democrats, Apr. 3: SRO's & what to do about them were the subject of a meeting which was addressed by Jane Benedict, MCH ch. You thought SRO meant "standing room only?" Well, in housing circles, it means "single-room occupancy" and refers to ex-apartment houses which have been rented out room by room. Miss Benedict recommended that the SRO's be made safe and sanitary and that help be given some of the occupants who have problems -- instead of just closing them up and sending the tenants, with their unsolved problems, elsewhere.

Yorkville Save Our Homes Comm., Apr. 5: City Counc. Robert Low and Ted Kupferman came to meet with their constituents at the YSOHC and to find out first-hand all about the loopholes in rent control. Responding to the tenants' bitter complaints about perpetual increases for appliances and "improvements," they promised to look into the problem. The Yorkville tenants, instead of going to their legislators, invite them to come to the committee's meetings and hear from the tenants. On Apr. 1, they met with a representative of State Sen. Berman. On May 6, Assemblyman Burns has promised to attend.

Crown Heights Renewal Council, Apr. 14: Renewal problems were discussed by Major Owens, MCH vice-ch. and Bklyn. CORE ch.

Manhattanville Tenants Assn., Apr. 24: Jane Benedict spoke at the installation of new officers of this project group.

The METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING welcomes the support of every organization and individual who wants to work for more decent non-segregated housing at rents that people can afford to pay.

Yearly membership is $10 for organizations; $5 for individuals. You may join by signing this address label ---------- and sending it with membership fee to Met Council, 215 W. 23rd St., N.Y. 10011

TENANT NEWS is a publication of the Met Council. $1 per year for 10 issues; free to members; bulk order, $2 per 100.

Chairman, Jane Benedict; Editor, Ruth Beinart; Staff, Frances Goldin, Maria Harriton, Richard L. Levenson, Meryl Lewis; designed by Helen DeMott.

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Housing

Volume 5
May 1965
Number 12

THE GIBSON REPORT on the NEGRO MARKET

HOUSING MARKET -- UNFOUNDED FEARS AND NOT MUCH GAIN

"most of the terrible things predicted to follow the two-year old presidential order on nondiscrimination in the sale of federally assisted housing have not happened. But, neither have most of the great gains expected for minority housing," according to an article directed to management in the housing industry, appearing in the February 1965 issue of House & Home.

Because this article, "Minority Housing: A puzzling market starts to shape up", offers both an opportunity to see how some fears were unfounded, and some significant characteristics of the Negro market pointed up, The Gibson Report thought a review would be of particular interest to its readers.

QUESTIONS ASKED AND ANSWERED

House & Home, circulated only to housing professionals, asked eight questions of builders throughout the United States, some of them pioneers in minority housing, others newcomers to the Negro market. The questions asked and answered were as follows:

1. If a suburban subdivision is honestly offered to all comers, will Negroes flock to buy? No
2. If you sell any houses to Negroes, will you automatically lose your white buyers? No
3. Does subdivision size affect the problem? Yes
4. What income group is the strongest in the nonwhite housing market? Upper middle and above.
5. What are the attitudes of FHA and leading mortgage lenders toward minority homebuyers? Mixed
6. Can you build large sales volume in Negro housing? Yes
   In integrated projects? Yes---but
7. Is the desire for new housing being encouraged among Negroes by their community leaders? No
8. Has any large integrated project done well? Yes

The significance of these answers, according to House & Home, is that they are based, not on social theory, but on the hard realities of the marketplace.

The GIBSON REPORT on the NEGRO MARKET is published monthly as a marketing service of D. Parke Gibson Associates, Inc., Public Relations Consultants, 2580 Seventh Avenue, New York, New York 10039. Telephone Area Code 212 AUdubon 6-6565. Subscription 1-yr. $10.00, 2-yrs. $14.00. **Reproduction in whole or in part without permission is prohibited.**

NEGROES SLOW TO BUY IN SUBURBS Negro families have been slow to buy new suburban housing, even when it is open to all buyers. Despite open occupancy policies, the economic situation or the reluctance on the part of Negroes to move into suburban areas follows the same pattern nationally.

This reluctance of Negroes belies the prediction made that once "fair-housing laws" are enacted tensions would be increased, property values would drop, and social problems would be created. Should there be a "Negro flight to the suburbs", which is highly unlikely, there is little support for the fears.

NO LOSS OF WHITE PATRONAGE One of the most common beliefs held by management and marketing executives is that the encouragement of Negro buyers will result in a loss of white patronage. In the housing industry, builders indicated that large subdivisions can absorb a few Negro buyers without any appreciable effects on sales to whites. Generally, where whites have bought housing the Negro percentage is well below the national ratio of Negroes to whites.

SMALL PROJECTS FEARED BY BUILDERS While integration does not have an appreciable influence on sales in subdivisions, a more serious sales problem develops in the small project (20-30 houses). Most builders, according to House & Home, avoid building for Negroes, particularly in the South, because they fear it will hurt their sales to whites, even when in completely different areas. Rejection by white buyers, plus inability to find enough qualified Negroes, is the biggest fear of small builders entering the open-housing field.

STRONGEST SALES IN UPPER BRACKET "In Atlanta", says House & Home, "where the market for Negro housing is strong (although the segregated pattern is unbroken) Alexander Associates sold 28 houses at $25,000 to $45,000 in the first two months after opening an 88-home subdivision. The same company is now starting an apartment for Negroes that will command rentals of $110-$130 -- about $40 higher than present local levels." A builder in Los Angeles has sold 1,200 houses to Negroes in ten years -- almost all at $21,000 to $27,000. In Wilmington, Del., two excellent townhouse projects in the low income minority market took almost five years to sell out.

LIBERALIZED FHA CREDIT CRITERIA The FHA has liberalized its credit criteria for minority buyers, although money for mortgages can still be a problem. While most upper income Negro buyers now qualify as easily as whites for mortgage money, the problem is still blocking lower income Negroes. One builder has established an experimental program, the creation of a foundation, to permit homebuying by families who do not pass credit checks but whom the builder considers good housing risks. Bankers Mortgage Co. of California has agreed to accept all FHA or VA-approved buyers in a Richmond (Calif.) subdivision for placement with major lenders like Bank of America and the Bowery Savings Bank. While the FHA and the VA tend to downgrade a second source of family income -- a significant point because among Negro homebuyers many wives hold jobs, but conventional lenders accept working wives or second jobs as reliable income sources.

ALL-NEGRO DEVELOPMENTS REPORT BIG SALES One of the significant points brought out by the House & Home survey is that Negroes are continuing to buy homes in all-Negro areas, or areas that will become all-Negro as opposed to buying in suburban areas. In one subdivision in Chicago, where prices ranged from $26,000 to $40.000, a builder has delivered 900 houses, and has found no objection that all buyers are nonwhite. Another has sold some 350 houses ($13,950 to $38,500) mostly on vacant tracts.

HOUSING NOT NUMBER ONE NEGRO GOAL

"Negro leaders still give secondary importance to new housing -- integrated or not. Jack Wood, associate director of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, says the Negro community has given highest priority to education and job opportunities but claims that government -- both local and federal -- could do more to encourage integrated housing: "If they had spent the same effort in the past two years to break down segregation in housing that they spent for 25 years in encouraging it, we would have gotten a lot further."

A ten-city House & Home roundup of builders in the Negro market brought unanimous agreement that the Negro community was doing little to motivate families to buy the new housing their incomes would permit. Even in states where there are strong fair-housing laws, few minority families are seriously trying to buy new houses.

MAJOR INTEGRATED PROJECTS RARE

Even when many white prospects are attracted to open-occupancy projects, they turn away when they see a preponderance of Negro buyers, according to House & Home. Whites are likely to put aside their objections, however, when terms are better than those normally available. In Detroit, for example, a builder sold 10% of its duplexes to white buyers, and in New York State the pattern is the same where one builder says, "There is a point where self-interest outweighs prejudice."

WHAT DOES IT MEAN ?

The House & Home survey confirms some of the beliefs and practices that have been initiated as affects Negro housing. The survey also confirms the fact that the conditioning of Negroes tends to keep them together, and instead of being together in low-cost housing only, as their incomes improve, they prefer to be together in middle and upper-cost housing.

NO ANSWERS YET

There are no clear cut answers yet on how the Negroes' growing hold on Central-City will be broken, and efforts to get Negroes buying more in integrated or suburban areas will be accomplished. The housing industry, while having moved cautiously, has found there is a Negro market ... and while it does not today want to move to suburbia, it does want improved housing, and is willing to pay for it. It also means that there is little likelihood the number one demand of Negroes for better jobs, and more income will be displaced by housing.

*

BUSINESS COMMERCE INDUSTRY

Chrysler Corporation and the U. S. Departments of Labor and Commerce will participate in the first nationwide job development program cooperatively sponsored by a major automaker and the government. The plan is initially designed to train 1,000 apprentices and offer them job opportunities in auto mechanics; Chrysler and its dealerships will provide 80% of the operating funds needed while the U.S. government's cost will be 20%

Seagram Distillers Company, as part of its introduction of 100 Pipers, Seagram's entry into the booming scotch market, the company sent National Newspaper Publishers' Association president Frank L. Stanley, Sr. to ceremonies in Scotland.

Gulf Oil Corporation will display a new 10-foot panel exhibit depicting the company's activities in the Negro community at major home shows and conventions throughout the country. The exhibit uses approximately 50 photographs to illustrate Gulf's aid-to-education program, employees and dealers, community relations activities, and support of women's organizations

*

AMONG THE BREWERS P. Ballantine & Sons has named Andrew T. Hatcher, former Associate Press Secretary to the White House, to the position of Market Promotions Manager. Ballantine also appointed Berned Creswell to Metropolitan New York Promotions. He was formerly as assistant to the public relations manager.... The F. & M. Schaefer Brewing Company announced the appointment of Andrew W. Stanfield as manager of community relations for the brewer.... Schmidt's of Philadelphia has named Bernard Gavin to its sales staff. In another move, Schmidt's is sponsoring a new radio series over WDAS, Philadelphia, titled "Profiles in Achievement", which is biographical sketches of Negroes, who, through their own efforts, have achieved managerial or supervisory status in government, business or in the professions. The show will not have a sales message for the brewer.

AMONG THE AGENCIES McCann-Erickson, Inc. named Tom Sims a vice president. He joined McCann 18-months ago on its plans board. Sims was formerly with Elmo Roper Associates, BBDO, and Pepsi-Cola Co. McCann also has Georg Olden as a vice president in creative arts.... B & C Associates announced the appointment of Thomas E. Bell as director of Research and Planning for the public relations firm .... J. Walter Thompson Company, Chicago, has named Inez Kaiser and Associates as Negro market counsel.... Society National Bank of Cleveland named Burns Public Relations Inc. to guide its community relations program and equal opportunity in employment programs.

STUDIES REPORTS FILMS "They Harvest Despair: The Migrant Farm Worker" is the name of a new book by Dale Wright, a Public Affairs officer in Washington with the Office of Economic Opportunity. The book is based on a six months' study of America's migrant farm worker made while Wright was with the New York World-Telegram and Sun. One humdred and seventy-six pages. Beacon Press. $4.95

"The Road Ahead" is a new 16mm free-loan motion picture dramatizing the problems that a Negro and a white youth both face in looking for employment. The 28-minute film presented by the National Urban League is available for use by Association Films, Inc.

"Consumer Audience Profile of The Negro Market", the newspaper-sponsored study of product usage in 30 markets, was introduced at a luncheon during a two-day workshop of advertising executives of Negro newspapers in 60 cities, from New York. For information on the study, write: Amalgamated Publishers, Inc., 310 Madison Avenue, NY 10017.

*

NEWSPAPERS MAGAZINES "Tuesday" is the name of a new interracial national newspaper supplement, to be distributed on a controlled circulation basis in predominantly Negro and interracial areas by white-oriented newspapers. Initially, circulation is to be limited to 2-million. Scheduled for September 12 publication, and once a month thereafter, Tuesday's home office is at 185 N. Wabash Avenue in chicago, with sales and editorial offices at 605 Third Avenue, New York City.

National Scene is the name of a weekly newspaper supplement for Negro-oriented newspapers, and will begin publishing July 3, by Continental Features. Some 49 Negro newspapers, with over 800,000 circulation are expected to carry the supplement. National Scene is at 507 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

United Pictorial Review, 1530 W. Florence Avenue, Los Angeles, began publication as a new weekly newspaper, with a controlled circulation of 30,000 copies, expected to be doubled by September. The publication will be 80% pictorial.

*

M E M O R A N D U M

Housing

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038
June 9, 1965

TO: Chapter Chairmen
FROM: George Wiley, Associate National Director
RE: Low Income Housing Legislation

Enclosed is a statement by nine Senators proposing some amendments which would greatly strengthen the Administration's Housing Program. There are at least two features of these proposals which are very basic to a war on slum housing conditions. The first is the strengthening of the rent supplement program. These are described in the third and fourth paragraphs of page four of the statement. We must push for keeping the rent supplements program in the bill and to make it as broad and strong as possible. Currently rent supplements are available to welfare families. The bill would make rent supplements available to certain middle income families, but would exempt a broad area of the working poor. There are very large numbers of Negroes in this category. For a typical city this could be one third to a half of the Negro families. A second key phase of this proposal is the strong emphasis on having the low income housing distributed throughout the community. We certainly know that the building of large, low income housing projects in the center cities is essentially a guarantee of segregated housing for Negroes for some time to come. Scattering low income housing throughout the community is therefore very important. A strong statement favoring the scattering of low income housing is made at the top of page three, followed by some proposals for implementing this. One feature of implementation involves rehabilitation of existing housing for low income use. The proposals provide for this to be done either by public or private groups, and that this be permitted to take place anywhere in the community, rather than simply in so-called conservation areas.

A good rehabilitation program coupled with the rent supplement concept could have important consequences in improving housing for Negroes.

The following is the text of a telegram sent by James Farmer to President Johnson:

> "CORE commends and supports the Administration's Housing Program now before Congress. However, we wish to indicate our strong support for amendments proposed by nine Senators on April 9, 1965 before the House Sub-committee of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee. We are particularly concerned that the bill contain provisions for rent subsidies for low income families affected by government programs, and further that provisions are included which encourage rehabilitation of existing housing for use of low income families. We urge your vigorous support of these provisions."

I would suggest that your chapter send similar wires to President Johnson with copies to Senator Sparkman and your respective Congressional Representatives. The latter might be done by letter. Second, I urge that you ask allied groups in your community to take similar action. This should be done very quickly because the bill is now in committee and there is considerable strategic advantage to having it emerge from the committee in the strongest possible form.

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United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY
SUBCOMMITTEE ON HOUSING
(PURSUANT TO S. RES. 15, 89TH CONGRESS)

file
Housing

June 11, 1965

JUN 14 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Mr. Farmer:

Senator Sparkman asked me to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of June 9th containing a copy of a telegram sent by you to the President concerning 1965 housing legislation.

Sincerely,

Carl A. S. Coan

Carl A. S. Coan
Staff Director

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CATHERINE BAUER WURSTER
WHITNEY M. YOUNG, JR.
CHARLES S. ZIMMERMAN

NO

file ✓ Housing

JUN 28 1965

MCD
Modern Community Developers Inc.

Suite 111, 7750 Roosevelt Boulevard
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19152
DE 8-7333 Code 215

June 22, 1965

Dear Jim:

Please place on your calendar the next meeting of the MCD-PC Boards of Directors which will be held Thursday, September 16th at 12 noon at Delson & Gordon, 120 E. 41 Street, N. Y. C.

Please use the enclosed post card to indicate that you plan to be with us. Do try to reserve the entire afternoon since we cannot be sure whether we will be able to adjourn before 4 or 5 P. M.

Cordially,

Morris Milgram

MM/jb
Encl.

P.S. Do call me if I didn't reach you Friday 6/25. I can get to Durham Friday July 2nd if I could be of some use at CORE convention.

Tom Garst — asst to Pres — 215 DE8-7333 — my — Phila.

On July 4th could arrive Sat eve til Mon morn

— Housing [illegible] how cd be of use to CORE

Housing

June 28, 1965

Mr. William R. Valentine
Chairman
Program and Education Committee
National Committee Against
  Discrimination in Housing
323 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

Dear Mr. Valentine:

This is to confirm my verbal endorsement of the position statement on integration in housing, which was adopted by the Education and Program Committee of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. I am glad to be able to wholeheartedly endorse this position statement, and it is my hope that it will be adopted by your Board of Directors.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF:nm

NCDH

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
323 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016 • 685-8911

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Edward Rutledge
Executive Director
Jack E. Wood, Jr.
Associate Executive Director
Margaret Fisher
Director of Information and Publications
Barbara Chirse
Administrative Assistant

June 17, 1965

JUN 18 1965

Mr. James Farmer
National Director
Congress on Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y. 10038

Dear Mr. Farmer:

I am enclosing a position statement which has just been adopted by the Education and Program Committee of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. The statement will be presented at the next meeting of the Board of Directors of the National Committee on June 28, 1965 and we are hopeful that we may have an endorsement of the position by the six major organizations which have provided the leadership in the current movement for civil rights.

The statement reaffirms the objective of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing to achieve an open housing market throughout the Nation. It was the aim of the Education and Program Committee in drafting the enclosed position to establish the goal of integration in housing as the basic concept, supplanting the existing concept of nondiscrimination as the sole objective of efforts to broaden housing opportunities for all citizens.

It is my earnest hope that I can receive a letter of endorsement from you prior to June 28 as those of us on the Education and Program Committee feel strongly that the endorsement of the proposed position by the leadership group in the civil rights movement will hasten action by the Board of Directors of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing in adopting the position and in initiating procedures to implement the position.

yes.

If it is not possible for you to reply to this letter before June 28, I shall appreciate it if you will telephone me at my office, 433-4132, prior to June 28 so that the Board may be informed of your endorsement. Should you have any questions about the proposed position which I might clarify, please do not hesitate to call upon me.

I look forward to an early and favorable response.

Sincerely yours,

William R. Valentine

William R. Valentine
Chairman
Program and Education Committee

Encl.

(Board Members, Member Organizations and Advisory Council listed on reverse side)

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G. Mennen Williams

Member Organizations

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO
AMERICAN BAPTIST CONVENTION, DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL CONCERN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
AMERICAN COUNCIL ON HUMAN RIGHTS
AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMERICAN NEWSPAPER GUILD, AFL-CIO
AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, AFL-CIO/CLC
COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO, DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, MIGRATION DIVISION
CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY — CORE
COOPERATIVE LEAGUE OF THE USA
FRIENDSHIP HOUSE
INDUSTRIAL UNION DEPARTMENT, AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION, AFL-CIO
INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS, AFL-CIO
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE
LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
THE METHODIST CHURCH, WOMAN'S DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN SERVICE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE — NAACP
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF NEGRO BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS
NATIONAL CATHOLIC CONFERENCE FOR INTERRACIAL JUSTICE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF CHRIST, DEPARTMENT OF RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO WOMEN
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL RELATIONS
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS, COMMISSION ON SOCIAL ACTION
UNITARIAN FELLOWSHIP FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE
UNITED AUTO WORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST, COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION, AND RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT, BOARD OF HOMELAND MINISTRIES
UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, OFFICE OF CHURCH AND SOCIETY, BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL-CIO

PROPOSED STATEMENT: NCDH Policy
Position on Integration in Housing

The 40 constituent member organizations of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing have been in the forefront of efforts over the past ten years to secure federal legislation, executive action and state and municipal laws prohibiting discrimination in housing.

In addition to the Executive Order and Title VI of the federal Civil Rights Act, these efforts have resulted in legislation prohibiting housing discrimination in 29 states, the District of Columbia, the Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, and 34 cities. Many of these laws and ordinances apply to both government-aided and privately-financed housing.

Seeking to secure protection against discrimination in housing, it was and is the basic aim of NCDH to achieve an open housing market to facilitate the dispersion of families of various racial and ethnic groups throughout all parts of towns, cities and metropolitan areas throughout the country. The limited success of such efforts under the present nondiscrimination laws has been largely dependent upon the filing and resolution of individual complaints which have been too few to make any appreciable inroads into the patterns of residential segregation that exist throughout the country.

Also, the state and municipal laws prohibiting housing discrimination have too often been narrowly interpreted and administered by the enforcement agencies to apply exclusively to nondiscrimination as such with no latitude to permit affirmative action to achieve integration. The federal housing agencies have similarly interpreted, and are administering the President's Executive Order, which is inadequate at best, and Title VI of the Civil Rights Act with comparable inflexibility. Meanwhile, local planning commissions, local urban renewal agencies, housing authorities and other municipal agencies, officials and politicians are formulating and executing plans for housing and community development, with little apparent

PROPOSED STATEMENT: NCDH Policy

concern as to the potential creation of new racial and ethnic ghettos or the extension of the ghettos which presently exist.

The primary thrust of the "civil rights revolution" has been aimed at the integration of non-whites in the use of public accommodations, into places of employment, schools and voting, involving the direct introduction of Negroes into both elective and appointive offices at all levels of federal, state and local governments. Realisation is growing that the residential ghetto represents the last tough stronghold of racial segregation which blocks the attainment of further advances in all aspects of the civil rights struggle. The determination, therefore, grows that comparable positive efforts to integrate the housing in all localities and neighborhoods of the nation are now a prime necessity.

We affirm that the staff and the 37 constituents of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing will now concentrate their efforts to stimulate local, state and national groups, organizations and government officials to pursue the positive objective of achieving integration in housing and in neighborhoods. There are already a large number of fair housing committees and national and local agencies and organizations which are taking such affirmative action to achieve residential integration. Undoubtedly, many of these agencies and organizations can be mobilized to affect positively federal, state and local policies and procedures to achieve residential integration as the positive aspect of nondiscrimination activities.

We urge that the staff and constituents of NCDH publicize this position widely and marshal the forces which are already moving in this direction to influence the federal, state and municipal housing and planning agencies to formulate and execute plans with the positive objective of achieving residential integration and to effect a more inclusive interpretation by state and municipal commissions of the laws which they are now enforcing. To give added impetus to this effort, we urge further that the major civil rights organizations publicly endorse this position and take active leadership to arouse the public conscience in favor of integrated housing.

6/16/65

File

THE CITY OF NEW YORK
Housing and Redevelopment Board
2 LAFAYETTE STREET • NEW YORK, N.Y. • 10007 • TELEPHONE: 566-6565

MEMBERS

HERBERT B. EVANS
Chairman

WALTER S. FRIED
Vice-Chairman

June 23, 1965

JUN 24 1965

JUN 29 1965

Mr. James Farmer, Director
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

Dear Mr. Farmer:

We would first like to let you know that we have appreciated your cooperation with our efforts to integrate the various housing developments under the jurisdiction of the New York City Housing and Redevelopment Board.

In this connection, I am sending you a copy of the most recent compilation of the Housing and Redevelopment Board Rules and Regulations Relating to Limited Profit Housing Companies. I would like to call your attention especially to Sections 2, 3 and 4 of Article I on page one of these Rules and Regulations. Further, on June 17, 1965, our Board amended Section 4 by adding the words, "In the processing and submittal of applications for Board approval, sponsors, sales agents or housing companies shall conform to the requirements for integration and any other priorities established by the Board."

An essential element in these rules is the fact that the date of "public announcement" by the Board is established as the date of the press release--copy of which is being or will be sent to you on date of release--which indicates the date of Board approval along with the essential facts regarding the project. All inquiries or applications received by the sponsor or sales agent prior to ten days after that date are to be "treated on a par". In addition, the new amendment requires that the sales agents, in processing any applications received, and the Housing and Redevelopment Board, in approving any such applications, are to conform to the requirements for integration. Those requirements are indicated in Section 2 (subsection c) of Article I and spelled out in detail in the Board Orders, copies of which have already been sent or will be sent to you.

In sum, these efforts by the Board are directed to increasing the possibility that families of all racial groups in all sections of the city will receive information about projects as early as possible, placing them on a par when it comes to the filing of applications, and seeking to affirmatively enforce our official policy of integration.

Your further cooperating with our efforts in this behalf will be very much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Frank Horne
FRANK S. HORNE
Consultant on Human Relations

FSH:de
Enclosures (2)

AR 127 PD JUNE 30 PG #1 CONFIRMATION COPY

HONORABLE EDMUND PAT BROWN

GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA STATE CAPITOL BLDG
SACRAMENTO CALIF

CONGRATULATIONS ON YOUR STRONG SUPPORT OF THE RECENTLY PASSED FAIR HOUSING BILL. THE GOVERNOR OF KENTUCKY THE HONORABLE BURT COMBS HAS ISSUED AN EXECUTIVE ORDER BANNING DISCRIMINATION IN ALL ENTERPRISES LICENSED BY THE STATE. VIOLATION OF WHICH MEANS THE LOSS OF LICENSE.

WE/THE DELEGATES FROM THE CALIFORNIA CHAPTERS OF THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY ASSEMBLED AT OUR NATIONAL CONVENTION IN DAYTON OHIO WITH THE ENDORSEMENT OF OUR NATIONAL DIRECTOR JAMES FARMER , UNANIMOUSLY URGE THAT YOU ALSO ISSUE "A KENTUCKY TYPE EXECUTIVE ORDER TO BAR DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICE IN ALL BUSINESS ENTERPRISES

AR 127 PD JUNE 30 PG #2

CONFIRMATION COPY

IN CALIFORNIA AND IN STATE CIVIL SERVICE THE LARGEST EMPLOYER IN THE STATE.

JAMES FARMER NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF CORE
PEARL CHANDLER, CHET DUNCAN, JOAN GAVIN,
DANIEL GRAY, LESLIE JONES, DAVID AND ROSLYN
LEONARD, FAYE MORTON, LOIS ROGERS, WILFRED
USSERY, EARL WALTERS AND JACK WEINBERG

DELIVER COPY TO -
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OPR 5

Housing

OPERATION OPEN OCCUPANCY

An Affirmative Action Housing Program for Local NAACP Branches

Remarks By

Jack E. Wood, Jr.
Associate Executive Director
NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING

at the

NAACP 56th Annual Convention
Denver, Colorado
June 30, 1965

* * * * *

NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING
323 Lexington Avenue - New York, N.Y. 10016

REMARKS BY

JACK E. WOOD, JR.
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
NATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST DISCRIMINATION IN HOUSING

at the

NAACP 56th ANNUAL CONVENTION
Denver, Colorado - June 30, 1965

- - - - -

OPERATION OPEN OCCUPANCY

An Affirmative Action Housing Program for Local NAACP Branches

The long history of the NAACP as the nation's foremost organization engaged in the field of civil rights is a matter of record and public knowledge. This history, dating back to 1909, is one which reflects a continuous and determined struggle to eliminate every vestige of racial discrimination and segregation from American life and to secure for all people the dignity, respect and equality of opportunity that is man's sacred and inherent right.

In strongly urging that the NAACP now direct the full panoply of its power and resources toward breaking up the racial ghetto and advancing integration in housing, it may be helpful to comment briefly on the Association's contribution in the field of housing during the past 56 years.

It is not generally known for example, that the long history of the NAACP began with a concerted attack upon racial segregation in housing. In 1917, shortly after the NAACP was founded, it successfully brought its first case, Buchanan V. Warley, before the Supreme Court to challenge the legality of municipal racially restrictive zoning ordinances. In that historic decision, the Supreme Court not only held such ordinances in violation of the 14th Amendment, it further added that, although the "separate but equal" concept was acceptable in other aspects of life, there could be no distinction nor limitation imposed on man's right to housing on account of race. This decision set a standard and reaffirmed a constitutional right which the NAACP later was to draw upon in a long and successful series of law suits, designed to prohibit discrimination in housing. The invalidation of restrictive covenants, the removal of racially discriminatory policies imposed by local housing authorities, the affirmation of the right of all citizens to enjoy the benefits of FHA and other federally-aided housing, are only a few of the legal victories won by the NAACP in the interest of full equality of opportunity in housing.

These victories, coupled with the vigorous campaigns of its branches across the nation to enact city and state fair housing legislation and to bring about the issuance of an Executive Order leave no doubt as to the Association's recognition of the imperativeness of nondiscrimination in housing, nor any question of the contribution it has made toward advancing this goal.

It must be recognized, however, that the broad scope of racial discrimination in American life has made it necessary that the NAACP apportion its talents and its resources in many directions. As a result we have worked diligently and with some success to combat de facto segregation in the schools, to eliminate racial discrimination in places of public accommodation, to advance equal employment and promotional opportunities and to secure voting rights for our people in the South.

On the occasion of this 56th Annual Convention, however, it now behooves us to turn back to housing and finish the job that our founding fathers started 56 years ago when they realized that the elimination of segregation and discrimination in housing was central to the advancement of all colored people.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People now must give leadership to the nation by concentrating the power of all of its resources on breaking up the racial ghettos of America.

In order to accomplish this it will be necessary for NAACP branches to do more than campaign for fair housing legislation and combat discriminatory plans and policies in the local housing market; they now must develop positive action programs which affirmatively promote racial integration in residential communities away from the local ghetto. NAACP branches which develop and begin to implement such affirmative action programs will be doing infinitely more than simply advancing racial integration in housing; they automatically will advance school integration, motivate new employment interests, strike a blow at juvenile delinquency and eliminate that form of poverty which ghetto living represents.

There is a considerable body of experience involving useful techniques and operational methods which NAACP branches may draw upon to build their local affirmative action programs. The National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing has demonstrated the dramatic effectiveness of such programs having operated jointly with the Urban League of Greater New York, a pilot project called "Operation Open City." Other effective programs are being administered across the country by the American Friends Service Committee and by the housing office of the National Urban League. All of these programs are based on the hypothesis that racial integration can take place if housing opportunity information is communicated broadly to the Negro community and a "helping hand" is provided by residents of neighborhoods previously by-passed by nonwhites. The basic elements requisite to the development of such programs exist in virtually every community served by the NAACP. These elements are:

1. A resource of nonwhite families currently residing in areas of racial concentration who are interested in better housing outside of the ghetto at rates and prices they can afford.

2. A resource of dedicated leadership in the majority community, who as members of established organizations and fair housing committees are committed to provide assistance in expanding housing opportunities for Negro families.

3. Dwelling units for purchase or for rent in that part of the local private housing market which is not customarily available to nonwhite families and

4. Leadership resources and facilities of local NAACP and other established civil rights organizations which enjoy close communication and rapport with minority families who require assistance.

Drawing upon these elements, a local NAACP branch in establishing an Operation Open Occupancy program would, for example, attempt to move in two major directions: The first would be toward the Negro community through the broad dissemination of up-to-date and relevant information on housing that is available in desirable neighborhoods. Employing virtually every available communication medium, it would attempt not only to induce Negro families to register as potential home-seekers but also to convince them of the desirability and availability of good housing in neighborhoods outside of the ghetto. In implementing the Operation Open City program it was found, for example, that speaking engagements before Negro church, service, fraternal, sorority and other organizations were extremely helpful in developing an awareness in the community that the Operation Open City office had been established for the express purpose of assisting them in their search for better housing accommodations. In addition, large scale mailings of literature to the members of these groups, radio announcements, newspaper statements, posters and other display material also helped.

The second direction of the program would be toward the white community, particularly those who by organizational membership or private activity are committed to residential integration. In the Operation Open City program the nucleus of this effort was the group of voluntary fair housing committees which exist in and around New York City. These groups, despite good intentions, had been handicapped by a lack of Negro home-seekers and of communication channels into the minority community. The coordinative role of the Urban League in New York City resolved the problem and resulted in a continuous flow of interested home-seekers. Fair housing groups and other committed leadership in the majority community were able also to provide other important services. They obtained listings of apartments for rent and homes for sale in their neighborhoods and, in addition, provided valuable information in the form of community "profiles" which later was reproduced and widely distributed. These "profiles," not only describe the kind and cost of housing available in that particular community but also give important information on features such as transportation, schools, shopping, recreation and health facilities. The focus of the second aspect of such programs thus, not only results in activating and utilizing committed leadership in the white community, it also provides certain information and services which are fundamental to an effective program. The listings of available dwelling units, the profiles of neighborhood services and facilities and the availability of groups of committed people to welcome new neighbors and to assist as checkers when needed, all are essential components in programs which seek, at the same time, to convince Negro home-seekers that new housing opportunities do, in fact, exist and that assistance is available if needed.

Recently, the NCDH convened a conference to evaluate Operation Open City and to assess similar other affirmative action programs and techniques designed to advance residential integration. At present, there are approximately 36 such programs ongoing across the country. Joining in this seminar to review these efforts were representatives of the NAACP, National Urban League, American Friends Service Committee and several other organizations and interests including government, industry, foundations and professional planners.

By bringing together leadership from government, the housing industry, foundations, civil rights agencies, and local fair housing groups committed to wiping out racial segregation, this conference helped create a new sense of urgency on this issue which is so crucial to equality in all other areas. For it is clearly evident that unless we move rapidly to stop the spread of housing segregation and reverse present trends, the conflict over segregated schools will get worse, not better. Equal employment opportunities will be substantially nullified by the increasing movement of industry to outlying areas, while nonwhite job hunters are forced to live in the urban core. Our cities will face mounting difficulties in raising the money to provide essential services. Urban renewal programs will be stymied by almost insurmountable racial problems. Resentment and bitter dispair will continue smouldering in our urban centers, inviting increasing conflict and explosion.

The conclusions drawn at the Capahosic Conference strongly reinforce the recommendation that NAACP branches begin immediately to operate programs which would advance racial integration as a part of an all out attack on discrimination in housing.

The most obvious among these was, of course, that the time is long past due for the nation's major civil rights agencies to mount a vigorous national campaign in the field of housing. And a major facet of this campaign must be the development of local affirmative action programs designed to advance residential integration.

The challenge presented here -- that the NAACP mount a large scale attack on the racial ghettos of America by affirmatively advancing racial integration in housing is not proposed as an alternative but rather as a supplement to current NAACP housing activities. And in the final analysis, even the current on-going efforts of NAACP branches will have to take on new dimensions if we are to achieve full equality of opportunity in housing during our life time.

One of these dimensions, very properly, must be a more militant demand that government complete its task of eliminating discrimination wherever federal financial assistance is involved.

The weakness of Executive Order 11063, prohibiting discrimination in federally-assisted housing, now has been demonstrated over a period exceeding two years and its inadequacy is a matter of public record. NAACP branches must campaign vigorously for an expansion of this Order to cover all existing federally-aided housing and all banks and lending institutions which are chartered, supervised or whose deposits are insured by the federal government. The President's Committee on Equal Opportunity in Housing must be given broader responsibility and authority, and adequate staff and budget to insure vigorous, effective implementation of the Order. And of the utmost importance, the President must be urged not only to expand the Order's coverage, but to direct all appropriate federal housing agencies to establish policies which affirmatively advance residential integration.

The NAACP fully concurs with the position taken by President Johnson in his historic address at Howard University that "We seek not just freedom but opportunity. We seek not just legal equity but human ability . . . But ability is not just the product of birth; ability is stretched or stunted by the family that you live with and by the neighborhood you live in, by the school you go to, and the poverty or the richness of your surrounding."

In the NAACP we know the frustration and poverty of the ghetto. In the past the federal government has approved the location of housing developments in ghetto areas. This site selection policy has led to an entrenchment of residential segregation--not the freedom and opportunity in housing which we all seek. The time is long past due for a liberal interpretation of national housing policy in keeping with the spirit of President Johnson's historic address.

Another important dimension of the Association's housing program involves urban renewal and what is required of us in connection with this program is not only that we become more actively involved with each renewal effort, but of equal importance, that we make certain that local urban renewal programs avoid the creation or expansion of segregation in housing.

I firmly believe for example, that Title VI of the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1964 has broader implications for the urban renewal program than have been interpreted thus far.

The underlying concept of the urban renewal program is that it is a federal effort undertaken in partnership with a local municipality. The Urban Renewal Administration is authorized to deal only with a local public agency that is established by, and representative of, city government. Any every local submission and report, including the local workable program is predicated on the resources, facilities and authority of the city and its government as a whole. This includes a citywide concept of financial resources, relocation housing, master plan, code enforcement, citizens participation and the acquisition of property by eminent domain.

When it comes to the matter of nondiscrimination, however, the citywide concept seems suddenly unimportant and the Urban Renewal Administration requires only that there be no discrimination in the tiny, project area being redeveloped.

NAACP branches now must demand that the principle established in Title VI of the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1964 be applied to the urban renewal program in the same fashion as is being applied by the federal Office of Education. If an entire local school system is required, as a recipient, to follow a policy of nondiscrimination when one of its buildings is constructed with federal financial assistance -- when an entire hospital, as a recipient, is required to follow a policy of nondiscrimination in personnel and services, when one of its research divisions receives federal financial assistance, then there is no logical reason why an entire city, as recipient, should not be required to follow a policy of nondiscrimination, when its downtown center or one of its neighborhoods is being redeveloped with federal financial aid.

In compliance with the letter and the spirit of Title VI of the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1964, therefore, federal financial assistance for local urban renewal programs should be made available only in those cities which establish, by fair housing legislation, a policy of nondiscrimination in the citywide housing market and which, in addition, establish an effective means to insure compliance and implementation.

These two added dimensions affecting federal housing policy through an expanded Executive Order and an enlightened administration of urban renewal would go far toward opening the gates of opportunity and enabling the Negro to move into the main stream of society as a full-fledged American citizens.

In the final analysis, the decision lies with the NAACP. Either we begin as a people to strike at the racial ghettos of America and the root cause of all the problems which plague us or, in the alternative, we continue, in fragmented fashion, to deal only with the symptons which manifest themselves in segregated schools, segregated public accommodations, segregated recreational facilities, limited employment mobility and poverty.

For the NAACP, there can be only one choice.

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HOUSING RESOLUTIONS
Adopted at The
NAACP 56th ANNUAL CONVENTION
Denver, Colorado
July 3, 1965

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I. Policy Statement on Housing

The NAACP, long committed to the achievement of a free and open housing market, reaffirms its determination to secure freedom in housing for all Americans and urges our branches to expand their activities in this field, advancing whenever possible a pattern of racial and economic integration.

1. Demanding that banks and lending institutions promote the availability of their mortgage funds to expand the purchasing opportunities of Negroes;

2. Working for the affirmative planning of urban renewal and new development programs to advance and encourage racial and economic diversity in the communities involved;

3. Securing the cooperation of private industry and local leadership in positive programs to promote open occupancy patterns of residence in all existing neighborhoods and communities;

4. Vigorous involvement in community effort to eliminate substandard housing, by encouraging the formation of neighborhood improvement organizations, by negotiating with landlords, apartment house owners associations and city officials for the elimination of such substandard conditions;

5. Lobbying for fair housing legislation, which includes injunctive relief.

6. Employing all other lawful techniques including negotiation, litigation and direct action where necessary, against institutions, both governmental and private, in their localities, such as builders and developers, real estate brokers, savings and loan associations, commercial banks, insurance companies and other mortgage institutions, and FHA and other governmental agencies which directly or indirectly practice racial discrimination in the buying, leasing, financing, selling and building of housing.

7. Making surveys to determine patterns of areas of discrimination and to determine the extent of individual efforts or inclination toward promoting open occupancy.

8. Scrutinizing Urban Renewal Planning programs so as to assure that the Negro community is actively involved and that such programs do not become programs of "Negro removal."

2. Rent Receivership Law

We favor state state legislation to make it possible for local municipal bodies to take over properties where the landlord has failed to remedy housing code and fire code violations, collect the rents, repair the violations and pay for them out of the rents, and let the landlords get their rents only when the repairs necessary to cure the violations have been paid for.

3. Government and Housing

The Association reaffirms its traditional opposition to governmental subsidy of racial discrimination and segregation in housing by (a) poor site selection policies, which locate public housing projects in areas of racial concentration and thus result in de facto segregation in schools as well as housing; (b) the construction of economic (and sometimes racial) ghettos by building massive public housing developments instead of a scattering of vest pocket units; (c) the redevelopment of urban renewal areas exclusively with luxury housing without providing moderate income and public housing on the same sites.

4. Rent Subsidy

The Rent Subsidy program now pending in the Congress would provide direct rental subsidies to families of moderate income, thereby enabling them to secure adequate housing not now within their financial means.

We, therefore, resolve that, pursuant to the call issued by our executive director in his keynote address to the delegates to the 56th annual convention, we direct our branches, state conferences, youth councils and college chapters to contact their Senators and Representatives in Congress and urge full support for the rent subsidy program in the housing bill now being considered by the Congress.

5. FHA 221(d)(3)

We urge our branches to promote and encourage churches, fraternal orders and other non-profit organizations to utilize FHA 221(d)(3) and similar other federal aid programs to increase the housing supply and to expand housing opportunities for all people in racially integrated neighborhoods.

6. Executive Order 11063

Executive Order 11063 directing a policy of nondiscrimination in certain forms of federally aided housing fails to affect a major part of the nation's housing supply which is benefitted by federal financial assistance or regulated by an agency of government.

We therefore strongly urge the President of the United States to take prompt action in expanding Executive Order 11063 to cover all existing federally aided housing and all banks and lending institutions which are chartered, supervised or whose deposits are insured by the federal government. In addition, the expanded executive order, should establish adequate machinery to insure vigorous and effective implementation and it should direct all appropriate federal housing agencies to establish policies which affirmatively advance residential integration.

7. Affirmative Action Programs

As part of our national program to break down patterns of de facto segregation in the schools, public accommodations, health and recreational facilities we urge our branches to develop local positive action programs which expand housing opportunities for Negro families and affirmatively advance residential integration. In the operation on these programs we encourage the active participation and support of local fair housing committees and members of the National Association of Real Estate Brokers, Inc. known as REALTISTS and other real estate brokers who support open occupancy.

8. The Real Estate Profession

We deplore the vicious and racist efforts of certain members of the National Association of Real Estate Boards whose members, known as Realtors, have actively fought to repeal fair housing legislation in California, Tacoma, Akron, Seattle and Detroit. Their actions would deny Negro citizens their constitutional right of full freedom in housing.

We, therefore, call upon our branches in the conduct of their housing programs to limit their support to those real estate brokers who actively support open occupancy.

9. Urban Renewal

We support the concept of urban renewal as a much-needed program to eradicate slums, provided there is a parallel program of public low rent housing so that persons displaced by slum clearance will be relocated in adequate housing, and expand the housing supply for all people. We also favor fair compensation and effective relocation assistance. In many communities, however, urban renewal too often has resulted in the large scale uprooting of Negro families and the expansion or creation of racially segregated neighborhoods.

We believe that the principle established in Title VI of the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1964 should be applied to the urban renewal program. We, therefore, strongly recommend that all federal financial assistance for local urban renewal programs be made available only to those cities which establish,by fair housing legislation, a policy of nondiscrimination in the city-wide housing market and which, in addition, set up satisfactory machinery to insure compliance. The application of this policy in urban renewal would be consistent with that now being applied by the federal Office of Education.

10. Government Employment and Housing

Equality in government employment is often frustrated by the fact that eligible colored employees cannot accept available positions because of lack of adequate housing resulting from restrictive real estate practices in the areas in which government installations are located. We believe that this condition imposes an obligation upon government to plan the location of sites of government employment so that true equality in employment opportunity is promoted through insistence on equality of opportunity in housing.

We call upon the Congress, the President and the heads of executive agencies of government who have the authority to determine the location of government installations to locate and expand such facilities only in those areas which have shown in advance that a policy of open occupancy exists which is capable of guaranteeing adequate housing for all potential employees, and, when required, to restrict federal programs in those areas failing to provide housing for minority group employees.

Housing

July 7, 1965

Mr. Thomas R. Ryan
Interfaith Health Association, Inc.
175-10 88th Avenue
Jamaica, New York

Dear Mr. Ryan:

Thank you so very much for inviting me to the Interfaith Health Association luncheon on Friday, July 9th. Unfortunately, my schedule makes it impossible for me to attend.

I'm very much impressed by the reclamation program which you describe, and would appreciate any further information which is available.

Sincerely yours,

James Farmer
National Director

JF/rp

JUL 6 1965

Interfaith Hospital of Queens

175-10 88th AVENUE
JAMAICA, NEW YORK

Telephone 657-4000

July 1, 1965

Mr. James Farmer
Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Farmer:

A dramatic new program against poverty will be unveiled at a luncheon of community leaders at the New York Hilton at 12:30 P.M. on Friday, July 9, 1965.

This housing reclamation program is the creation of Dr. Thomas W. Matthew, executive director of the Interfaith Health Association (IHA). Dr. Matthew, the first Negro to be trained as a neurosurgeon in the United States, has given up his lucrative practice to serve as the executive director of this hospital and association. The IHA derives its support from over four-hundred Negro Baptist churches and many churches and synagogues of other faiths. The board of directors is composed of clergy representing these denominations.

To assist IHA in its housing program, Dr. Matthew has recruited a group of Harlem bankers, businessmen, and professionals who form a business advisory group, HEP, (Housing Economic Program, Inc.).

With HEP's guidance, IHA has already begun the acquisition of slum housing, most of it condemned and abandoned in such areas of New York City as Harlem, Bedford Stuyvesant in Brooklyn, Queens, the Bronx, and the lower East Side of Manhattan. This property is being acquired through the cooperation of such institutions as the Knickerbocker Savings Bank.

The reclamation of these buildings is to be financed through the sale of bonds. No federal, state, municipal or foundation funds have or are expected to be used. This non-profit organization has as its pilot project already renovated one-hundred garden apartments in Hollis, Queens providing employment and training to unskilled so-called unemployables.

-more-

We hope that you can join us to see and hear more about the IHA program. It ranges from a school for building superintendents to what is to be the first day nursery for retarded children in Queens.

Please let us know whether you will be able to attend. Joining us for luncheon will be Dr. J. H. Jackson, President of the five million member National Baptist Convention.

Sincerely,

Tom Ryan

Thomas R. Ryan
Associate Director
Interfaith Health Association, Inc.

TRR/em

METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING
215 WEST 23RD STREET
NEW YORK 11, NEW YORK
SPRING 7-8900

COORDINATING
COUNCIL OF
COMMUNITY,
CIVIC, AND
FRATERNAL
ORGANIZATIONS
FOR DECENT
HOUSING AT
RENTALS PEOPLE
CAN AFFORD

July 21, 1965

Dear Sir,

May we bring to your attention the enclosed statement on segregation in the Electchester housing development which is sponsored by Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

The statement, approved by the Executive Board of the Metropolitan Council on Housing, was prepared by us after it was brought to our attention that Electchester is a de facto segregated community.

Yours sincerely,

Jane Benedict

Jane Benedict,
Chairman.

jb/vr

STATEMENT OF THE METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING CONCERNING DISCRIMINATION IN ELECTCHESTER

New York's widespread pattern of segregated housing afflicts both ghetto and middle-income areas. The Metropolitan Council on Housing is dedicated to integrating neighborhoods, both economically and racially. We regard any segregated community, whether de facto or by design, as a moral and legal wrong against Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

It has been brought to our attention that Electchester, a cooperative housing development sponsored by Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, is a de facto segregated community. Occupancy by Negro and Puerto Rican families is less than 1%. Repeated meetings between the Mid-Queens Citizens Civil Rights Committee and the Union's leadership have failed to produce a material change in the situation. In fact, according to the Committee, since the matter has been brought to Local 3's attention more than 1-1/2 years ago, only four Negro families have moved into Electchester.

Often the inability of Negro and Puerto Rican families to gain access to vacancies in middle income cooperative housing developments is a result of the failure of the management of these projects to undertake intensive recruiting programs, aimed at encouraging Negro and Puerto Rican tenants to apply for admission. As a result of the absence of special efforts in this direction, the reasonable assumption of Negroes and Puerto Ricans seeking housing is that these communities wish to conform to the general segregated pattern within the City, and that application is futile.

New York trade unions, especially Local 3, have made known their intention to open their membership rolls to Negro and Puerto Rican workers. Recently a significant number of Negro and Puerto Rican apprentices have been added to that Local's apprenticeship program. Therefore, since this Local has made a commitment to break the barriers of job discrimination, it is proper that the Local extend its commitment to the area of housing, especially its own.

Token improvement is not enough. In the case before us, the Commission on Human Rights of the City of New York was apparently unable to convince Local 3 to move from its relatively unsympathetic position. The local community groups who picketed Electchester did so only after a long period of fruitless negotiations.

A concerted drive is needed to reverse the apparent pattern of exclusion in Electchester and some other union-sponsored cooperative housing developments, and in middle-income housing sponsored by liberal groups such as the United Housing Foundation. In order to guarantee that these developments will become truly integrated, we propose that the following steps be taken:

1. An aggressive recruiting and information program to encourage Negro and Puerto Rican tenants to apply, as well as liberalization of financing procedures to enable them to qualify.
2. Periodic meetings among Local 3 and community civil rights groups and the City Commission on Human Rights to review progress.
3. A written agreement on appropriate procedures to guarantee integration.

June, 1965.

TENANT NEWS

METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING
215 West 23rd Street, New York 10011
SP. 7-8900

LEGISLATIVELY SPEAKING

by Frances Goldin

Last-minute telegrams pay off

At the zero hour -- literally in the last moments of the final day for signing bills into law -- Gov. Rockefeller signed two important public housing bills. These were the Baker-Wilson and Baker-Warner bills to permit the NYC Housing Authority to float its own bonds for low-rent public housing, and to provide subsidy funds to keep the rents low. The Governor ignored the bills almost to the deadline. However, MCH and many of its affiliates bombarded him with telegrams on the final day. And the concerted pressure had its effect -- he signed the bills. They will provide thousands of new State-aided public housing apartments -- if the subsidy is approved at the polls in Nov. This is the next step.

Get out a YES vote!

A mass campaign must be organized to inform the voters about the subsidy referendum. Tenants must be alerted to vote YES on the referendum. Last year the real estate lobby spent millions of dollars to misinform and mislead the voters -- and succeeded in getting a NO vote. We must do the better job this time and get the referendum approved.

Rent-strike bills signed

Three "rent-strike" bills were signed, all in the last week before the deadline. One is the MCH-supported Blumenthal bill. This bill and the two others are explained on page 3 of TENANT NEWS.

Also signed into law was a bill strongly supported by MCH which will benefit the artists living in loft buildings. It will reduce the fire-proofing require-

(turn to page 2)

Vol. III, No. 11
July, 1965

TENANTS IN NEGLECTED BUILDING PICKET LUXURY OFFICES; GET RESULTS FAST

Housing

An unusual place for a tenant picketline -- in front of a luxury apartment building in Yorkville on June 24. But the tenants didn't live there. They lived 3 blocks away -- at 308 East 89 St. -- in a rundown neglected structure. However, their landlord, Fraydun Construction Co. and the Manoochehrian Bros., had offices in the luxury building. As the tenants picketed, they commented on the contrast between their homes and the landlord's offices. Their building had become a slum -- no repairs, no services, constant harassment to move. The picketers demanded an end to harassment, removal of boards from the windows of empty apartments, restoration of repairs & services.

After acquiring the building recently, Fraydun decided to get the tenants out & "rehabilitate" the entire building in order to get rents decontrolled. But, instead of going through the legal procedure required by the rent laws, Fraydun was trying to force the tenants out.

No dogs -- no people?

Mr. Eugene Donohue, chairman, 74 years old, suddenly received a 10-day notice to get rid of his little dog because it was a "nuisance." He had lived there for 30 years, always with a dog, and had had this dog for 3 years with no complaint. The tenants backed him up and signed a statement to that effect.

Organized by the Yorkville Save-Our-Homes Committee, the tenants refused to

(please turn to page 3)

(Photo by Harold Duvall)

SOME COMMENTS ON WATER, DRIPS AND METERS

Every little drip counts.....and some of the biggest drips in the city are the landlords who won't fix leaky plumbing. Skimpy hot water also wastes water because tenants must let it run a long time before the water gets hot enough to take a shower or wash dishes.

Water Commissioner D'Angelo ought to get together with Bldgs. Commner. Gribetz and RRA head Gabel and crack down on these water-wasters. How about big rent reductions for persistent leaks?

As the Tenant Troubadours sing, "The faucets are dripping in old New York City,/ The faucets are dripping and oh, what a pity./ The reservoirs drying/ because they're supplying/ the faucets that drip in New York."

These lines were written by Californian Malvina Reynolds who came to NYC in the midst of a water shortage. "Of course," she observed, "New York is full of dripping faucets. That's the reason."

As her song says, "He'd rather you move than to put in a washer." So right.

Metering?

In his talk to the people this month, the Mayor suggested metering, either individually or for a whole building. However, he ignored the fact that metering has not been a water-saver in other cities. Both Detroit and Los Angeles have metering and these cities use as much water per person as New York City.

Families which don't have to watch their pennies wouldn't bother turning off water to save a nickel. Families already on a tight budget would be saddled with another monthly bill. Water metering is like the sales tax -- a "regressive" tax which hits the poor harder than the rich.

Instead of spending millions of dollars to install meters, the City should spend it on reaching new water sources, such as the Great Lakes and developing modern water management. Los Angeles is in the middle of a desert and residents there are not asked to forego car washing, dish-rinsing, toilet-flushing, etc. New York City, surrounded by rivers, lakes and streams, can solve its water problems without imposing meters on its tenants.

LEGISLATIVELY SPEAKING

(continued from page 1)

ments in the Multiple Dwelling Law and was sponsored by Assem. Passanante.

Rocky vetoes tenant security

What happened to the rest of the MCH-backed bills? Some were not passed by the Legislature. Some were passed but vetoed or not signed by the Governor. He vetoed the Blumenthal tenant security bill for bell-buzzer, intercom and locked front doors, giving a flimsy excuse. He failed to sign bills giving public housing tenants equal rights against eviction and providing guards in public housing.

These bills are needed, despite the Governor's callous disregard of tenants. These bills -- and more -- must be won next year. We must get an early start in our legislative campaign next year and multiply the gains made in this session. We made some gains this year but we can make a lot more by actively involving thousands of tenants.

MCH BOARD BACKS GILBERTO GERENA-VALENTIN

At its July 12 meeting the exec. bd. of MCH voted to endorse the candidacy of Gilberto Gerena-Valentin for councilman-at-large in Manhattan. Valentin is a well-known Puerto Rican civil rights leader and has been a supporter of MCH and participant in its activities. If elected he will be the first and only Puerto Rican member of the City Council. Valentin is running in the Democratic primary on Sept. 14. He is presently on the staff of Dist. 65, RWDSU, AFL-CIO.

WHO GETS THE PETITIONS?

On June 9, 50 public housing tenants, led by MCH set up a picketline in front of Housing Authority offices to demand full time guards at each building. They marched from there to City Hall to present petitions bearing thousands of names to Mayor Wagner. Letters and telegrams had been sent requesting an appointment but the Mayor was not there, and no one in authority was there to take them. The angry tenants refused to leave them with the patrolman at the door.

Mayor Wagner has no interest in meeting with tenants in public housing. Which of the many aspirants for his job should get the petitions?

HOW EFFECTIVE ARE NEW RENT-STRIKE LAWS?

Three "rent-strike" bills were recently signed into law by Gov. Rockefeller.They were passed because of the rent-strikes during the past two years.

Blumenthal bill

The first and simplest is the Blumenthal bill. It permits tenants to obtain the rent money deposited into court and use it to pay bills "properly presented for the maintenance of and necessary repairs to the building." The money could be used to buy coal or oil, repair a boiler or pay a superintendent or restore water or electricity,among other things. The tenants must get the rent-strike established first, of course, and start paying rent money into the court. The law goes into effect Sept. 1, 1965.

Wilson bill

The second bill has an excellent idea but its procedures are complicated. It was introduced by Sen.Wilson and permits 1/3 or more of the tenants to ask the judge for an order to have the rents of all the tenants deposited in court. They must prove a serious violation such as lack of heat, running water, light, electricity,adequate sewage disposal "or any other condition dangerous to life,health or safety which has existed for 5 days, or an infestation of rodents or any combination of such conditions." It goes into effect immediately and only applies to buildings with six tenants or more.

The drawback to the law is that the procedures are so complicated -- drawing up the petition or request to court, serving notice on all interested parties,etc. --that a lawyer's services are essential. However, the law could still be the basis for organizing many buildings. Housing groups should make plans to use it, especially during the winter season.

Bronston-Green law

The third bill is the "rent-impairing violation law" or the "six-month" bill, drawn up by the Assn. of the Bar of the City of N.Y. It was introduced by Sen. Bronston and Green and is effective Sep. 1, 1965. However, its actual effect will take much longer.

Before the law can be used, the Dept. of Buildings must decide what is a "rent-impairing" violation -- a violation that is serious enough to reduce rent -- and draw up a list of such violations. Hearings must then be held on the list.

After the list is final,tenants may complain to the Dept. of Buildings if they have such violations. The violation must continue for 6 months before it becomes a basis for withholding rent. The law will only help tenants on violations that they can endure for 6 months or longer -- and then only if the Dept. of Bldgs. reforms itself and handles complaints much faster than it does now.

A complete analysis of the "rent-strike" laws is in preparation and will soon be available on request from MCH.

YORKVILLE TENANTS PICKET

(continued from page 1)

move and set up the picketline in front of their landlord's plush offices. The picketline proved so embarrassing that they were invited in to negotiate on the spot. Results? Thorough repairs to the building, removal of the boards on the windows, and restoration of services. The landlord may still decide to seek the tenants' removal but this time he will go through the RRA. And, of course, the tenants will fight back. They have learned that you can fight -- and win.

Tenants get bi-partisan support

In addition to the picketline, the tenants received support from their councilman,Robert Low (D),who inspected the building and protested to the landlord over the conditions he found. The New York YoungRepublican Club also aided the tenants by including their story in its special report on slum housing. The report, "Why New Yorkers Still Live in Slums," had seven pages and many vivid photos devoted to the tale of 408 E. 89.

DON'T JUST STAND THERE . . . .

VOTE IN THE PRIMARIES -- SEPT. 14

Don't forget to vote! Many important contests are going on. Candidates will be chosen for the November elections.

In Brooklyn, voters in the 11th District can vote for Major Owens in the Democratic primary for councilman.

In Manhattan, all Democratic voters in the borough can vote for Gilberto Gerena-Valentin in the Democratic primary for councilman-at-large.Both are MCH-backed.

MET COUNCIL DIARY

Free University of NY, beginning July 6: "Community Organizing" is the topic of a summer course at the Free University and the instructor is MCH's vice-chairman, Stanley Aronowitz. The Free University was begun this summer "in revolt against the bankrupt educational establishment."

La Casa de Ayuda Propia, July 16: Ruth Beinart, TENANT NEWS editor, spoke to a group of Neighborhood Youth Corps workers about their work on code enforcement. The young people have been assigned to a special task force which is making a housing survey of the neighborhood. La Casa is a neighborhood service center sponsored by South Brooklyn Neighborhood Houses to serve the Cobble Hill waterfront community.

Newark Community Union, July 19: Unlike New York City, the city of Newark has no rent control, and tenants are suffering from skyrocketing rents and plunging services. MCH legislative dir. Frances Goldin and vice-chairman Richard Levenson travelled out there to meet with the Newark Community Union and discuss the campaign for a proposed rent control law for Newark.

WBAI, July 16 and 18: A recorded version of the May conference of the Charter Group for a Pledge of Conscience was broadcast twice on radio station WBAI-FM, the "listener-sponsored" station. The broadcast included MCH chairman, Jane Benedict as one of the four speakers.

Seward Park Extension hearing, Jul. 22: After a 3-hour hearing the Bd. of Estimate voted to approve the Seward Pk.Ext. Urban Renewal Plan despite opposition by people who live in the 14-block area. MCH was represented by one of its board members, Bill Tatum, who also spoke for several other lower East Side MCH affiliates, Neighbors in Action, East Side Tenant Council, and Cooper Sq. Committee of which he is executive secretary.

Tatum's opposition statement was quoted in the NY Times: "It is absolutely criminal that the poor people of the area will not be taken care of under this plan. I ask that this plan be replaced by one that will provide principally for the people who live there now at rentals they can afford. By doing this, you would be joining the war on poverty rather than making war on the poor."

The approved plan will remove 1,670 families, mostly low-income, Only 546 new low-income apartments will be built plus 1,124 new higher-rent apartments.

NOTE TO OUR READERS: Don't haunt the mailbox watching for the August issue of TENANT NEWS. There won't be any. Have a pleasant summer and wait for the Sept. issue. How about a donation to MCH and TENANT NEWS to start the fall season?

The METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING welcomes the support of every organization and individual who wants to work for more decent non-segregated housing at rents that people can afford to pay.

Yearly membership is $10 for organizations; $5 for individuals. You may join by signing this address label ---------- and sending it with membership fee to Met Council, 215 W. 23rd St., N.Y. 10011

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Chairman, Jane Benedict; Editor, Ruth Beinart; Staff, Frances Goldin, Maria Harriton, Richard L. Levenson, Meryl Lewis; designed by Helen DeMott.

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METROPOLITAN COUNCIL ON HOUSING..........215 West 23rd St., New York 10011.........SP 7-8900

PUBLIC HOUSING & THE HOUSING ACT OF 1965

The Housing Bill of 1965 has just become law. What does the new legislation mean for the slum-dwellers of the big cities...for the minority tenants crowded into substandard housing? Does the law open the door to the Great Society for them?

As a whole, the Housing Act is a tremendous disappointment. Instead of responding to widespread demands for more public housing, it holds appropriations down to 35,000 new units per year (plus 25,000 rehabilitated units). New York City's share would not be more than 3,000 per year. The number of new units of public housing is about the same as last year -- and the year before.

The actual need for public housing

How much public housing is needed? Sen. Robert Kennedy, in his "Housing Program for New York and the Nation," in October, 1964, called for construction of at least 100,000 units per year nationwide for the next five years.

Last year the U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency received requests from local housing authorities to build over 94,000 units. Most of these had to be turned down for lack of funds. The Mayor of New York City has said that his city needs more than 200,000 new units itself. New York City cannot fill 100,000 applications for public housing. Philadelphia also has 100,000 applications and nowhere to put these families.

That's the need -- hundreds of thousands. What ~~do we get?~~ A mere 35,000.

~~Instead, the Housing Act~~ offers a substitute -- a new rent supplement plan. At first glance it sounds good. Put low income families in privately built housing and subsidize their rents. Let them pay 25% of their income for rent. If the real rent is more, the federal government will make up the difference with a "rent supplement" paid directly to the landlord. The plan has drawn support from many well-intentioned people. They see it as a new method of providing good housing for the poor.

And it has been opposed by groups who just don't want the poor helped at all in their hopeless search for good housing. On the other hand, the rent supplement has also been opposed by organizations which have led the fight for more low income housing and for public housing. These opponents include the National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, the Citizens Housing and Planning Council of New York and the Metropolitan Council on Housing, a federation of tenant groups.

The Metropolitan Council on Housing offers this analysis of public housing versus rent supplements to explain its position.

Rent supplement or public housing?

First, the council opposes the rent supplement as a substitute for public housing.

Pres. Johnson's "Message on the Cities," and statements by housing chief Robert Weaver and by other rent supplement proponents all indicate that it is being offered as an alternative to public housing. "Public housing has too many faults," they say, "and it is time to try something else."

We say: "While it is true that public housing has many faults, it has proven its worth and should be improved, not dumped."

Public housing, in its thirty years, has given work to the unemployed. It has cleared slums and rehoused families. It has introduced the concept of integrated housing to many Northern cities, and brought light, warmth and clean living quarters and hope to millions of blighted American families.

All this has been accomplished at a minimal cost. The cost of subsidizing public housing in the entire country in 1963 was only $172,000,000 -- a tiny fraction of our national budget. This is less than our total war budget for one day. It is less than the cost of the Vietnam war for three months.

What are some of the objections to rent supplements?

* Low income tenants will spend more money for rent in rent supplement projects.

In public housing they spend 14.3% of their incomes for rent, with four or more dependents; 16.6% with less dependents. The national average for all tenants is about 13.6%

Under the rent supplement plan, they will spend a whopping 25% for rent.

A 1963 government publication stated that "if, out of incomes already lower than adequate, more than 20 per cent is allocated to housing, increased deprivation will be felt in other areas of the budget."

That simply means -- if you spend more money for rent, you have less to spend on essentials such as food or medicine. Can low income families get along with even less meat on the table? Is this the War on Poverty -- or the War Against the Poor?

Private landlords are very happy about the 25% ratio. Mr. Edward Sulzberger, representing the landlord lobby in New York City, indicated his pleasure in a letter to the NY Times. His organization, the Metropolitan Fair Rent Committee, Inc., would like rent controls lifted so that all tenants would pay at least 25% of their incomes for rent. The 25% ratio endangers tenants all over the country.

* Rent supplement tenants will be humiliated with a "dole" or "welfare" label. In public housing there is a straightforward tenant-landlord relationship. Although there is a subsidy there also, it is on the entire project, not on the individual tenant and his apartment.

* Low income tenants will get less housing for each dollar spent. Subsidies to public housing amounted to about $301 per unit in 1963. Rent supplement housing will cost about $400 per unit per year. If the funds appropriated for rent supplements were spent on public housing instead, they would subsidize thousands more homes and apartments. Which is a better buy? Which will house more low income families?

Public housing: problems and solutions

Are rent supplements an improvement over public housing in other ways? Can rent supplement projects avoid public housing's difficulties?

* The problem: segregation. More and more public housing projects are tenanted chiefly by Negro and Puerto Rican families. They have become little ghettoes. Why does this happen? The reasons are many. Income limits restrict public housing to minority families which, unfortunately, receive the lowest wages in our population. Urban renewal has forced out thousands of minority families and driven them into public housing. And unwise site selection has placed public housing projects mainly in already segregated areas.

  Can rent supplements avoid these problems? Probably not. Rent supplement projects will have the same income limits. The same people who now live in public housing will also be eligible for rent supplement housing. And the middle class and upper income neighborhoods which oppose public housing projects in their midst will also oppose rent supplement projects.

  Rent supplement projects will not necessarily be mixed -- economically or racially. The law does not limit the percentage of rent supplement tenants in a building. Builders -- limited-profit or cooperative -- will prefer rent supplement tenants because their rent is guaranteed for 40 years under contract with the federal government. Thus, instead of public housing projects, we will have rent supplement projects -- ghettoized racially and economically.

  The solution: Many public housing supporters, including the Metropolitan Council on Housing, have suggested solutions. Public housing should be built with very flexible income limits. It should include the low-paid unskilled worker and the middle-income "blue-collar" and "white-collar" worker -- all income groups under the same roof, not in separate buildings. It should include Negro and white tenants, Hispano-Americans, American Indians and other minorities. As a tenant's income rises, he should be allowed to remain in public housing without fear of eviction as he reaches the limit. His rent can eventually be self-sustaining, requiring no subsidy. Public housing should be built in small units (vest-pocket projects) all over the cities and suburbs, on small vacant lots, not only in big concentrations in the heart of the ghettoes.

* The problem: rising land and construction costs in public housing. Rent supplement projects will face the same problem.

  The solution: put higher and more realistic federal limits on construction and land costs, especially in large cities. Federal write-down funds, from urban renewal and Title I funds, should be given to public housing authorities to help reduce land costs. Private luxury housing in urban renewal gets write-down funds -- why not public housing?

* The problem: stodgy design and the barracks-like appearance of public housing. This has been a big point with many public housing critics. However, they should also take a good long look at luxury-rental housing in New York City or at Mitchell-Lama middle-income housing in New York. It's much worse.

It's a good bet that rent supplement projects, in the hands of private builders anxious to cut costs, will probably end up looking like most other new apartment buildings.

Actually public housing has been forging ahead recently in the use of new materials and color and decoration. New York City just got a Park Association award for building new park-like plazas in some of its public housing projects. Some people have suggested that the federal government offer special grants or "bonuses" to local housing authorities which use imaginative design.

The solution: improve design and planning in public housing -- not get rid of it altogether.

* The problem: public housing has been severely limited by the 15% limit on the amount any one state can receive. For instance, of the 35,000 new units, New York State can get only 15% or 4,200 units. New York City gets even less. Some states, such as New York, want and need more than 15%. Other states take little or no public housing but their share cannot be shifted to the needy states. Because of this inequity, the total appropriation is sometimes unused.

The solution: relax the 15% limit to take into account differing population size and differing need in each state. Release unused shares.

Public housing has problems -- but these problems also have solutions.

The Metropolitan Council on Housing calls for:

* A public housing program of 100,000 new units per year nationwide.

* An immediate nationwide conference of community, civil rights, religious, labor, tenant and public housing organizations to discuss public housing's problems, suggest improvements and fight for an expanded program in 1966.

This is the way to rehouse the crowded, badly-housed city dwellers of all races, religions and income levels. From the impoverished slum-dweller to the middle-income tenant caught in the rising rent squeeze -- the need is for lots of new housing at rents that people can afford, not just new gimmicks.

This is the way to increase construction and provide jobs for more workers. This is the way to achieve the objectives of the Housing Act of 1949: "The realization, as soon as feasible, of the goal of a decent home and a suitable environment for every American family...."

This can and should be achieved in the Housing Act of 1966.

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